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THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

JULY–AUGUST, 1877.

No. 257.

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Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

BOSTON:
JAMES R. OSGOOD AND COMPANY,
LATE TICKNOR & FIELDS, AND FIELDS, OSGOOD, & CO.
1877.

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VOL. CXXV.

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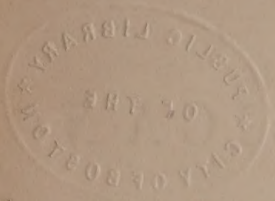

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No. CCLVI.

JULY-AUGUST, 1877.

ART. I. — THE ELECTORAL CONSPIRACY.

"Thou hast it now, King, Cawder, Glamis, all,
As the weyard women promised, and I fear
Thou play'dst most foully for 't."

SINCE the first formation of what Washington called "our happy system of government," no event not accompanied with violence or war has excited a feeling so intense as the act of "counting in Hayes." But the public men of the country, and the people generally, are far from being agreed about its character or its probable effect in the future.

Democrats, who knew Mr. Tilden to be elected by an overwhelming majority, both of the popular vote and of the electors duly appointed, were transported with passionate indignation when they saw his defeated competitor lifted over his head by a series of manœuvres which they thought alike incompatible with honesty and law. In every part of the country, by the press, from the rostrum and in the halls of Congress, the charge of base and unmitigated fraud was thundered into the ear of the world. Some, who indulged in no vehemence of objurgation or reproach, were bowed down with shame at the thought that their proud right as American citizens of electing a ruler for themselves had been taken out of their hands by a trick, and transferred to a set of low conspirators, whom they could not help but hold in utter detestation. All that once ennobled the nation seemed to be buried in this deep grave dug by the Returning Board and filled up by the Electoral Commission.

But the voice of lamentation proves nothing; neither does the wrath which "cleaves the general ear with horrid speech"; for both are the natural utterances of a defeated party, especially when the defeat comes unexpectedly, after victory was assured, and in ways not foreseen. There is another side to the case.

The men who did this deed will not admit it to have been wrong, or let judgment of condemnation go by default. Some misgivings there may have been here and there; but nearly all zealous Republicans saw it with unreserved approbation. Not only the herd of low politicians, who always ramp and swear and bluster on the winning side, but high-placed gentlemen of good character heard the announcement with pleasure, that what we call the Louisiana swindle was too sacred a thing to be questioned. The decision was hailed by Christian statesmen with loud benedictions. On Sunday, the 4th of March, pious Republicans assembled themselves together in prayer-meetings, and simultaneously sent up to heaven the most fervent petitions that God would bless the Returning Boards and the Electoral Commission, sanctify the work of their hands, and prosper the pseudo President whom they had placed in power. Elsewhere the party demonstrated its pleasure by firing off a large number of great guns. In some places the admiring people gathered in gay and festive crowds, and drank deep potations to the defeat of Tilden's big majority, while Bradley and Kellogg, Chandler and Packard, Wells, Anderson, and the two mulattoes, were "in their flowing cups freshly remembered." In both Houses of Congress the representatives of the party to whom Mr. Hayes belonged stood square and solid in defence of his title. They heard the imputation of dishonesty upon themselves and their fellow-partisans with no sign of shame or fear. On the contrary, "hope elevated and joy brightened their crests," as they saw the imposture progress step by step to its consummation. Two members from Massachusetts were troubled with scruples, and one from Florida denounced the fraud which elected himself as well as Hayes; but this could scarcely be said to break the unanimity of the party. Since the close of the session they have seemed to enjoy their triumph mightily, and the applause of their beloved constituents has not been wanting to increase their self-satisfaction.

It is very manifest from all this that the party calling itself Republican differs *toto cœlo* from the Democratic view of the sub-

ject. Republicans believe either that no fraud has been committed, or else that a fraud by which they profited was a fit and proper thing for them to do. Whichsoever of these positions they take, a question is raised which demands fair, full, and free discussion, so that truth may prevail and justice be done. If the organs and representatives of the Democracy have merely raised a false and malicious clamor against their opponents, they deserve the severest reprehension that the censure of the world can visit upon them; they should be deprived of all political influence, and no share in public business, local or national, should ever again be trusted to their control. On the other hand, if it be true that we have an administration of the general government which is not the result of an honest election, but the mere spawn of a corrupt conspiracy, then popular liberty has been deeply, perhaps fatally, injured, and all who aided in the crime, all who gave comfort to the criminals, and all who knowingly partook of the iniquity by receiving its wages, ought to be, and in the fulness of time they undoubtedly will be, classed among the worst malefactors of the age.

The prominent and well-known facts of the case, set forth in the plain style of simple narration, will show whether the count was honest, and if not honest whether any excuse can be found for its falseness. But to make this more intelligible, it is necessary to remind the reader of certain points in our political history which have within the last twenty years divided the two parties and defined their antagonism.

The powers of the Federal government, the rights of the States, and the liberties of the people, — these constitute the essential parts of the system to which our fathers set the seal of their wisdom and virtue. This trinity of political forces, so harmoniously adjusted that each gave strength to the others, did indeed seem to make a government as nearly perfect as possible. Each was a *vital* part; the "*life* of the nation" depended upon the preservation of one as much as the other; the government (using the word in its true American sense) would as certainly be destroyed by the overthrow of popular liberty, or the subjugation of the States, as by successful resistance to Federal authority.

These notions of fidelity to the whole of the government and every part of it placed the Democracy, during the Civil War, in the most difficult attitude that can be conceived. They were obliged

to fight secession, and fight it with the sword, if nothing else would do; for to them rebellion against the lawful authority of the United States was "as the sin of witchcraft." At the same time the best convictions of their hearts impelled them to defend their individual rights of life, liberty, and property, which were most wantonly and unjustly assailed by the abolitionists. Seeing their institutions attacked on both flanks at once by different enemies, most of them thought it best to simplify their duty by postponing their resistance to one until the other was conquered. They hoped that, when the Union was restored, the Constitution would be allowed to reassume its supremacy without further opposition. This hope was founded on very solemn declarations by the President (Lincoln) that he was a true friend of the Constitution, and meant no war except purely in defence of the United States. Besides, Congress, by a vote nearly unanimous in both Houses, assured the country that the war had not any revolutionary purpose whatever, but should be conducted solely to enforce the laws, and to maintain the supremacy of the Federal Constitution, with all the rights of the States unimpaired.

All these pledges were most perfidiously broken. The ultra-abolitionists, at the close of the war, had a two-thirds majority in Congress, and could do what they pleased. They refused to keep faith. They insisted that the government was revolutionized; that State rights had ceased to be; that personal liberty in the Southern States had been extinguished; that the people of the South, being conquered, bore to the conquerors no legal relation except that which existed between the King of Dahomey and the Guinea negroes whom he captured and sold; that they might be governed without law, and especially without regard to that fundamental law which the legislators were sworn to observe in all their acts. The Constitution, instead of being defended, had been shot to death on the battle-field. It was dead, and could not be pleaded to protect the weak, or restrain the evil passions of the strong party.

Upon this principle the Reconstruction Act of 1867 was based. It was simply a slave-code. Not one provision of the Constitution was left unviolated; all the rights which our forefathers, on this or the other side of the Atlantic, shed their blood to maintain, were insultingly overborne. If the Constitution still lived, this act of Congress was a gross breach of the oath which the members had

taken to support it; if we suppose it dead, the act was a most indecent outrage on its corpse.

For a time the Southern people lived at the mercy of the military officers who were sent to keep the yoke tight upon their necks. Most of these being gentlemen of honor and humanity, they did the work of oppression reluctantly and sometimes failed altogether. General Hancock, for instance, startled the authorities at Washington by a published letter in favor of civil liberty. It became plain that this "sabre sway" would not last long nor be perfectly effectual while it continued. The divine right of the negro to govern the white man was then asserted, and his ascendancy secured, by the Fifteenth Amendment, in the confident hope that his ballot would be a more effectual instrument of tyranny than the soldier's bullet.

The people would not have been wholly crushed, either by the soldier or the negro, if both had not been used to fasten upon them the domination of another class of persons whose rule was altogether unendurable. These we call *carpet-baggers*, not because the word is descriptive or euphonious, but because they have no other name whereby they are known among the children of men. They were unprincipled adventurers who sought their fortunes in the South by plundering the disarmed and defenceless people; some of them were the dregs of the Federal army, — the meanest of the camp-followers; many were fugitives from Northern justice; the best of them were those who went down after the peace, ready for any deed of shame that was safe and profitable. These, combining with a few treacherous "scalawags" and some leading negroes to serve as decoys for the rest, and backed by the power of the general government, became the strongest body of thieves that ever pillaged a people. Their moral grade was far lower, and yet they were much more powerful, than the robber bands that infested Germany after the close of the Thirty Years' War. They swarmed over all the States from the Potomac to the Gulf, and settled in hordes, not with intent to remain there, but merely to feed on the substance of a prostrate and defenceless people. They took whatever came within their reach, intruded themselves into all private corporations, assumed the functions of all offices, including the courts of justice, and in many places they even "run the churches." By force and fraud they either controlled all elections or else pre-

vented elections from being held. They returned sixty of themselves to one Congress, and ten or twelve of the most ignorant and venal among them were at the same time thrust into the Senate. This false representation of a people by strangers and enemies who had not even a *bona fide* residence among them was the bitterest of all mockeries. There was no show of truth or honor about it. The pretended representative was always ready to vote for any measure that would oppress and enslave his so-called constituents; his hostility was unconcealed, and he lost no opportunity to do them injury.

Under all these wrongs and indignities the Caucasian men of the South were prudent, if not patient. No brave people accustomed to be free ever endured oppression so peacefully or so wisely. The Irish, with less provocation, were in a state of perpetual turbulence; the Poles were always conspiring against the milder rule of their Russian masters; but Southern men "made haste slowly" to recover their liberties. They could not break the shackles of usurped control, but some of the links gradually rusted and fell away of themselves. The gross impolicy of desolating the fairest half of the country impressed itself more and more on the Northern mind. The mere expense, in money, of maintaining this vulgar tyranny became disgusting. The negroes gradually opened their eyes to the truth that they were as badly imposed upon as the whites. With consummate skill the natural leaders of the people hoarded every fresh acquisition of self-governing power. State after State deposed its corrupt governor by impeachment or otherwise, and brought its official criminals to justice, until all were redeemed except Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana. A more particular look at the condition of the last-named State is needed because it was the principal theatre of the "Great Fraud."

The agricultural and commercial wealth of Louisiana made her a strong temptation to the carpet-baggers. Those vultures snuffed the prey from afar; and as soon as the war was over they swooped down upon her in flocks that darkened the air. The State was delivered into their hands by the military authorities, but the officers imposed some restraints upon their lawless cupidity. They hailed with delight the advent of negro suffrage, because to them it was merely a legalized method of stuffing the ballot-box, — and they stuffed it. Thenceforth and down to a very recent period they gorged themselves without let or hindrance.

The depredations they committed were frightful. They appropriated, on one pretence and another, whatever they could lay their hands on, and then pledged to themselves the credit of the State for uncounted millions more. The public securities ran down to half-price, and still they put their fraudulent bonds on the market and sold them for what they would fetch. The owners of the best real estate in town or country were utterly impoverished, because the burdens upon it were heavier than the rents would discharge. During the last ten years the city of New Orleans paid in the form of direct taxes more than the estimated value of all the property within her limits, and still has a debt of equal amount unpaid. It is not likely that other parts of the State suffered less. The extent of their spoliations can hardly be calculated, but the testimony of the carpet-baggers themselves against one another, the reports of committees sent by Congress to investigate the subject, and other information from sources entirely authentic, make it safe to say that a general conflagration, sweeping over all the State from one end to the other, and destroying every building and every article of personal property, would have been a visitation of mercy in comparison to the curse of such a government. This may seem at first blush like gross exaggeration, because it is worse than anything that misrule ever did before. The greediest of Roman proconsuls left something to the provinces they wasted; the Norman did not strip the Saxon quite to the skin; the Puritans under Cromwell did not utterly desolate Ireland. Their rapacity was confined to the visible things which they could presently handle and use. They could not take what did not exist. But the American carpet-bagger has an invention unknown to those old-fashioned robbers, which increases his stealing power as much as the steam-engine adds to the mechanical force of mere natural muscles. He makes negotiable bonds of the State, signs and seals them "according to the forms of law," sells them, converts the proceeds to his own use, and then defies justice "to go behind the returns." By this device his felonious fingers are made long enough to reach into the pockets of posterity; he lays his lien on property yet uncreated; he anticipates the labor of coming ages and appropriates the fruits of it in advance; he coins the industry of future generations into cash, and snatches the inheritance from children whose fathers are unborn. Projecting his cheat forward by this contrivance and

operating laterally at the same time, he gathers an amount of plunder which no country in the world would have yielded to the Goth or the Vandal.

While the carpet-baggers in the executive offices and the legislature, assisted by Federal agents, were making enormous "piles" and plotting for more, petty larceny reigned supreme in the rural parishes. The negroes knew nothing of the difference between *meum* and *tuum*, and the law which should have taught them was a dead letter; every portable thing which could not be kept under lock and key, — pigs, poultry, the fruits of the garden and orchard were stolen as fast as they became fit for use, insomuch that the production of them had to be given up, greatly to the distress of all industrious and honest persons. Even the heavier crops, such as cotton and corn, were carried away from the fields at night, and traded for liquor and groceries at "stores" which were established for that particular branch of internal commerce.

Security of life can never be counted on where property is not protected; when the public authorities wink upon theft the people are driven by stress of sheer necessity to defend themselves the best way they can, and that defence is apt to be aggressively violent. Justice, infuriated by popular passion, often comes to its victims in a fearful shape. Disorders, therefore, there must have been, and bloodshed and violence, and loss of life, though they are not enumerated or clearly described in the reports. It is known that bands of "regulators" traversed many parts of the State, and the fact is established that seven of the storehouses used as places of receiving stolen goods were burnt to the ground in one night. The officers of the carpet-bag government "cared for none of these things." They saw the struggle between larceny and Lynch-law with as much indifference as Gallio looked upon the controversy between the Jewish synagogue and the Christian church at Ephesus. This horrible condition of society was caused solely by the want of an honest government.

But this is not nearly the worst of it, if carpet-baggers themselves and their special friends are worthy of any credence at all. They testify to numerous other murders, wanton, unprovoked, and atrocious, committed with impunity under the very eyes of their government. General Sheridan says he *collected* a list of *four thousand* assassinations perpetrated within *three years*. Senator Sher-

man and his associates of the visiting committee swell this number greatly, and add that "*half the State* was overrun with *violence.*" No effort was made to repress these disorders or punish the criminals. Nobody was hung, nobody tried, nobody arrested. The murderers ran at large; the victims fell at the awful average of about four every day, and the public officers quietly assented to let "the rifle, the knife, the pistol, and the rope do their horrid work" without interruption. Are such men fit to govern a free State? "Fit to govern! no, not to live."

If an officer, whose duty it is to bring a felon to justice, connives at his escape, or wilfully allows him to go free, he becomes an accessary after the fact, and by all civilized codes his offence is as great as that of the principal. Certainly such an officer is morally responsible to God and man for a murder which he, by the exercise of his proper functions, might have prevented, but did not. Apply this rule to the Louisiana carpet-baggers, and measure the depth of their iniquity.

There is an aggravation of it in the fact stated by Mr. Sherman, that most of these murders were done upon negroes, many of them females, and some of them mere children. The carpet-baggers professed to be the special friends and protectors of the African race; yet they permitted them to be slaughtered by thousands with quiet unconcern; not lifting a finger to stay the wholesale destruction of their lives.

Is there any mitigation of the terrible guilt thus imputed to them by their friends? Some of their advocates say they were too *weak* to maintain public order, and were *afraid* even to try. This will not do; for imbecility or cowardice in such circumstances is as bad as wilful default. A magistrate who says he *cannot* punish or prevent continued murder is himself a murderer unless he gives place to somebody else who *can.* But in truth the carpet-baggers did not lack strength; and no courage was required. Legal process was never opposed; the great body of the people were on the side of law and order; in every parish the sheriff could raise an irresistible *posse;* the aid of the United States Marshal, with thousands of willing and well-paid deputies, could always be commanded; the State had the largest regular police force in America; and at the back of all, "leashed in like hounds," the solid battalions of the Federal army "crouched for employment."

But let us be just. Kellogg and his confederates do not deserve all this infamy. The story of four thousand murders is part of the *Great Fraud*, and was fabricated to serve as an excuse for the false count. The heads of the Administration at Washington may properly be called its creators, for they said, "Let it be made, and it was made." The theory was, that murder and violence, which the carpet-bag officers were too weak or too wicked to stop, gave them a paramount claim to the perpetual continuance of their disorderly rule; and that therefore the votes of a popular majority against them or their candidates for Governor and President ought not to be counted. Acting upon this view, they made up for the then existing government of Louisiana the "bloodiest record on the page of time," and used it on all occasions as a standing answer to every demand for an honest count of the votes legally polled. That this was the predetermined intent as well as the actual use of it is very apparent. General Sheridan accompanied his statement with a proposition, not only to disfranchise certain political organizations opposed to the carpet-baggers, but to outlaw them as banditti, and leave them to be shot and strangled by the soldiery under his orders; and the Secretary of War assured him that his course was highly approved by the President and all his Cabinet.* Senator Sherman and his visiting committee, after giving a most revolting account of the cruelty, bloodshed, and violence practised under the carpet-bag government, conclude, that, if the people, by their majority already recorded, shall prevail against it and its presidential candidate, "then shall the glories of the Republic have departed." Senator Morton, speaking from the bench of the Electoral Commission, drew his strongest argument for a false count from the murders perpetrated under carpet-bag auspices. Senator Howe of Wisconsin, advocating the fraud, went minutely into the history of many unpunished homicides; he smeared and daubed the Kellogg government with innocent blood, and pronounced it eminently "*respectable.*" Nearly all the lesser lights took the same line of argument. It was a grievous wrong against the carpet-baggers to weave this bloody stripe into the web

* This despatch was hastily written by the Secretary of War, who, without intending it, did great unjustice to a part of the Cabinet. We have the authority of General Belknap himself for saying that Mr. Fish and Mr. Bristow indignantly protested against General Sheridan's atrocious proposition.

of their history, which was bad enough without that; but to set it up as a reason for disfranchising the people who vote against a government so stained seems like a new species of moral insanity.

To parade acts of violence and murder perpetrated within the jurisdiction of a carpet-bag government was called, in the flash language of the politicians, "waving the bloody shirt," and considered a most effective mode of electioneering. A bloody shirt of their own, always ready to be waved, was a great merit; and they "assumed the virtue, though they had it not." It was proved before Mr. Morrison's committee that a homicide story, which included the death of a black person, was thought, by some Republicans, to be as good for the party as fifty thousand dollars added to its campaign fund.* According to this valuation Sheridan's collection of four thousand was worth two hundred millions of dollars. The carpet-bag officers did not object to the fictitious account of their own bloody baseness; for it was intended to keep them in their places; and if it had that effect they were content to be infamous. But how the great leading statesmen of the country ever came to adopt the idea that the wickedness they charged upon the carpet-baggers would, if true, be a just ground for depriving the people of the right to vote them out, is one of the mysteries which may possibly be solved hereafter; but with the lights we have now it is wholly incomprehensible.

The wretched system of carpet-bag government could not possibly last. From the first it had no real support. The native people and the honest immigrants, who went there for purposes of legitimate business, held it in abhorrence, and the negroes were not long in finding out that it was a sham and a snare. As early as 1870, and before that, the handwriting was seen on the wall which announced that a large and decisive majority of all the votes, black and white, had determined to break up this den of thieves. They must therefore prepare for flight or punishment, unless they could contrive a way of defeating the popular will whenever and however it should be expressed. Then the *Returning Board* was invented.

This was a machine entirely new, with powers never before given to any tribunal in any State. Its object was not to *return*, but to *suppress*, the votes of the qualified electors, or change them

* Report of Mr. Morrison's Louisiana Committee, February 1, 1877, p. 14.

to suit the occasion. By the terms of the law it can exclude, suppress, annihilate, all the votes of a parish for violence, intimidation, or fraud, which it finds to have been committed and adjudges to have materially influenced the result of the poll. This is judicial authority so broad that no court would consent to exercise it, — inflicting the fearful penalty of disfranchisement upon thousands at once, without a hearing and without legal evidence, not for any offence of their own, but for the supposed sin of others over whom they confessedly have no control. Of course it is in direct conflict with the State Constitution, which declares that all judicial power shall be vested in certain ordained and established courts, and forbids it to be used even by them, except upon trial before a jury, and conviction on the testimony of credible witnesses confronted by the accused and cross-examined by counsel. It is besides a most insolent affront to the fundamental principles of all elective government, for it makes the poll of the people a mere mockery, which decides nothing except what the Returning Board is pleased to approve, and elects nobody whom the Returning Board does not graciously favor. Its power to veto a popular vote extends to all elections, for every class of officers, judicial, legislative, ministerial, and executive, including electors of President and Vice-President.

All men will agree that when violence, fraud, intimidation, etc., occur at an election, some action ought to be taken upon it to bring the offenders to justice. But this law requires that the election officers report the fact, not to the judicial authorities of the State, in order that the guilty parties may be tried and punished, but to the Returning Board, so that it may impose the penalty of disfranchisement upon innocent citizens without trial. The slightest consideration of this one provision shows that the Returning Board law had no honest purpose; that it "was conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity," and that its object was to cheat from the beginning.

No man with sense enough to know his right hand from his left will need to be told that a monstrous thing like this cannot be constitutionally fastened upon a free state. A government that makes it one of its institutions ceases to be republican either in form or substance. The statute of Louisiana which undertook to create it was a mere nullity, and all its proceedings were destitute

of legal authority. It was at one time asserted that the Supreme Court of the State had held it constitutional and valid, which, if true, would prove that the court was no better than the Board; but the case cited shows that no such point was raised, debated, or determined.

The Board consisted of five persons. They were originally appointed by a carpet-bag Senate, without end of their tenure and with power to fill vacancies, which made them a close corporation and gave them perpetual succession. To put on some show of fairness, the law required that *all parties* should be *represented.* This was at first thought to be met by the appointment of *one* Democrat, but when a deed of more than common baseness was to be done, the Democrat was got rid of, and the other four, desiring to work in secret, refused to fill his place.

This suppressing Board did its work thoroughly from the start. It was never known to falter. Since its first organization in 1870 the majority of the whole people has been decidedly against the carpet-baggers at every election. But the Board always intercepted the returns, and so altered them as to make a majority the other way. Kellogg was a candidate for governor; he was largely defeated, but the Board certified him elected. The certificate was so glaringly false that carpet-baggers themselves would not help to install him, and Democrats determined to assert their rights. It was then that General Grant, to the unspeakable shame of the nation, lifted him into office on the bayonets of the army. Afterwards the outraged people rose in revolutionary wrath, drove him to shelter in the Custom House, and inaugurated the man they had lawfully elected. Again the President made war on the State, and restored the usurper to the place which did not belong to him. The Democrats regularly elected a majority of the Legislature; as regularly the Returning Board certified a majority of their seats to carpet-baggers or scalawags or negroes not chosen; and when the true members met to organize for business the army was punctually on hand to tumble them out of their hall.

Such was the condition of things when the parties took the field in 1876. The Democrats girded up their loins for a combat more important to them and their children than any they had yet been engaged in. They were not only to choose a governor, legislature, and State officers, but a President and Vice-President who would

respect their rights, and not set aside their election by brute force. Messrs. Hayes and Wheeler were not believed to be evil-minded men, but they belonged to the anti-constitutional party, and their platform pledged them to walk in the footsteps of Grant, while, on the other hand, the just support of the people against the lawless outrages of the carpet-bag usurpers was written down among the first of the many reforms which Messrs. Tilden and Hendricks would be sure to introduce. The Democrats were without doubt a great majority over the carpet-baggers and the negroes who still adhered to them. False voting or cheating in the registration could not defeat the true men of the State. If they could only get their votes honestly counted, added up, and credited to their candidates, they would certainly be free in the future from the tyrannical domination which held them in durance for so many years. They felt that under these circumstances the electoral franchise was a possession inestimably precious;

"To lose 't or give 't away
Were such perdition as nothing else could match."

They were, therefore, uncommonly cautious not to impair this great right, or endanger the success of its exercise, by any act which could bring them under the denunciation of even the Returning Board law. All the clubs were earnestly and constantly exhorted in circulars and otherwise to "be careful to say and do nothing which could be construed into a threat or intimidation of any character," and advised to take affidavits on the day of election at each polling place that no disturbance had occurred there.

The election came off on the proper day, supervised and controlled at every polling place by officers of the carpet-bag interest. According to their own count the result was a majority of 7,639 for the Tilden electors. It has never yet been denied that this majority was made up of ballots cast by citizens legally qualified. The vote was regularly taken and properly counted, and a true record of it made *in perpetuam rei memoriam.* These facts being undisputed, it follows that the Tilden electors were *duly appointed,* if the people of the State have the appointing power, which they certainly have, unless the Constitution and the statute-book are not to be relied on.

But the opponents of Tilden and Hendricks determined that the record of the appointment made by the people should be mutilated

and changed so as to make it appear as if electors for Hayes and Wheeler had been chosen. They pretended to believe that violence and intimidation had frightened the African Hayes men from the polls, and that their cowardice ought to be visited in the form of disfranchisement on the heads of others who had intrepidity enough to perform their political duty. The allegation was utterly false. It was made, not only without evidence to sustain it, but in the face of overwhelming proof to the contrary. All the places of registration and voting were guarded by the creatures of the Federal and State administrations, superintendents, commissioners, deputy marshals, and soldiers, and all of these with one voice said that the elections were peaceable and free. Indeed, it is literally impossible that any intimidation or violence could have been practised. No sensible person ever gave credit to it for a moment. Notwithstanding much mental anxiety about the result, various reasons combined to make the election in Louisiana probably the *most* quiet and undisturbed in the Union.

The charge of actual intimidation at the polls having been exploded almost as soon as it was made, another was tried which stood a little longer. The intimidation, it was said, occurred, not at the election, but, at other times and elsewhere, somebody unnamed and unknown had breathed out threatenings and slaughter so violent that many thousands absented themselves. This was vague enough to excite a superstitious belief in the existence of a "bulldozer" whom nobody had ever seen except as the goblin is seen which the imagination bodies forth from the evening mist. But it vanished into thin air when the truth appeared that this was the largest vote ever given in Louisiana, larger in proportion to the whole population than the average of all the States in the Union.

Lastly, they fell back on the naked fact that a considerable number of negroes had voted the Democratic ticket, and insisted that this was in itself sufficient evidence of intimidation. They built this theory on the assumption that no negro could ever be moved against a carpet-bagger except by his personal fears, and that all appeals to his other passions, or to his reason and conscience, must necessarily be in vain. In fact and in truth, a large percentage of the African population were from the beginning very strongly impressed against the strangers who had come into the State to rob the natives. Most of them were very stupid, but

many had sense enough to see that this would come to no good. They had one cause of complaint which influenced them strongly. Much of the ponderous taxation under which the people suffered had been imposed on the pretence of schools for the *elevation* of the negro: when the fund came into the hands of carpet-bag officers, they stole it of course, and left the negro to his aboriginal ignorance. The negroes, not liking this kind of elevation, became excited, and in some places large bodies of them together broke away from the carpet-baggers. Their revolt was perfectly natural; and it would have been universal if their stupidity had been only a little less dense. Yet it is persistently asserted in effect that the carpet-bagger owns the negro by a title so incontestable that the vote of the latter is never withheld from the former except because of bulldozing, whereby the white Democrat ought to lose not only the vote given him by the negro, but his own vote in the bargain. This preposterous view pervades all the discussions on that side, insomuch that the foremost Republicans of the country have thought themselves making an argument for disfranchisement of Democrats by merely showing that the vote for the carpet-bag candidates fell below the aggregate number of black electors in a particular parish, or was less than that given at some former election.

One curious case of bulldozing is given by Mr. Morrison's committee. The negroes of East Feliciana fell away in large numbers from the carpet-baggers, and so many expressed their intention to vote on the other side that a considerable majority for the Democratic candidates was plainly foreseen. The chiefs of the carpet-baggers at New Orleans, being informed of this, instructed the local leaders of the parish not to vote; no ticket was put forth on their part; not a single Republican vote was cast even by the parish officers. This was done on purpose to lay the groundwork for a charge of intimidation. East Feliciana was declared a bulldozed parish, and all the people in it were disfranchised.

Even if we assume the righteousness of the principle embodied in the Louisiana election law, that one man may be disfranchised because another has intimidated a third, there was no show of ground upon which the Democratic majority could be questioned. The minority therefore left the case to the Returning Board, in full confidence that it was corrupt enough to act as desired

without evidence, against law, and in defiance of the known truth.

The *personnel* of the Board justified the faith of the carpet-baggers and their allies. If the evidence concerning its members be rightly reported by the investigating committee, they were marked out by the history of their previous lives, noted and signed to do any deed of shame which might be required at their hands.* Wells was a custom-house officer at New Orleans, and one of the worst of that bad lot; a defaulter to the State of long standing, without character for integrity or veracity, and for thirty years regarded as unworthy to be trusted. Anderson's character for honesty was equally bad; he had earned it in part by aiding while he was a Senator to put up a fraudulent job upon the State, and taking the iniquitous proceeds to himself. Of the two mulattoes, one was indicted for larceny, and, after admitting his guilt, was allowed to escape punishment, and *promptly* taken into the Board. The other was too ignorant to know his duty, but his testimony showed such indifference to the obligations of an oath that he was deemed as safe for the carpet-baggers as either of his colleagues.

They comprehended the situation, saw the difficulty of the work before them, and resolved to make it pay in something better than mere promises of "recognition," however "generous and ample." Wells, who was their spokesman in private as in public, wrote in strict confidence to a carpet-bag Senator then at Washington a letter which, being condensed into plain English, means this:† "There's millions in it. See our friends and act promptly. Buy us immediately or we will sell out to the other side. Talk freely to the gentleman who presents this; he knows the moves." To the bearer of the letter he explained that it was very hard work to count in the Republican candidate, — the Democratic majority was too large to handle, — he wanted to serve his party, but he would not take this job without compensation, — he must have "two hundred thousand dollars apiece for himself and Anderson, and a smaller sum for the niggers." On this basis he authorized his ambassador at Washington to negotiate with the Republican managers.‡ At the same time he was offering himself at New Orleans

* Report of Mr. Morrison's Louisiana Committee, February 1, 1877, p. 7.

† See the letter in Rep. Select Com. on Powers and Priv., Feb. 1, 1877, p. 180.

‡ Rep. Com. Priv. Powers, pp. 144, 145.

to the Democrats, at first for half a million, but afterwards proposed that he would leave in enough votes to elect Mr. Nicholls (Democratic candidate for Governor), if two hundred thousand dollars cash were first placed in his hands.*

The Board, getting hold of the returns under the election law, proceeded to alter them in such manner as to bring out a result totally false. They averred that the Republican or carpet-bag candidates for Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and for electors of President and Vice-President, and all State officers had a majority of the votes, and finally declared their election in formal certificates. It was not a mistake. As a mere blunder it was impossible. If they had been "fools as gross as ever ignorance made drunk," they could not have been led into any error about it. It was without doubt the work of a prearranged conspiracy to cheat the people of the State and the Union. The proofs, direct and circumstantial, that it was dishonest, corrupt, and fraudulent, are so numerous and so irresistibly strong that no man can stand up and deny it, unless, in the language of Mr. O'Conor, he "has lost the faculty of blushing." In branding this transaction with utter and irredeemable infamy the Democracy have not spoken without the book, — nay, not without many books, — for is it not written on all the records of Congress? Is it not reported by numerous committees? Is it not attested by clouds of witnesses? Is it not proved by papers which the conspirators themselves have made?

The action of the returning officers in this whole business was unsupported by legal authority. The Legislature of the State did not, because it could not, give them power to disfranchise qualified electors. They lacked, therefore, the general jurisdiction which they assumed. But that is not all; they proceeded in the very teeth even of the void statute which they professed to follow. That statute pretends to give them no such authority as they exercised over any return to which a protest or statement or charge of intimidation is not attached when it is sent in by the Supervisor of Registration or the Commissioner of Election, and the charge so attached to the return must be supported by the affidavits of three citizens of the proper parish.

Wanting this, the Board was absolutely without the pretence of power to touch the return from any parish or polling-place, except

* Rep. Com. Priv. Powers, p. 382.

for the purpose of compiling it and adding it as true to the others. By the election law of Louisiana the Board has no more authority to examine or decide a question of intimidation which is not raised by the election officers than a private individual would have to steal it from the records and burn it. So stands the *law*. The *fact* is established by conclusive evidence that from every one of the Democratic parishes the returns came up without any charge, statement, or protest. In all those cases they were therefore without color of jurisdiction.* But the conspirators could not afford to be balked of their game by the failure of the local officers to make a false charge of intimidation. These votes must be excluded *per fas aut nefas*, and the Returning Board must do it; that was what the Board was made for. The returning officers went upon the principle *aut inveniam aut faciam*. They *made* the protests which they could not *find;* affidavits which no creature in the parishes was base enough to back with his oath were fabricated in the Custom House, and used by the Board with a full knowledge that they were mere counterfeits. The exclusion of returns on the ground of intimidation was in every case dishonest, for in none was there a particle of evidence to justify it. When nothing else would serve the purpose, they did not scruple a resort to plain forgery. Of the return from Vernon Parish every figure on the whole broad sheet was altered with elaborate pains under the special direction of Wells. Perjury and subornation of perjury entered largely into the business. There is hardly any species of the *crimen falsi* for which the law has a punishment that did not become an elementary part of the Great Fraud which was committed when the defeated electors and State officers of Louisiana were falsely certified as chosen by the people.

It seems necessary and proper — but it is difficult — to say what judgment should be given on the conduct of the distinguished Republican gentlemen, headed by Senator Sherman, who went to Louisiana to see the count made. Were they accomplices in the crime of the Returning Board? Whosoever wishes to answer this question fairly must remember that he is speaking of

* If any one doubts this proposition, let him look at Senator Bayard's elaborate exposition of it, where he will find it established by such unanswerable reasoning and such a wealth of authority that perversity itself will admit the law to be as he lays it down.

men who stand high, not for talents alone, but for all the virtues which win public confidence and inspire general respect. All presumptions are in their favor; nothing can be justly concluded against them except from the clearest proof. It must therefore be considered as settled that they had no connection with the forgeries of particular return papers or with the perjuries of the Custom House; if Wells was bought with anything beyond the promise of "recognition," they had nothing to do with the bribery; no knowledge of these specific offences has been traced to them. But they might have caused a true count of the votes if they had wished it; one word of honest reprobation from them would have paralyzed the rascality of the Returning Board. If they had complied with the request of the Democrats to use their joint influence for justice and truth, the conspiracy would have broken up in an hour. They did undoubtedly know what everybody else knew, that the Tilden electors had been duly appointed by a majority of nearly eight thousand votes legally cast; they could not help but see that at least. And they must have known that no just reason and no legal authority existed to alter this result or falsify the record which proved it. Yet they refused to open their lips for the right of the people to choose their own agents; asserted the constitutional power of the returning officers to disfranchise qualified voters: comforted these miscreants with the assurance of their defence; did, in fact, defend them even to the extent of pronouncing extravagant eulogies upon them; in short, encouraged, aided, and abetted by every means in their power the perpetration of the Great Fraud, and after it was done held it up as a righteous act.

These gentlemen probably have some excuse for their behavior which has not yet appeared. The Presidency, all the jobs and offices of the Union, and four years of exemption from the hand of Tilden's sweeping reform, depended upon the game they were playing. The stake being so heavy and the dice ready loaded to their hand, the temptation to a foul throw was very severe. Perhaps it is too much to expect that a body of politicians in these degenerate days should act with scrupulous honesty like the men who filled high stations in early times. The false philosophy of Seneca, that all immoralities are justified when done *regnandi causa*, gains ground upon us rapidly. The rules which meet with universal observance in private affairs are set at naught in politi-

cal action. Election frauds are practised by men who would not cheat in a horse trade; bogus returns are palmed off as true by those who would scorn to pass counterfeit money; and Christian statesmen are not expected to know that stealing the vote of a State comes within the prohibition of the eighth commandment.

But they do not measure their conduct by a safe standard if they think it right, under any circumstances, to cheat a self-governing nation by nullifying the legal vote of its people. No matter how little respect they may have for the judgment of the mass, conceding that our naturalization laws are too liberal and negro suffrage wholly unwise, it must still be remembered that this right of voting lies at the foundation of our political structure. We have no public institutions that are not built upon that. Our Ship of State has no other keel, and the perfidy that scuttles the bottom exposes cargo, crew, and passengers to utter destruction. Besides, we have all agreed with one another that the will of the whole people, as a collective body, shall be spoken by the major number of individuals: we promised and swore that we would be governed by that will. If we violate this solemn compact, we are covenant-breakers, and can expect only to be turned out among "the nations which know not God." Moreover, taking the lowest possible view of the subject, and considering a Presidential election as a mere game of skill or hazard, he must be regarded as a political blackleg who snatches and makes off with the stakes he has lost according to the rules.

Another question arises here, which the Muse of History may answer at her leisure: Is there any justification of General Grant's conduct in this business? Within two or three days after the election it became perfectly well known to the whole country that in Louisiana there had been a full poll, and a large majority for the Tilden electors. No reason was suggested by anybody for falsifying this result. The apprehension that it would be falsified in the return arose solely out of the fact that the election machinery of the State was in the hands of mere knaves who were just base enough to do it; and these were General Grant's own knaves, whom for years he had kept in their places by lawless force. It was then that he said no man could afford to be President by a fraud, and sent a committee to see that a true count was made. This was fair-seeming enough, but he did not row the way

he was looking. Every one of his committee favored the fraud, and their report, which he indorsed and sent to Congress, was a defence of it from beginning to end. He had supported and enforced frauds of the same kind several times before, and now his troops were at New Orleans avowedly to protect the carpet-baggers while they were repeating them on a large scale. Besides, when Chandler promised the fraudulent Governor of Florida to send troops and money to that State after the election, — troops and money to count the votes, — he declared in one of his despatches that the President had been consulted. Still further, while his party in Congress were holding up the fraud, he answered the arguments in favor of Tilden's right by ordering to the capital all the cavalry, artillery, and infantry within reach. Whether these circumstances be sufficient or not to convict him of participation in the fraud, let the world judge.

When the wrong was accomplished at New Orleans, — when the Returning Board had suppressed the Democratic majority, and Kellogg certified what he knew to be false, that he himself and seven other men of the same sort were chosen by the people as electors of President and Vice-President; when these false pretenders actually met as electors, made out and sent to Washington their own vote to be counted as the vote of the State, — nobody except those engaged in it had the least belief that such a swindle could ever succeed. Democratic denunciation was loud, to be sure, but quiet, unpartisan people laughed at the folly of it. A little while afterwards the aspect of things changed materially. The country was astounded to discover that the commanders of the Republican forces had made up their minds to carry it through if they could. It would be unjust to say that this resolution was unanimous. Several members of the Lower House expressed their decided opposition to it. An unascertained number of Senators, including the ablest Republicans in the body, are well understood to have been altogether averse; but, not seeing the way of resistance open, they were silent, and permitted the dead weight of their influence to lie on the fraudulent side of the scale. Some of the foremost journals of the Administration party denounced it in unequivocal terms, as did also the whole Independent press. The great lawyers of the Republican party would not endure it; for instance, Mr. Carpenter of Wisconsin and Mr. Field of New York,

who had voted against Tilden, assaulted the foul conspiracy with the whole force of their logic and eloquence. But the fraud was defended by men whom the party was accustomed to obey, the mutinous were brought under control, the indifferent were quickened into active participation, and "lewd fellows of the baser sort" rushed to the work as to a labor of love. So it came to pass that a great political party, comprising American citizens of all the best classes, was thrown with nearly its whole momentum of weight and velocity upon the side of a manifest and most notorious swindle. To the immortal honor of the Democracy not one of its men in any part of the country shrunk from his duty or wavered in his allegiance to the truth.

But how was the object of the conspiracy to be accomplished? The House of Representatives was Democratic, and without its consent, expressed or implied in some form or another, the Senate could not give effect to a false count. The first intention was to claim that the President of the Senate had power to determine absolutely and arbitrarily what electoral votes should be counted and what not. This was the great rallying-point until Mr. Conkling took it up, and, in a speech of surpassing ability, utterly demolished and reduced it to invisible atoms. It became settled, therefore, that the two Houses must count the votes, and this clearly implied the power to inquire and determine what were votes. It could not be denied that the voice of the House of Representatives was at least as potential as that of the Senators; and it was not supposed that the House would suffer a fraud so glaring as this to be thrust down the throat of the country "against the stomach of its sense." But if the two bodies would declare inconsistent results of the count, and proclaim the election of different Presidents, a state of things might come which would subject our institutions to a strain severe enough to endanger them greatly. It was in these difficult circumstances that a mixed commission of fifteen was proposed, consisting of five Senators, five Representatives, and five Judges of the Supreme Court. The mode of appointing them made it certain that fourteen would be equally divided between the parties; and as the fifth Judge would be named by the consent of his brethren on both sides, he might be expected to stand between them, like a daysman, with a hand as heavy on one head as the other. The Democrats consented to

this in the belief that no seven Republicans could be taken from the Court or from Congress who would swear to decide the truth and then uphold a known fraud; if mistaken in that opinion of their adversaries' honesty, they felt sure, at all events, that the umpire would be a fair-minded man. They were bitterly disappointed; the Commission went eight to seven for the Great Fraud and all its branches; for fraud in the detail and in the aggregate; for every item of fraud that was necessary to make the sum total big enough, — eight to seven all the time.

We must look at the state of the case as it went before the Commission. Tilden and Henrdicks had 184 electoral votes clear and free of all dispute, one less than a majority of the whole number. They also had in Louisiana *eight*, and in Florida *four*, appointed by the people, but falsely certified to Hayes and Wheeler by the Governors. In Oregon they had *one* certified by the Governor, but against whom a popular majority had been cast for an ineligible candidate. To elect Hayes it was necessary that each and every one of these thirteen votes should be taken from Tilden and given to Hayes. As this required many distinct rulings based upon contradictory grounds, the path of the Commission was not only steep, but crooked.

The great and important duty cast upon the Commission by a special law and by a special oath of each member was to decide, in the case of contested votes from a State, "whether any and what votes from such State are the votes *provided for by the Constitution* of the United States, and how many and what persons were *duly appointed* electors in such State." It is not denied that the sole power of appointing electors for the States of Louisiana and Florida is in the people. It was then and still is an admitted fact that the people had exercised the power of appointment in the prescribed and proper way; they did *duly* make an appointment of electors, and their act was *duly* recorded, and so made a perpetual memory. This thing was not "done in a corner"; it was "seen and known of all men." That each of the two States named had duly appointed Tilden electors at a regular election called for that purpose on the 7th of November, in pursuance of law, was a part of their history as much as the fact that they were States of the Union. All the members of the Commission knew it as well as they knew the geographical position of Tallahassee or New Or-

leans. It needed no proof; but if specific evidence had been required, there was the record, from which the truth glared upon them as clear as the sun. They shut their eyes upon the record, and refused to see "how many and what persons were duly appointed electors" by the people, but listened eagerly to the evidence (*aliunde* though it was) which showed "how many and what persons" had been designated by the returning officers. It was ultimately held (*eight to seven*) that the appointees of the Returning Board were *duly* appointed, and the appointees of the people were *unduly* appointed. Did the Eight suppose that the legal power to make such an appointment was vested by law in the Returning Boards? Did they think it was *not* vested in the people? No, that is impossible. But they may have conscientiously believed that the interest of their faction would be well served by Hayes's election. They may have been prompted by a virtuous admiration of carpet-bag government, and were sincerely anxious to save it from Tilden's reform.

But this decision in favor of fraud which so shocked the common sense and common honesty of the nation was not made without some attempt to justify it. The Eight gave reasons so many and so plausible that Kellogg and Wells must have chuckled with delight when they heard them. One argument very seriously urged was that it would be troublesome, and require a great deal of time, to ascertain who was duly appointed by the people. It was much easier to accept the false vote and say no more about it. To decide how many and what persons got certificates from the Returning Board was a short and simple process; but to push the inquiry behind that, — to inquire whether the certificate was honest, to look for the evidence which would show who were *duly* appointed, — *hic labor hoc opus est.* The Seven reminded the Eight, but reminded them in vain, that the *due appointment* which nobody in the world, except the people, had the least right to make was the very thing which they were there to find out; and they could not be excused from a duty to which they were pledged and sworn by the mere inconvenience of performing it. Besides, the Eight knew very well that there was no difficulty in it; it was but looking at the record of the appointment as the people made it up; they could read it as they ran; the truth was plainer than the lie; the honesty of the case was as

easily seen as the fraud. But no persuasion could influence them to cast even a glance at the actual appointment. What did they think this Commission was made for? Why was this great combination of learning and statecraft set up? According to the Eight its sole purpose was, not to determine any matter in dispute between the parties, but merely to declare that the Returning Boards had certified for the Hayes electors; which everybody knew already and nobody ever denied. If its object was what the law said, — to decide who were duly appointed, — then the Eight succeeded in making it merely a splendid abortion, because, among other reasons, it was too much trouble to make it anything else.

But the Commission, following the lead of counsel for Mr. Hayes, insisted that the certificate of the proper State officer ought to be regarded as conclusive *evidence* of the appointment made by the people. It is undoubtedly true that the State has a right to speak on this subject through her own organs, and when she does so speak, her voice should be regarded as true. But what officer is her proper organ? The Governor being her political chief, and his certificate being required by act of Congress, it would not have been unreasonable to hold that it was conclusive unless tainted with fraud. The Hayes electors had the executive certificate in Louisiana and Florida, and this in regard to those States gave the Eight a great legal advantage. But they threw it away, abandoned the attestation of the Governor as worthless, claimed no faith or credit for it, and pronounced it open to contradiction, no matter how honestly it may have been given. What was the meaning of this phenomenal ruling which apparently opened the door of investigation even wider than the Democrats asked? It was understood by everybody. The Commission was hedging for Oregon. The Eight were reaching across to the Pacific for the one vote there, which was just as important as the twelve on the Gulf of Mexico.

But having gone behind the Governor's certificate for the sake of correcting errors, could there be any possible justification for stopping before the truth was reached? If the head of the Commonwealth, whose attestation is required by Federal law, went for nothing whenever it was contradicted, how could the conclusiveness be asserted of a paper made by subordinate officers unknown outside of the State and powerless even by the local law to make a certificate of more than *prima facie* validity? Yet the Electoral Commission (eight to seven) decided that the Governor's certificate

might be set aside for a mere mistake of law or fact, while that of the Returning Board would stand, though known to be founded on falsehood and saturated all through with corruption.

The unvarying preference of the eight Commissioners for the false over the true becomes very striking at this point. When they got behind the Governor's papers, they found lying *aliunde* two other sets of documents, one of which was a record of the actual appointment made by the people, the other was a mere fabrication of the Returning Board without any semblance of truth; they embraced the latter with all the ardor of sincere affection, and rejected the former with all possible marks of their dislike.*

To give the decrees of the Returning Boards the conclusive effect claimed for them, it was necessary to hold that they were legally invested with judicial powers, and that their jurisdiction, whether rightly or erroneously exercised, was absolute over the whole subject-matter. In Florida the statute which creates the Board gave it nothing except ministerial powers, and the Supreme Court of that State solemnly pronounced its claim of judicial authority to be altogether unfounded. But the Electoral Commission would not be influenced by either the written or the unwritten law. The Commission conceded to the Louisiana Board all the judicial power it needed to sanctify its disfranchisement of the people in the face of the Constitution, which expressly forbade it. This general jurisdiction was not all they bestowed on those boards; they declared in substance that it might be well exercised in particular cases where it was not invoked according to the law which gave them being, as, for instance, where a Louisiana parish sent up its return without a protest statement or affidavit.

* The point contended for by Mr. Hayes's counsel, and decided in their favor by the Commission, was that no evidence could be received except the report of the Returning Board as to the actual result of the election. The Commission positively refused the offer of Mr. Tilden's counsel to prove the facts, and would not receive or look at the evidence showing that by the precinct and county certificates on which the Board acted the majority was for the Tilden electors. Yet the "Congressional Record" of February 6, 1877, p. 29, represents that Mr. Hayes's counsel on the trial read to the tribunal several alleged computations of the vote cast at the election, to show that the Hayes electors had in fact the majority. These computations, so read, were taken from a report made to the House of Representatives by the Republican minority of its Committee. If this be true, then the Commission received evidence *aliunde* to bolster up the certificate of the Returning Board, while it refused to look at that which would have overthrown it by proving its entire falsehood. Mr. O'Conor thinks that this misrepresents the facts of the trial, and that it is an interpolation upon the record intended to pervert the truth of history.

The eight Commissioners did not stop there. They went much farther. They practically justified and sustained all the infinite rascality of the Returning Boards. They not only refused to take voluntary notice of the atrocious frauds perpetrated by them, but they excluded the proofs of their corruption which the Democratic counsel held in their hands and offered to exhibit. These Commissioners choked off the evidence, and smothered it as remorselessly as Wells and his associates suppressed Democratic returns. And this they put on the express ground that to them it was all one whether the action of these Boards was fraudulent or not. They would suffer no proof of corruption to invalidate the right claimed by a Hayes man to put in the vote of a State for his candidate.

This monstrous and unendurable outrage was resisted to the utmost. All of the *Seven* implored and protested against it. Judge Clifford, the President of the Commission, laid it down as a maxim of the common law that fraud vitiates whatever it touches, and proved it undeniably. He might have proved more. It is not merely a maxim of the common law: it belongs to all countries and all ages; no code can claim it exclusively; it pervades all systems of jurisprudence; it has its home in every honest heart; it is the universal sentiment of all just men; it applies to all human dealings. Judge Field looked in the face of the majority, and told them plainly that their disregard of this great principle was "as shocking in morals as it was unsound in law," and added: "It is elementary knowledge that fraud vitiates all proceedings, even the most solemn; that no form of words, no amount of ceremony, no solemnity of proceeding, can shield it from exposure, or protect its structure from assault and destruction." But the Eight were as deaf as adders to the voice of reason and justice. They would not permit the Fraud to be assaulted, much less to be destroyed. They stood over it to shield it, protect it, and save it, interposing the broad ægis of their authority to cover it against every attack.

The Eight persistently denied their power or that of Congress to do what they were commanded by the law to do, — that is, decide who were *duly appointed*. They would only decide that certain persons were named as electors by a Returning Board. They would not understand that the appointment by the people might be one thing, and the action of the Returning Board an-

other, or that the latter, even as evidence of the former, was worthless if it was fraudulent.

They insisted that the Returning Board certificate must be received with all the honors; to question its verity would be usurpation upon State rights which they (the Eight) were most careful to preserve intact and unimpaired. "But," said they, "if a Returning Board behaves unfaithfully, the State herself, by her own authorities, must see to it and correct the wrong." Thereupon came Florida, and showed that she had, in fact, made the correction. All the departments of her government — her legislature, her courts, and her executive — had at different times examined and revised the action of her Returning Board; pronounced it false, fraudulent, and void; declared that the Tilden electors were duly appointed, and left the Hayes candidates without a shred of authority to vote for the State. There stood the State herself, upright before the august Commission, with all the evidence in her hand, protesting against the fraud and demanding that no vote should be received except the vote of her own electors duly appointed by her people. But the Commission answered that *under the circumstances* of this case she had no right to defend *herself* against the fraud of a Returning Board any more than she had to *be defended* by the Federal authorities. Whatever she might do, or decide, or resolve upon, the Great Fraud was her master and she must submit. So it appeared, after all the fine speeches about State rights, that Florida had but one right, — the right to be cheated out of her vote by the same knaves who had already robbed her of her property. That right was sacred and intangible, and the Commission promptly put her in full possession of it.

In the case of Florida there was one piece of evidence offered which not only commended itself strongly to the consideration of just men, but, being supported by certain artificial rules of pleading and practice it was expected to find acceptance in the narrowest mind on the bench. This was the record of a judicial proceeding commenced in a Florida court by writ of *quo warranto* at the suit of the State upon the relation of the Tilden electors against the Hayes electors. The parties came into court and pleaded, and the issue made between them was, whether one set or the other (the relators or the defendants) were duly appointed electors of President and Vice-President by and for the State of

Florida. Evidence was taken, the cause was debated by counsel on both sides, and after consideration it was adjudged by the court, against the defendants and in favor of the State, that the relators *were* duly appointed and the defendants *not.* This fact, thus determined by the court, was precisely the same fact afterward controverted by the same parties before the Commission. When submitted to the latter tribunal, it was *res judicata;* not only true, but fixed and settled beyond the reach of contradiction. The judgment was not impeached for fraud or reversed for error. It was in full force and virtue. It was not denied that the court which made the adjudication had entire and complete jurisdiction both of the subject-matter and of the parties. By all reason and all authority the Commission was bound to respect this judgment as conclusive evidence. But to have done this would have made Tilden President and defeated the purpose of all the frauds in Louisiana and Florida both. They did not do it; they allowed the judgment to have no effect at all. They but looked to see what it was and immediately swept it out of sight. They put it far from them, and then proceeded to pronounce a different judgment, which suited the Hayes men better. How *could* they break all the bars of legal authority which fenced them about? What starting hole *did* they find to escape from the corner into which they were driven and penned up by the law of the land? We shall see.

They said the judgment of the Court was *too late;* it was pronounced after the Hayes electors had met and made out their votes, and sent them to the President of the Senate. Here were two sets of electors, each claiming the exclusive right to vote for the State, and both of them actually sent up their ballots. One of them was duly appointed, and had the authority claimed; the other set was necessarily composed of mere pretenders, who were not duly appointed, and, having no authority, their vote was a mere nullity. Which party was right, and which wrong? The conflict must be settled somehow. Where was the jurisdiction to determine it? Undoubtedly, and by universal admission, the power was in the courts of the State from which both claimants professed to derive their authority. The proper State court did determine it; but the Commissioners said that however competent the jurisdiction of the court, it was too late in making its decision, and then they proceeded, in the exercise of a jurisdiction exactly similar, to decide the same questions of fact and law the other way. Now comes the

query: If the court's decision was worthless because it was *late*, what was the value of the Commission's judgment, which was LATER? The Eight did actually, not in words, but in substance and effect, give vent to the bald absurdity that it was too late in January to decide the dispute in favor of Tilden, but not too late in February to decide it in favor of Hayes.

Another thing they said: This judgment, though it proved the fact that the Hayes claimants were not duly appointed, and had no title to the office of electors, did not invalidate the acts previously done by them while they were *de facto* in the exercise of the powers they usurped. There is a just and necessary rule of law which declares that the validity of acts regularly done by an officer shall not depend on the title by which he holds the office. You may remove a sheriff by a *quo warranto* without destroying the titles of all who purchased land at his sales, or a judge without vacating his decrees, or a treasurer without saying that his payment of a public debt is not satisfaction; but where a person assumes a special authority to do a particular thing the validity of the act *does* depend on the authority to do it. This latter rule applies here. These electors claimed a right to vote for the State under a special appointment given them to do that one act. When a competent court adjudicated as matter of fact that the Hayes electors had no appointment, it was a logical and legal necessity which declared the unauthorized votes to be null and void. If this were not the principle, then any impostor, or any number of impostors, might send up their ballots, and one would be as good as another.

But again, let it not be forgotten that the Tilden electors had also voted at the same time in the same way. Why did not this fact make as much weight for them as for the others? It will excite the wonder of the world to learn that, in the opinion of the Eight, a person who voted under an appointment given him by the people according to law could not be even a *de facto* elector, but another person who had nothing to claim by except the false, fraudulent, and void declaration of a Returning Board was good *de facto*, if he was good for nothing else. This doctrine of *de facto* sanctification, saving acts which have no other "relish of salvation in them," and making the votes of unauthorized men as good as if they came from persons duly appointed, cuts a great figure throughout the whole case. It is not applicable, but the Eight apply it everywhere, and, strange to say, they never use it when it does not

make in favor of some fraud or other. One who votes according to the public will of the State legally expressed through the ballot-boxes is *de facto* nothing. But if he was defeated or ineligible, he is *de facto* all he wants to be. One of the Hayes electors in Louisiana was a Federal officer; his election was forbidden by the Constitution of the United States, and he was not elected but beaten at the polls; *de facto* strained its utmost power on him, and pulled him through in spite of Constitution and people both. But his Democratic competitor, who had acted as an elector in the same way and to the same extent, was legally chosen by an overwhelming majority, and constitutionally eligible; therefore *de facto* could do nothing for *him*.

In all the discussions of the subject the men disposed to favor the conspiracy professed a most profound veneration for the "forms of law." This was the keynote struck at New Orleans by the visiting committee, and it is heard in every subsequent argument of counsel and commissioner on that side. It seemed to be understood among them that a formal cheat was perfectly safe from exposure. If the sepulchre was whited on the outside, it made no difference that it was filled with "corruption, dead men's bones, and all uncleanness." No refuge of lies could be swept away, no hiding-place of falsehood could ever be uncovered, if it was built in the prescribed form. Only give it the legal shape and the overflowing scourge would be turned aside. But legal form, however valuable as a covering for fraud, was, in their judgment, no protection for truth or justice or public right. The will of Louisiana was pronounced at the election with all the solemnities required by the law of the State and of the United States. The appointment of the Tilden electors on the 7th of November was a perfectly legal piece of work; there was not a flaw in the record of it as it came from the hands of the appointing power. But it was looked on with perfect contempt. Neither the visiting committee nor the Hayes counsel nor the eight Commissioners bestowed on it any of their love. Their affections were otherwise engaged; they gave the homage and devotion of their hearts to the beautiful regularity, the exquisite precision, with which the Returning Board compounded its false certificate.

Another paradox of the Eight is curious enough to be noted. They declared repeatedly that they had no power to try a contested election case, and for that reason they would not look at the evi-

dence which showed what persons were duly appointed electors by the people. Now mark! The case was this. Each of those votes came accompanied by what was asserted to be proof that it was cast by electors duly appointed. The conflict was to be determined by the verifying power which Congress unquestionably has, and which the Commissioners expressly assumed when they swore that they would decide who were duly appointed. To decide it one way or the other required precisely the same jurisdiction, and called into exercise exactly the same faculties. Yet they held that if they decided according to the truth in favor of the electors actually appointed they would be trying a contested election; but if they decided in favor of the pretenders, who had nothing but a fraudulent certificate, they would *not* be trying a contested election; in other words, their jurisdiction was full and ample to decide it falsely, but wholly unequal to the duty of deciding it truly.

Perhaps nothing shows more plainly the *animus* of the eight commissioners than the determination they made upon the case of Brewster, ineligible elector in Louisiana. Keep in mind that their defined duty was to decide who were duly appointed, and what votes were provided for by the Constitution, and think how they performed it in this part of the case. Brewster was not only defeated at the polls like the rest; he was besides a federal office-holder, and the Constitution expressly declares that no such person shall be appointed an elector. But for the purpose of electing Mr. Hayes his vote was worth as much as all the others. To get that vote for their candidate they were required to go further than they went for any of the rest, and so they held: 1. That the certificate of the Returning Board was *proprio rigore* an *appointment.* 2. That it was a *due* appointment, though corrupt and dishonest. 3. That this was a vote *provided for* by the Constitution, though the Constitution in plain words *provided against* it.

After all, there was but one question before the Commission. Had the American people a right to elect their own Chief Magistrate? They had the right. Their ancestors struggled for it long, fought for it often, and won it fairly. Being embedded in their Constitution, it cannot be destroyed except by a force strong enough to overthrow the organic structure of the government itself. Legislative enactments or judicial decisions are powerless either to strengthen or impair it. The legerdemain of law-craft, the catches

of special pleading, the snapperadoes of practice, do not help us to decide a matter like this. A great nation must not be impaled upon a pin's point. Precedents which might bind a Court of Quarter Sessions determining the settlement of a pauper cannot tie up the hands of the Supreme Legislature defending a fundamental right of the whole people. When Grenville, in 1766, cited the authority of divers cases to show that America might be taxed without representation, Pitt answered: "I come not here armed at all points, with the statute-book doubled down in dog's ears to defend the cause of liberty. I can acknowledge no veneration for any procedure, law, or ordinance, that is repugnant to reason and the first principles of our Constitution. I rejoice that America has resisted." So spoke the defiant friend of our race in the presence of a hostile Parliament ten years before the Declaration of Independence. And now, after this long interval of time, we behold our greatest right, — the right on which all other rights depend, — successfully assailed in our own Congress with the same small weapons that Grenville used. If brute force had crushed it out, we might have borne the calamity with fortitude; but to see it circumvented by knavery and pettifogged to death, is too much to be endured with any show of patience.

If the majority of that Commission could but have realized their responsibility to God and man, if they could only have understood that in a free country liberty and law are inseparable, they would have been enrolled among our greatest benefactors, for they would have added strength and grandeur to our institutions. But they could not come up to the height of the great subject. Party passion so benumbed their faculties that a fundamental right seemed nothing to them when it came in conflict with some argument supported by artificial reasoning and drawn from the supposed analogies of technical procedure. The Constitution was in their judgment outweighed by a void statute and the action of a corrupt Returning Board.

Let these things be remembered by our children's children, and if the friends of free government shall ever again have such a contest, let them take care how they leave the decision of it to a tribunal like that which betrayed the nation by enthroning the *Great Fraud* of 1876.

J. S. Black.

Art. II. — The War in the East.

It has long been evident that the aggressive force of Mohammedanism is spent, and that in offensive war the individual bravery and tumultuous attacks of its followers can no longer make head against the military science and discipline of modern Europe. For years the Turk has been regarded as a "sick man," on the bed of death; and it is a common belief that the slow process of dissolution has been unduly prolonged by the anxious care of those who think less of the fate of the invalid than of the disposition to be made of the ample possessions of the intestate. When Mohammed II. captured Constantinople, the spirit of the Crusades had disappeared, and the strength of Europe was so far away, and so fully occupied with other affairs, that no effectual and combined resistance was opposed to the victorious progress of the Osmanli. When Sobieski routed the army of Cara Mustapha under the walls of Vienna, the tide turned, and, although occasionally illuminated by brilliant victories, the path of the Turk has since then been backward towards the Bosphorus. Early in the eighteenth century a new Power appeared upon the stage. Soon after the battle of Pultawa Russia became involved in a war with Turkey, the result of which was not favorable to the former. A few years later war again broke out, and from that time forth wars succeeded each other in rapid succession, the result being a gradual, but quite constant extension of the Russian territory towards Constantinople.

Finally, at the close of the war of 1828 and 1829, Russia had extended her frontier to the Pruth and Lower Danube, and had gained the entire northern and eastern shores of the Black Sea, as far as Fort St. Nicholas, not many miles north of the mouth of the Tschorock. The main results of the Crimean War were to throw back her frontier from the Lower Danube, and the destruction of her naval power on the Black Sea. Within a century Russia has advanced her frontiers some four hundred and fifty miles towards Constantinople, about eight hundred and fifty miles towards Ber-

lin and Vienna, and about a thousand miles nearer to India and Persia.

Amidst the vicissitudes through which Europe has passed since the fall of the first Napoleon the attention of her statesmen has been turned towards the East with ever-increasing anxiety and apprehension. Through the mists of diplomacy and the smoke of battles there has loomed upon the gaze of Western Europe the form of a mighty colossus on her eastern borders. The terse prophecy of the Great Napoleon, that in fifty years Europe would be either Republican or Cossack, has seldom been absent from the thoughts of those who governed her. The existence and growth of the Cossack colossus were evident enough; the question has been, "Are its feet of clay or of brass?" It is probable that prior to the war of 1828 the strength of Russia was overrated, while there was certainly a full appreciation of the baneful effects of her possible preponderance in the family of nations. Since the treaty of Adrianople the tendency of public opinion appears to have been to underrate Russia's force; and since the treaty of Paris, not to give sufficient weight to the internal changes which are modifying the whole law of her being, and must eventually alter her relations with the rest of the world.

The Russian troops of to-day differ widely in number and efficiency from those who crossed the Balkan with Diebitsch, or assaulted Akhaltzik under Paskévitch, or even from those who fought in the Crimea. Of late years every effort has been made to raise the tone and increase the efficiency of the Russian army; with what result we shall soon know. The emancipation of the serfs and the introduction of universal liability to military service are immense strides in the path of progress; and he who would measure the power or predict the influence of Russia in any quarter must now take into account these two great measures, with all their direct and indirect results of instruction, individuality of action, etc. It may still be true that Europe is to be Republican or Cossack; but it is not alone the Republican of the time of Napoleon who has changed; the Cossack has changed as well, and from the ignorant and brutalized serf of a despot, he is becoming an intelligent and active member of a community, slowly and surely advancing beyond the control of arbitrary and irresponsible force.

Those who dread and those who desire the growth of Russian influence must alike remember that the Russia of the future will be a very different nation from the Russia of the past or of to-day. Even when under the sternest despotism, Russia has always possessed some germs of free institutions and of representative government; as, for example, in the government of villages in civil life, and in that singular military institution known as the Artel. So, also, in the well-known words of one of her nobles, who, drawing a poniard from his belt, exclaimed, "*This* is the constitution of Russia!" she has ever had a constitution, — such as it was. It is clear enough that, as the children of the former serfs become educated and civilized by contact with the world, a real constitution — in the true sense of the word — must erelong be given to or seized by them. The serfs were not of an inferior race, but were capable of improvement and civilization, and the doubt is not as to whether Russia will eventually receive a constitutional government, but only as to the means by which that end is to be reached, — whether by quiet and gradual methods, or through violence, and the horrible upheavals of socialism and communism. Should the successors of the present Emperor display the same excellent qualities that he has, there can be little doubt that the great end will be reached without convulsion.

There are vast differences between the inhabitants of the three great divisions of the Old World. The habits, intellect, religious sentiments, the civilization of Europe are totally unlike those of Asia, while the Africans are entirely different from and vastly inferior to both the others. As in nature sharp lines of demarcation are rarely found, but widely differing objects are usually connected by intermediate types, blending into each other by imperceptible degrees, so it happens that Russia is the connecting link between Europe and Asia. Possessing many of the qualities of Europeans, and an aptitude for their civilization, the Russians have at the same time many Asiatic characteristics, and possess a peculiar facility for conquering and assimilating to themselves the purely Asiatic countries. They have much of that Asiatic mystery and finesse which prompts them to veil their movements and designs in a secrecy which stimulates the curiosity of interested observers, while it often leads them to exaggerated conclusions as to the power and designs of this modern sphinx.

Claiming the position of head of the Greek Church, Russia has long been suspected of seeking to restore, for her own advantage, the faded glories of the Empire of Byzantium. Cut off from the open highway of the ocean by the rigorous winter of the North, and to the south by a closing of the Bosphorus almost as effectual as when, in prehistoric times, no Bosphorus existed, she has been suspected of the design of forcing her way to the sea, and thus gaining a free and untrammelled outlet for the productions of the vast region she controls. Could we for a moment imagine our Atlantic ports hermetically sealed by ice during the greater part of the year, and the Lower Mississippi under foreign rule, we might perhaps be able to answer the question as to how long we would permit the control of New Orleans by another Power.

These dual qualities of Russia,—half European, half Asiatic,—the secrecy and mystery of her movements, her diplomatic astuteness, and the self-evident fact that to gain a secure outlet to the sea is a necessity for her existence and progress, probably suffice to explain the distrust with which she is regarded by many Europeans. Another point to which sufficient weight has not always been given is, that Russia is in direct contact with the Turks, both in Asia and Europe. The Asiatic, the Moslem, is an interloper in Europe. He fought his way thither at a time when the power of the Crescent and the warlike enthusiasm of its followers were at their height; when Christian Europe was too disunited to repel him. But he is none the less an interloper still; a foreigner whose existence as a governing power in Europe is in every sense prejudicial, for he has in no sense become Europeanized. There is no possibility of Moslem and Christian living together in harmony in Europe under Moslem rule. The question is not whether the Turk shall be driven out, but what shall be done with his country when that is accomplished. Hence the jealousy with which Russian movements are regarded.

Our readers are familiar with the circumstances which led to the existing war between Russia and Turkey. It is not within the scope of our intention to discuss the long negotiations and persistent efforts on the part of Europe through which they vainly sought to procure for the Christians in European Turkey the blessings of security for life and property. It is not our purpose to discuss the question as to who is right and who wrong; it

will suffice to accept the situation, and endeavor to throw what light we can upon the forces of the combatants, and the nature of the theatre of war, so that we may from time to time describe intelligibly the operations of the war as it progresses.

It is not easy to ascertain with accuracy the population of the Turkish Empire; but, omitting Egypt, Tripoli, and Tunis, as not to be depended upon for any considerable assistance, also Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro, there will remain not much over 30,000,000 for the available population; and if we further deduct the Christians and Jews of Turkey in Europe, there will not remain more than 24,000,000. It must also be remembered that there are some three and a half millions of Christians in Asiatic Turkey.

On the other hand, Russia, omitting Siberia and the other Asiatic dependencies, except the trans-Caucasus, has a population of some 77,000,000.

The financial condition of neither country is good, but Russia is less dependent upon foreign countries for supplies, and therefore better able to bear the strain of a long war, especially when the hearts of the people are in it.

The Turkish regular army consists of some 150,000 men, supported by perhaps some 200,000 trained Redifs, or reserves, and about 80,000 other Redifs whose term of service in the reserve has expired.

Habitually the regular army is divided into five corps, of which one is stationed at Constantinople; one in Roumelia, headquarters at Monastir; a third in Anatolia, headquarters at Erzeroum; the fourth in Irak, headquarters at Bagdad; the fifth in Arabistan, headquarters at Damascus. Each corps is commanded by a Mushir, or Marshal. From the nature of the case it is impossible to concentrate all the regulars and their reserves on the Danube and near Erzeroum; considerable bodies must be left in Constantinople, on the frontiers of Greece, Montenegro, and Servia, also in Syria and on the Persian frontier.

In addition to the regulars and their reserves, there is always available a large force of irregulars, known by the name of Baschi-Bazouks, etc. Some of these men, if well armed, would do good service in the defence of fortified positions, and as light troops covering the movements of an army; but they cannot be relied upon in the open field against regular troops. Within the last few years

the Turks have purchased large quantities of breech-loading rifles, metallic cartridges, and other ordnance supplies, so that they are well provided, for the present at least, in these regards. It is understood that they have armed their field batteries largely with the Krupp breech-loading steel gun. The Turkish fleet numbers more than twenty respectable ironclads, many of which are of English construction, beside light-draught vessels for river service. It is not probable that the Turkish army is in a high state of efficiency, judged from the European point of view; but the men are brave, and will always fight well. In the defence of fortresses and intrenched positions they are admirable, and they fight well enough in the open field until discouraged by reverses, when they are apt to lose confidence, as was the case in the latter part of the campaign of 1829, after the battle of Kalewtcha.

Under the new organization the armed force of Russia is to consist of about a million and three fourths of men; but sufficient time has not yet elapsed to bring the present system fully into play, so that the number of instructed men now available must fall considerably short of the ultimate strength. In 1873 competent German judges were of the opinion that Russia could then bring into the field, for offensive operations, 534,000 infantry, 92,500 cavalry, and 1,572 guns; leaving a reserve of 83,500 combatants, exclusive of the reserve squadrons, batteries, and cadres of the "instruction troops," of the garrison troops (20,000 infantry and 50,000 artillery) in the fortifications and militia.

Glancing hastily at the new organization, we may be able to form an approximation to the number of troops now available.

The normal effective peace establishment is 750,000 men. The infantry portion consists of three divisions of guards, four of grenadiers, and fifty of the line; in all, twelve regiments of guards, sixteen of grenadiers, and two hundred of the line, each regiment having three service battalions of four line and one rifle company each. The infantry regiment is a little over 4,000 men. The cavalry consists of eighteen divisions, each having three regiments of regular cavalry and one regiment of Cossacks. Cossack regiments are also attached to the headquarters of the infantry divisions. The field artillery consists of fifty-seven brigades of foot artillery, each having five batteries of eight guns each, and one battery of Gatlin guns. The field-guns are rifled breech-loaders, of 9-pounder

TURKEY IN ASIA

J. Bien. Photo Lith.

and 4-pounder calibres. The eighteen brigades of horse artillery are armed with the 4-pounder guns.

The normal organization of the active army is into eighteen or nineteen army corps of three divisions each.

All the special services, such as the engineer troops, hospital corps, railway detachments, telegraph corps, etc., are fully and admirably organized.

The contingent of conscripts for 1873 was about 150,000, and not far from the same for each year since then. If then the statement already given, that in 1873 Russia had over 650,000 men available for offensive operations be correct, she must now have more than a million of trained soldiers at her disposal. The infantry and cavalry are well armed with the Berdan breech-loader, now made in large quantities in Russia. The lance has been taken away from all or most of the cavalry, and they are to a great extent trained to fight on foot.

The tactics of the infantry have been altered to meet the changes in modern warfare, and it is believed that the army is in every respect far more efficient than at the time of the Crimean War. In one most important respect there has been a vast change for the better since the fall of Sebastopol, and that is in regard to railways. At that time the only railways in Russia were those from Mylowitz to Warsaw, and from St. Petersburg to Moscow. The difficulties and losses arising from the transportation of troops and supplies to the Crimea were far greater than those resulting from the action of the allies. At the present time the railway system is well advanced towards completion, and affords facilities for the movement of troops and supplies to the most important points of the Empire. It is not saying too much to assert that, had the present railway system been in operation in 1855, the siege of Sebastopol would have been impossible.

In the present war, as was the case in 1828 and in 1855, operations are conducted upon two distinct and distant theatres, — Turkey in Europe and the eastern part of Asia Minor. These must be described separately.

First let us touch upon the main topographical features of Turkey in Europe. Referring to any good map of that region, the first thing that strikes the eye is the river Danube. We are concerned with the portion of the river below where it breaks through the mountains

at the Iron Gates, near Orsova. Under existing circumstances this river is the first Turkish line of defence. Below the Iron Gates the Danube, except when divided by islands into several arms, is nowhere less than nine hundred paces in width, often more than double that. In places it is from seventy to eighty feet deep, often shallower, but always a deep river, nowhere fordable. There is only one place, at Tuldscha, where a sandbar reduces its depth so much as to render a pile-bridge practicable; at all other points bridges must be supported upon boats. The current averages about two and one half miles per hour. As a rule the right, or Turkish, bank commands the left bank, which is often marshy to the water's edge. The points suitable for crossing large bodies of troops are few, and are generally covered by fortifications on the Turkish bank.

Of these works, the most westerly of any importance is Widdin. This is a town of considerable size and importance, on the right bank of the river; it is well fortified, and contains extensive military establishments. Kalafat, on the opposite bank, formerly served as its *tête de pont*, but is now in possession of the Roumanian troops, — a great advantage for the Russians. Below Widdin there are small works at Lom and Orsova. Nikopoli is a place of more importance; the Osma River here enters the Danube from the south, and the Aluta from the north. This is a possible point of crossing for the Russians. At Sistova is another small work. Still lower down is the important fortress of Rustchuk, which is well fortified; opposite to this, but at long range, is Giurgevo. At Rustchuk is the terminus of the railway from Varna. About twenty-five miles below Rustchuk is Turtukai, which has been strengthened of late years. Here is one of the most advantageous crossings of the Danube from the north. The river is here 995 paces wide, the banks, on the left side, firm and always passable. The river Dombrowicza here enters the Danube from Bucharest, and affords great facilities for collecting bridge materials. Next below is the strong fortress and intrenched camp of Silistria, so well known from its admirable defences in 1828 and 1855. Hirsova is a smaller work, covering a very important point for crossing the river.

Some forty miles below is Brailov, now in the hands of the Russians, and at some little distance from it, on the Turkish side, the fortification of Matchin. Galatz, Reni, and Ismail are all in

the hands of the Russians. Tuldscha and Satunovo, though small works, are important as covering good crossing-places for the Russians. A few words are necessary in regard to Roumania.

This principality may be roughly described as bounded by the Carpathian Mountains, the Danube, and the Pruth. The general direction of the Carpathians is parallel to the two rivers, and the average height of the chain is from 3,000 to 4,000 feet, some peaks attaining an elevation of from 7,000 to 8,000 feet. From the main range spurs project towards the Danube and the Pruth, but below Widdin they sink into a broad plain before reaching the Danube, whose northern bank is very low, usually consisting of marshes and morasses. The plain of Roumania is exceedingly productive. The roads are very bad in wet weather, and from the marshy nature of the northern bank the problem of throwing an army over the Danube is difficult of solution.

The only main railway of this region is that from Lemberg in Gallicia through Galatz, Brailov, and Busco to Bucharest, whence one branch leads to Rustchuk and Varna, another to Krachova and Zernetz. From the same main line a branch leads through Jassy to Kischenev and the southern system of Russian railways. South of the Danube, and at an average distance of some sixty miles, the Balkan range extends eastwardly from Albania to Cape Emineh on the Black Sea. This is the second line of defence for the Turks. Between it and the Danube lies Bulgaria, of so much interest as having been the cause, and now about to be the theatre, of the war. At Rassova the Danube, in its course to the sea, turns sharply to the north; and just at this point commenced Trajan's wall, which extended to Kostendji on the Black Sea.

The peninsula north of Trajan's wall and between the Danube and the Euxine is known as the Dobrutscha. The northern part of this district is broken by the mountains of Matchin, Betschepta, and Baba-Dagh; towards the south the surface is hilly and undulating, and of no great elevation. The soil is sandy, underlaid by limestone, and the interior valleys are destitute of springs and streams, so that no water is to be procured except from a few deep wells. The population is scanty. From these causes the region is a barren waste, affording no supplies except pasturage, and even this fails at midsummer.

The portion of the Bulgarian plain between Trajan's wall and Bazardjik is quite as desolate, and as destitute of wood and water, so that troops marching through the middle of this desert must contend against the total absence of the necessaries of life during a march of about one hundred and twenty miles. The rest of the Bulgarian plain, between the Danube and the Balkan, is very different. The soil is a rich loam, and in the wet season wellnigh impassable. The roads are bad, and there are no bridges, except such as may have been constructed of late years on the main roads through Shumla and Varna. In the winter there is much snow; the summers are hot, the autumns dry. Until the early summer the ground is everywhere carpeted with verdure; the slopes of the valleys are covered with trees, the streams bordered by green meadows; and wherever cultivation extends there are abundant crops of grain. In the autumn vegetation withers, and water is scarce. The population is crowded into large villages, where there are abundant stores of provisions. The inhabitants are agricultural and pastoral. The towns are either on the Danube or at the foot of the Balkans. In the former the Moslems, in the latter the Christians, predominate. The Bulgarians are industrious; they are inclined towards the Russians by their Sclavonic origin and Greek faith, and hate the Turks, who have so long plundered and oppressed them. The only railways in Bulgaria are the short lines from Kostendji to Rassova, and from Varna to Rustchuk. Once across the Danube, the Russians are masters of Bulgaria to the Balkan range, except the ground covered by the fire of the fortresses and intrenched camps.

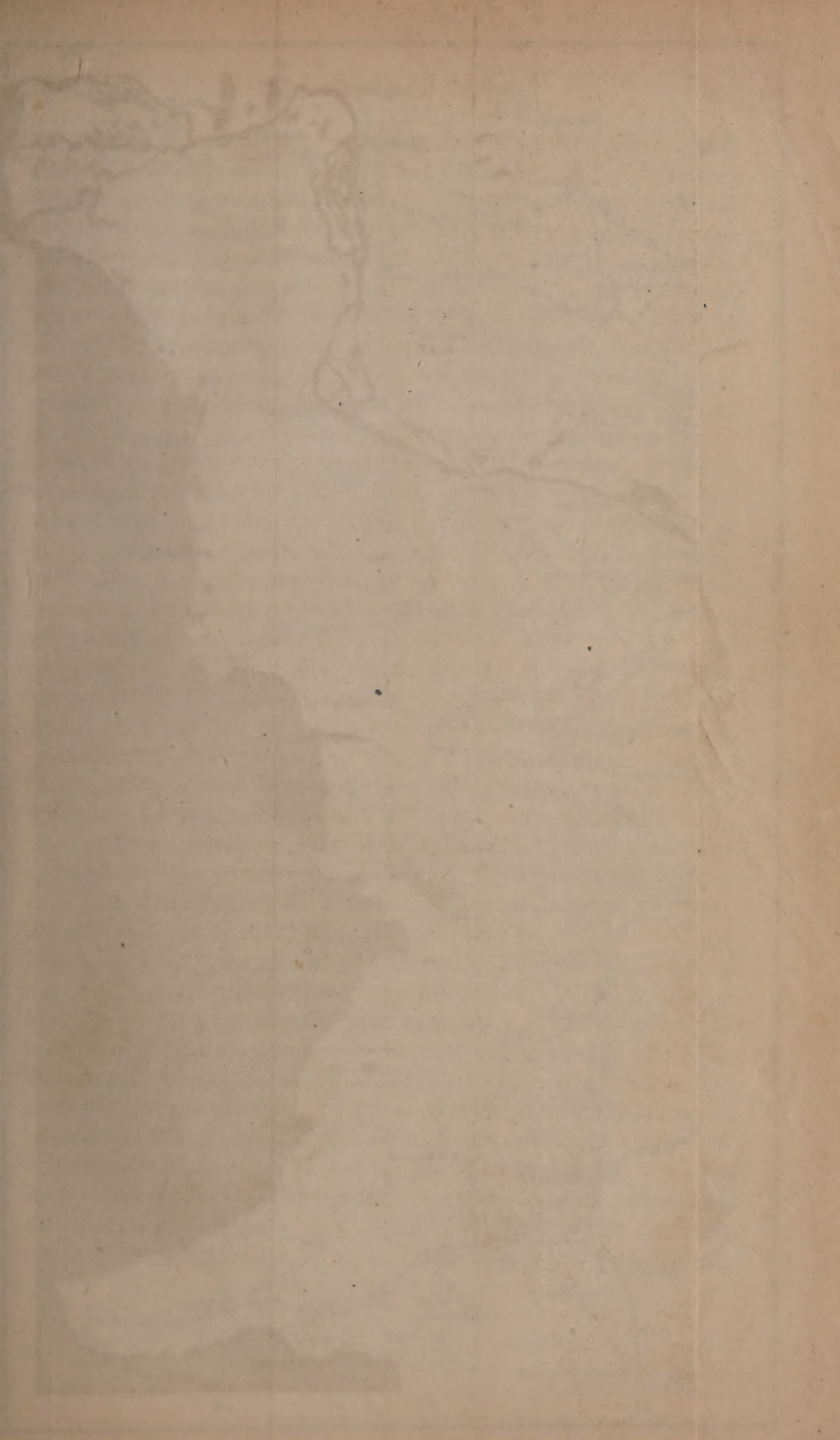
To hold Bulgaria the passes of the Balkan must be secured; to dictate peace in Adrianople or Constantinople, these passes must be carried and traversed. So that, when they have overcome the difficulties of the Danube, the Russians next find the Balkan athwart their path. At its western extremity the Balkan unites with the range traversing Albania and Dalmatia, and connects with the mountain system of Herzegovina and Servia; near Sophia it sends out to the north an offshoot which connects it with the Carpathian range, and it is through this offshoot that the Danube forces its way at the Iron Gates. The greatest elevation of the main Balkan range is to the west of the sources of the Jantra and Tundscha, that is, west of Kassanlik and Tirnova, where the summits

are covered with snow until midsummer. Thence to the sources of the Kamtschik the elevation is not over 5,000 feet, and farther east not more than 4,000 feet. The prevailing character of the range is that of richly wooded round hills; it is only in the valleys that masses of rock are found. The southern slope is by far the most steep. On the northern side is a parallel range of foot-hills, differing much from the main range. These foot-hills are of limestone, with flat tops, often falling off at the sides in perpendicular walls from 100 to 200 feet in height, and forming singular defiles. Towards the bottom of the valleys the face of rock slopes more gradually as it descends. The hill-tops are not easily accessible, and are covered, not with the magnificent trees of the main range, but with dense brushwood. For long distances from the foot of the lower range the plain is covered with an undergrowth of oak, which renders the movements of masses of troops across the country difficult and almost impossible. The idea, in former times, that the Balkan was impassable arose not so much from the height and inherent difficulties of the range as from the fact that no really good roads existed, and that within a distance of five or six marches many small difficulties were accumulated which had to be overcome by all the troops in succession. The space at our disposal will permit only a brief mention of the most important passes across the Balkan range.

The most westward are in the vicinity of Sophia, where two main roads cross the mountains. One comes from Ukschub, where roads unite from Montenegro, Herzgovina, Bosnia, and Servia, and passes through Dubnitza to Tatar-Basardschyk; the other comes from Sophia, where the road from Belgrade and Nisch unites with that from Widdin, and also leads to Tatar-Basardschyk; thence the united roads lead to Adrianople and Constantinople. Sarimbeg, about twelve miles west of Tatar-Basardschyk, is the terminus of a railway through Adrianople to Constantinople, with a branch to Enos on the Ægean Sea. These passes present comparatively few natural difficulties; the roads have been improved and fortified of late years. The next important pass is that through which the road from Tirnova to Kassanlik and Adrianople is constructed. Another road leads from Tirnova by Seldino and Jamboli to Adrianople; this road is connected by a branch with Kasan and Karnabad, as well as with Aidos; the two last being important

strategical points. Karnabad is connected toward the north, by roads through Kasan with Tirnova on the one hand, and through Osmanbasar with Rustchuk to the left, and through Rasgrad with Turtukai on the right; to the south, roads lead to Adrianople, to Bourgas, and to Constantinople. Aidos is connected, towards the north, through Prawady with Shumla and Osmanbasar on the left, with Varna, Bazardjik, and Silistria on the right; while to the south it is also connected with Bourgas, Constantinople, and Adrianople. Most of the roads through Karnabad and Aidos to Varna and Shumla have of late years been made practicable for artillery and fortified in the mountains.

The most important Turkish fortresses in this region are Widdin, Rustchuk, Silistria, Shumla, and Varna. Were the Turks in condition to assume the offensive, Widdin would be of great importance as facilitating their crossing the Danube, and gaining the rear of the Russian positions north of that river. Rustchuk and Silistria have already been alluded to; they were originally imperfect works of masonry, which have from time to time been extended and strengthened by the addition of numerous earthworks. They are too strong to be taken by direct assault, unless by surprise, and must be attacked with heavy artillery, or masked by corps of observation. If simply held by garrisons, they can produce little effect upon the general result of the campaign, except in rendering the passage of the Danube difficult in their vicinity. It can probably be assumed with safety that the Russians have sufficient force to mask them while operating elsewhere. Shumla is at the northern base of the foot-hills of the Balkan. The town is in a horseshoe, formed by projecting spurs of the hills, and the fortress has gradually assumed the dimensions of an intrenched camp. It does not directly close, or command by its fire, any pass over the Balkans, for troops in mass can march around and behind it in every direction. It is of great importance only when the strength of the army encamped within its lines is so great in relation to the active columns of an enemy that the latter cannot leave a sufficient force to mask it, while pursuing the chief objects of his operations. Varna is strong by its situation and by its exterior defences. It is important as controlling the terminus of a railway, as enabling the Turks to land troops and supplies in the rear of an enemy seeking to cross the Balkan from the north, and as being



WALLACHIA
BULGARIA
ROUMELIA
BLACK SEA
Danube
Kenemi
Kalafat
WIDIN
Celafi
KRAJOVA
SLATINA
BUKAREST
GIURGEVO
RUSTSCHUK
SISTOWA
NIKOPOLI
TURNA
SILISTRIA
Turtukai
Rassowa
Kustendji
Mangalia
Kalarash
Ishlez
Ishtip
Rahowa
Gilishen
Drinowatz
Malkowatz
Berkowatz
Tschuprowatz
Sirdnik
Etropol
Orchanie
Edrobal
Trojan
Chalkaly
SOPHIA
Radomir
Stadia
Ichtiman
Samakow
Dubnitza
OMESTENDIL
Karatowa
Caplanowo
DUBNITZA Pass
Strumnitza
Radowitz
Nevrekop
Melnik
Demirhissar
Doiran
SERES
Drama
Tschaglak
Berghana
Gumurdjina
Ferachik
Ipsata
PLEWNA
LOWATZ
TIRNOWA
Senovetia
Bozholanko
Eski Djuma
SHUMLA
PRAWADY
VARNA
Eski Stambol
Osmanbasar
Kasan
Kuzuluk
Balkan
Koprikoi
Kabakowa
Dolgrad
Cape Emineh
MISSIVRI
Athos
Rumilikoi
Burgas
Burgas T. & Gulf
Sizebolu
Karnabat
SLIWNO
KIZANLIK
ESKI SAGHRA
Ianboli
Ienidjeli
Papaskoi
Umur Pakhi
Mariza R.
Chirpan
TATAR BAZARDJIK
PHILIPPOPOLIS
Stanimake
Chasskoi
Harmanli
Kurdchaly
Dimotika
Usun Kopru
Airobol
ADRIANOPLE
KIRK KILISSIA
Vize
Midiah
Sarai
Tchorlu
Tschataldcha
Eregli
CONSTANTINOPLE
Kirnik
Ismail
Tultcha
Isaktchi
Malchin
BRAILA
Galatz
Babadagh
Dojan
Hirchova
Lutchju
Sikinetz
Slobodzik
Urzitcheni
Jalomnitza R.
Feleshti
Likorest
Oltenitza
Giurgevo
Tutrukai
Lomowa
Basardchyk
Kayarna
Baldjik
C. Kalagria
Kayarna B.
Kosludchy
Jenikiöi
Pjela
Kamenopol
Wratza
Tschiprowatz
Berkowatz
Sirdnik
Etropol
Orchanie
Edrobal
Trojan
Chalkaly
Sofia
Radomir
Stadia
Ichtiman
Samakow
Dubnitza
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Rumilikoi
Athos
Missivri
Cape Emineh
Koprikoi
Kuzuluk
Balkan
Osmanbasar
Eski Stambol
Eski Djuma
Shumla
Varna
Prawady
Senovetia
Bozholanko
Tirnowa
Lowatz
Plewna
Pjela
Rahowa
Gilishen
Ishlez
Ishtip
Turna
Nikopoli
Sistowa
Rustschuk
Giurgevo
Malo
Silistria
Turtukai
Rassowa
Kustendji
Mangalia
Basardchyk
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Gilishen
Ishlez
Ishtip
Turna
Nikopoli
Sistowa
Rustschuk
Giurgev

the best harbor between the Balkans and the Danube. We shall have occasion to return to the subject of military operations in this quarter; for the present it will suffice to say that the first object of the Russians must be to obtain a secure footing south of the Danube, their second object must be to carry and securely hold a sufficient number of the Balkan passes. We must now turn to the more distant, but not less interesting theatre of operations in the direction of the Erzeroum.

The main chain of the Caucasus Mountains, separating Europe from Asia, extends from Anapa, near the entrance to the Sea of Azof, in a southeasterly direction to Baku, in the Caspian Sea.

It is with the country between this chain on the one hand, and the Murad branch of the Euphrates and Lake Van on the other, that we are now concerned. This is so completely a region of mountains and valleys that it would carry us far beyond our limits to attempt a detailed description; it will only be practicable to give a clear idea of its main features, so that the general movements of the campaign may be understood. From a point on the Black Sea just south of Poti commences a range which extends a little south of east to the vicinity of Akhaltzik, and thence keeps on northeast until it unites with the main Caucasus range at Mount Velicti. The principal river of the basin thus formed is the Rion, which empties into the Black Sea at or very near Poti, where the railway to Tiflis commences and extends up the valley of the river, crossing the range just described near a little place called Suram. Kutais is the principal town in this basin, and is on a branch of the Rion. North of the latter is the Ingour River, and still farther north the Kodor, which may play important parts should the Turks be able to move in force from Sugkhum-Kalé. Near where the range last described turns to the northeast in the vicinity of Akhaltzik, and separated from it by the valley of the Kur, the Allaghez range commences, and extends southeast to the Blue Lake and beyond, uniting finally with the Ararat chain south of the Araxes. Between the Caucasus range and that of Allaghez is the great valley of the Kur, in which Tiflis is situated. The railway alluded to as extending from Poti up the Rion valley enters that of the Kur, after passing the mountains at Suram, and follows it to Tiflis. The chain of Ararat begins on the Black Sea near Fort St. Nicholas, and extends nearly east until it reaches a point

some twenty miles west of Akhaltzik, and thus far its crest forms the boundary line between Russia and Turkey. Thence the range turns west of south until it reaches a point some forty miles south of Erzeroum, where it turns nearly northeast to the vicinity of Kagazmin, thence south of east to Mount Ararat, whence it follows the right bank of the Araxes for some distance, and then on to the Caspian. The region between the Allaghez and Ararat ranges, together with the western and southern slopes of the latter, make up the theatre of the operations now in progress. The northern part of the former region drains into the valley of the Kur, the southern portion into the valley of the Araxes, which finally unites with the Kur not far from where it empties into the Caspian. The Kur rises about thirty miles west of Kars; its course is northeast, but very circuitous, through Ardahan, near Akhaltzik, around the northern end of the Allaghez, through Atshur to Gori, whence it turns southeast to the Caspian. Akhaltzik is about seven miles from the Kur, on the Poskow, a branch coming in from the west. Ahalkalaki is about thirty-five miles southeast of Akhaltzik, on the Toparawan, a branch coming in from the southeast.

Some thirty miles or so northeast of Erzeroum a chain breaks off from the Ararat range, and extends northeast to the Allaghez; this separates the upper waters of the Kur from those of the Araxes.

The latter river rises some thirty miles south of Erzeroum, and follows the northern base of the east branch of the Ararat range, passing through Hassan-Kalé, Korassan, Kagizman, and near Erivan, until it finally unites with the Kur. The principal branches which interest us are the Arpa, which rises where the lateral chain dividing the Kur from the head-waters of the Araxes and the Allaghez come together, and pursues a southerly course through Alexandropol, uniting with the Araxes about twenty miles east of Kagizman. The Kars River rises about twenty-five miles northeast of Hassan-Kalé, runs northeast through and about eighteen miles beyond Kars, then turns to the southeast and unites with the Arpa about twelve miles below Alexandropol.

The Tscorokh River rises in the Dumli-Dagh, in the Pashalic of Erzeroum, flows northeast through Baiburt, and finally north along the western base of the Ararat range, past Artwin, until it enters the Black Sea at Gunieh, a short distance west of Batoum. A branch of this river rises in the Ararat range, opposite the head of

the Kars River, and passes northwest through Bardees, Penjak, and Tausgerd to the main river; on an affluent of this branch, coming in from the south between the two places last named, is the important point of Olti.

The northern branch of the Euphrates, known as the Karu-su, rises in the Dumli-Dagh northwest of Erzeroum, runs from east to west through the plain of Ova, and then south into the Pashalic of Musch. Its course is slow and regular; the banks flat, and covered with bushes; throughout most of the year there are good pastures in its valley.

The south branch of the Euphrates, the Murad, rises in the Ararat chain west of Mount Ararat, and traverses the Pashalic of Bayazeth from northeast to southwest. The water is clear and good, abounding in fish, especially trout. At first only about thirty feet wide and from three to five feet deep, it is soon enlarged by its numerous affluents from the mountains, and upon entering the Pashalic of Musch has become a considerable stream.

In the upper valley of the Murad are Toprakh-Kalé and Dijadin. This valley is closed to the east by a spur of the Ararat range. On the eastern slope of this spur rises the Maku, which empties into the Araxes; in the valley of the Maku is the fortress of Bayazeth.

None of the rivers mentioned are navigable within the limits of the theatre of war; they are mountain-torrents, subject to great inundations during the melting of the snows and after heavy rains.

The highest point of the Ararat range is the loftier peak of Mount Ararat; only two other peaks rise into the region of perpetual snow. The range is usually covered with thick forests, in which snow often lies until midsummer. The mountains are difficult and the passes few. The climate of the trans-Caucasus varies much; in the valleys it is hot and often unhealthy, on the mountains and high plateaus it is cool and healthy. Many of the towns on the coast of the Black Sea are unhealthy in the extreme.

The Pashalics of Akhaltzik, Kars, Bayazeth, Musch, Erzeroum, and Trebizonde are much more healthy than the Caucasus, and quite as productive. The regularity of the seasons in Kars, Erzeroum, and Bayazeth is equally favorable to the development of vegetable and animal life. By the side of the olive, vine, and almond are found the richest pastures and most fertile fields. Kars

with better cultivation would be the granary for all the surrounding country, but the Pashalic of Bayazeth is under the best cultivation.

Prior to the Persian war of 1827, and the Turkish war of 1828–29, the Allaghez range formed substantially the central Asiatic boundary of Russia; but by the peace of Turkmanchai the Persian boundary was carried to the Araxes, and the important position of Erivan gained. By the treaty of Adrianople the Turkish boundary was carried forward to its present position, and the important points of Akhaltzik, Ahalkalaki, and Alexandropol (formerly Gumri) gained by Russia. These places, and Erivan, have been converted into strong fortresses and depots of supplies, and the roads leading through them to the front and rear, as well as those connecting them, have been made practicable for artillery and wagons. The railroad system of European Russia has been extended to within eighty miles of Tiflis, so that it is now entirely practicable to reinforce the armies of the Caucasus at short notice.

It is now necessary to allude to the roads of the theatre of war, so far as we have any knowledge of them.

The coast-road from Fort St. Nicholas to Batoum is practicable for wagons; beyond that point to Trebizonde it is a mere path, unless recently improved. The road from Akhaltzik to Ardahan, sixty-five miles, winds through gently undulating and wooded hills until the Ulgar Pass is reached, about half-way to Ardahan; here there is a steep ascent; hence to Ardahan and beyond the descent is easier. From Ardahan to Erzeroum, by way of Dadaschin, the Karatschli Pass, Olti, and Noriman, is one hundred and twenty-two miles. The Karatschli Pass leads over the main Ararat range, from the valley of the Kur to that of the Tchorokh; there are some steep places in this pass, but it affords the best communication with Erzeroum, and is preferred by the inhabitants to the Saganlugh. It may be well to state that the portion of the Ararat range near the Karatschli Pass sometimes receives the name of the Karatschli Mountains, while the Saganlugh Pass, or rather Passes, give their name to the corresponding part of the Ararat range and spurs. These passes, and the mountains near by, are covered with dense forests of oak and pine, so thick that the snow remains late in the summer. They are intersected by rocky valleys with marshy bottoms.

From Alexandropol to Kars is about forty-three miles, by way of Kniss; from Kars to Kotanli is seventeen miles. From the latter point two roads lead across the Saganlugh and reunite near an old stone-bridge over the Araxes at Kerpi-Kev, or Kopri-Koi; this is a well-preserved bridge of seven arches, attributed by tradition to Darius Hystaspes.

The Saganlugh forests, already alluded to, extend from the Kotanli base to the castle of Zevin, and from seven to fifteen miles on either side of the two roads. Deep and difficult ravines afford good positions of defence at almost every step.

The left-hand road, called the Medjingherte road, first traverses Aspuga and the gorges of Delli-Musa-Perun, thence following the banks of the Khami torrent, it passes by the villages of Sarakamish, the gorges of Milli-Duz, the castle of Medjingherte, and the village of Khorasan to Kerpi-Kev, fifty-four miles.

The right-hand, or Zevin, road passes through the villages of Kekutsch, Tchirikli, Kijil-Killissi, the castles of Zevin and Zaghin, and the village of Ardost, seventy miles.

From Kerpi-Kev to Hassan-Kalé is ten miles, thence to Erzeroum twenty-seven miles, making from Kars to Erzeroum one hundred and eight miles by Medjingherte, and one hundred and twenty-four miles by Zevin. From Kars to the foot of the Saganlugh the country is not difficult, and over the mountain-passes the difficulty in former times was less from the steepness of the slopes than from the marshes in the valleys, and the rocks and trees which narrowed the way; these difficulties have probably been somewhat lessened of late years.

From Ahalkalahi there is a mountain-road to Kars over the Ghegh-Dagh, fifty-two miles. From Ardahan to Kars there is a good road, fifty miles.

From Sardar-Abad, near Erivan, there are two good roads to Kars, — one by Ketcheranka and Subotan, eighty miles; the other by Kaghizman, ninety-three miles. From Kaghizman there is a mountain-road by Getschevan to Hassan-Kalé.

From Erivan one road by Katch-Gheduk, forty-three miles, and another by Zer-Gheduk, sixty-two miles, unite at Bayazeth: these roads are good, but lack wood and supplies. Through Bayazeth passes the great road from Tebriz to Constantinople, passing through Dijadin and Toprakh-Kalé, over the ridges of the Kosch-Dagh,

and through Deli-Baba to Hassan-Kalé and Erzeroum, one hundred and seven miles from Bayazeth. There is also a road from Toprakh-Kalé, through Melisgherd, Kniss, Mount Brigol, and Kuli to Erzeroum; from Kniss a branch leads to Musch: these are good roads, with abundance of wood, water, and forage.

From Erzeroum to Trebizonde by Baiburt and Gumisch-Khan is about one hundred and eighty miles: this road has long been a good one to Baiburt, but beyond was formerly very difficult even for pack animals; it is probably in a better condition now. From Erzeroum by Baiburt and Kara-Hissar to Sivas, two hundred and sixty-six miles, or by Erzingan, two hundred miles; both these are good wagon-roads, and traverse a fertile and well-peopled country. The caravan route to Sivas passes through Ach-Kalé, and Kilkil Tchifflilis, but is inferior to the other roads. About eighty miles from Sivas, at the village of Andnas, a road turns off to Tokat, eighty-seven miles, and thence to Samsun, one hundred and fifteen miles; this road is said to be practicable for wagons. There is also a road leading up the valley of the Tchorokh from Batoum, through Artwin, Kiskin, and Ispira to Baiburt. Near Kiskin this road sends off a branch to Olti, and a little higher up the valley two other branches to the southeast, which near Gertum intersect the direct road from Ardahan, through Olti, to Erzeroum, and by another parallel branch communicate directly with Erzeroum.

The southern shore of the Black Sea is skirted by one or more parallel coast-ranges; the interior is made up of mountains, valleys, and lofty plateaus, but nowhere west of Erzeroum are the difficulties in the way of an army so great as east of that point, and the country furnishes large amounts of supplies. Unless changes have been made very recently, the only fortified Turkish places of any consequence in the vicinity of the Ararat range are Kars, Batoum, Ardahan, Bayazeth, Erzeroum, Toprakh-Kalé, Hassan-Kalé, Artwin, and Olti. Of these Ardahan and Bayazeth have fallen already; Batoum is probably securely invested from the land side; Erzeroum is weak, and will probably hold out no longer than the Turkish army is interposed between it and the Russians; Kars is strong, but is not likely to hold out long after the fall of Erzeroum; the others are too insignificant to check the progress of the Russians more than a few hours.

A brief account of the operations of Marshal Paskévitch in this

quarter, in 1828 and 1829, will be found interesting and instructive. In 1827, by a series of bold and able movements, he brought the Persian war to a close, and acquired for his country the important provinces of Erivan and Nakshivan. The outbreak of the Turkish war in the spring of 1828 found him ill prepared for offensive operations, and by no means entirely ready for the defence of the frontier. With consummate ability he prepared for the task before him. The condition of the Caucasus was such that he was obliged to leave strong detachments to watch the native tribes and guard his communications; it was also necessary to observe the Persian frontier. Having provided for these necessities, he had remaining only thirty battalions, nine squadrons of regular cavalry, eleven regiments of Cossacks, and eighteen and a half batteries, of all kinds, for service on the Turkish frontier. He correctly assumed that for both defensive and offensive operations the central line, from Alexandropol to Kars, was the most important. Therefore he posted in Imeritia, to guard his right and the approaches by Batoum, a force of six battalions, one regiment of Cossacks, and sixteen guns; on his left, in Armenia, a force of three battalions, one Cossack regiment, and eight guns; at Nachischevan, on the Araxes, were posted two battalions, one regiment of Cossacks, and four guns. These, with other smaller detachments, reduced his force on the central line to some eighteen battalions, eight squadrons regular cavalry, seven and a half regiments of Cossacks, and fifty-six field-guns. These he posted in the early spring, so as to cover the defiles of Bordjom, Tschalki, and Ello Dara in the Allaghez range, and at the same time so that they could be rapidly concentrated at any desirable point; the mass of the force entered and occupied Alexandropol, then called Gumri. This force being entirely insufficient to operate upon Erzeroum, he limited his designs for the first campaign to gaining possession of the fortified places in the Pashalics of Kars and Akhaltzik, so as to throw the Turks back upon the Saganlugh and Karatschli Mountains. On the morning of the 14th June Paskévitch crossed the Arpa, about three miles from Alexandropol, with an effective force of 12,000 men, and fifty-eight field-guns; twelve siege-guns came up a few days afterwards. He had with him rations for forty days, 20,000 rounds of artillery ammunition, 1,845 wagons, and 2,250 pack-horses. On the 18th he reached the vicinity of

Kars; on the 23d the artillery opened, and the place was carried by assault. Leaving a garrison at Kars, he moved on the 17th July upon Ahalkalaki, which he carried by assault on the 24th; on the 26th Hertwis fell into his hands. On the 16th August, after defeating a Turkish army beneath its walls, Akhaltzik was carried by assault, after a most obstinate resistance; Ardahan fell a few days after. During the winter the Turks made several attempts to retake the captured places, but were in every instance foiled by the energy and ability of the Russians. In 1829, being somewhat reinforced, Paskévitch concentrated his available force at Kotanli, on the 9th June. The Turks were intrenched in considerable force on the Medjingherte road, while the Zevin road was entirely free from their presence, although the intention of the Turkish general was to occupy it in strong force, but he had delayed carrying his purpose into effect. As soon as Paskévitch ascertained the state of affairs, he determined to throw the mass of his troops at once, by the Zevin road, upon Hassan-Kalé and Erzeroum, while a false attack was to be made by a small detachment of the intrenchments on the Medjingherte road. On the 13th he advanced in accordance with this design, and on the 27th occupied Erzeroum, having effectually defeated and outmanœuvred the Turks. He subsequently sent an expedition to Baiburt, under General Bursof. A Turkish force now advanced to this place, when Bursof marched out and attacked them near Chart; here the Russians, greatly inferior in numbers, were repulsed, and Bursof killed. Upon this Paskévitch marched out from Erzeroum, attacked and carried the Turkish intrenched camps, and after several engagements completely dispersed them. He was prevented from marching to Trebizonde only by the great difficulties of the road. The peace of Adrianople soon put an end to operations in this quarter; under that treaty the Russians retained Akhaltzik, Ahalkalaki, Hertwis, and Gumri, and added much to their frontier on the Black Sea.

During the Crimean War the only operation of importance in the quarter in question was the long siege of Kars; the operations of Omer Pasha from Sugkum-Kalé towards Kutais really produced no effect upon the result of the war.

The permanent army of the Caucasus is not far from 130,000 men, with 168 guns; add to this the Cossacks of the Kuban

and the Caucasus, and there will be nearly 170,000. Of course a certain portion of these troops are required to watch the disaffected natives; but, allowing for this, and considering the facilities for bringing up troops from other parts of the Empire, by rail or by the Caspian, it is quite evident that it should be an easy matter for the Russians to collect sufficient troops to render the success of their operations reasonably certain. It is evident that the first important object of the Russians in this quarter will be to gain possession of the Ararat range, with the adjacent valleys of the Tchorokh, and the upper part of the Murad Euphrates, together with Erzeroum and the roads leading thence. Their next object would probably be to gain possession of Van, Bitlis, and Musch, in order to control the southern part of Armenia, and protect their flank from the direction of Kurdistan; while to the west they would probably move upon Trebizonde in one direction, and upon Erzingan or Sivas in the other. It is not probable that they have any present expectation of moving so far as Constantinople by the southern side of the Black Sea, but if successful in their military operations, it is not likely that they will be content with any acquisition of territory less than that including the Lower Tchorokh, Erzeroum, Musch, and Lake Van. The probabilities are that it is a part of their plan to gain actual possession of the region in question, before striking in Bulgaria the final blow which will force the Turks to agree to the conditions imposed by the victors. From the description of the country and roads already given, the Russian movements are clear enough. The main central column moving from Alexandropol marched directly upon Kars. Had the Turks attempted to maintain a position in front of that place, the roads from Erivan and Ahalkalaki enabled the Russians to turn both flanks, and force them back upon and behind Kars. The column from Akhaltzik had for its first object the capture of Ardahan; that accomplished, this column could either move to reinforce the central column at Kars, or by Kiskin to the aid of the troops in front of Batoum, or by Olti direct upon Erzeroum, and thus turn all the positions of the main Turkish army between Erzeroum and Kars. The column near Batoum was probably intended to isolate that place, so as to prevent an expedition moving up the Tchorokh to attack the rear of the Russians beyond Olti, and also to enable the Russians safely to send a column up the same

valley to assist in the attacks on Olti and Erzeroum; or, if that should be unnecessary, to assist in the ulterior operations by moving direct upon Baiburt. The column from Erivan on Bayazeth was intended to protect the Russian left from the direction of Kurdistan; to aid, after passing Deli-Baba, in turning the positions on the Saganlugh, etc.; to assist in the attack of Erzeroum, and finally to occupy Musch, Bitlis, and Van. The central column, after leaving a sufficient force to mask Kars, would move upon the passes of the Saganlugh, aided by the movements of the lateral columns.

Unless the Turkish army is much stronger and better than there is any reason to suppose, it is more than probable that at an early day these combinations will result in the fall of Erzeroum.

We will now give in a few words an outline of the Russian campaign in European Turkey in 1828 and 1829. Turkey having declared war before the close of 1827, Russia formally accepted it on the 28th of April, 1828. The army of operations was, by the middle of the month, concentrated in Bessarabia under the command of Wittgenstein. It was composed of three army corps, the third, sixth, and seventh, not numbering more than 65,000 effectives; at a later period of the campaign it was reinforced by the second corps and a part of the Guards, about 32,000 men in all. The Russian plan of campaign was that the sixth corps should occupy Moldavia and Wallachia, and observe Widdin, Rustchuk, etc., while the seventh corps was to capture Brailov, and then cross the river to assist the third corps and cover its right flank. The third corps was to cross into the Dobrudscha, reduce the fortified places therein, and advance into Bulgaria. On the 7th May the advance-guard of the sixth corps crossed the Pruth at Skuljany, and entered Jassy on the 8th.

The seventh corps and the mass of the sixth crossed the Pruth at Falschi and Waduhi on the 7th of May; and on the 12th the Cossacks, and on the 6th the sixth corps, entered Bucharest. The seventh corps occupied Galatz, and immediately invested Brailov. The latter place held out longer than was anticipated, and so great were the difficulties of constructing the approaches to the bridge over the Danube, that it was not until the 8th of June that the third corps effected its passage at Satunovo, near Isatcki. By the 5th of July the Russians were masters of all the fortresses on the Danube below Silistria, and in possession of all the Dobrudscha to

Trajan's wall. The army now advanced towards Shumla, sending a detachment to observe Varna. All attempts upon Shumla failed, as did the attack upon Silistria; and it was not until October that Varna fell. During the winter and spring the Russians received further reinforcements, and Diebitsch was placed in command. About the 10th of May the siege of Silistria was resumed by Diebitsch in person. There was at Prawady a Russian detachment intended to cover the communications between Varna and the force besieging Silistria. The Turkish commander now determined to attack this force and threaten Varna, and for this purpose moved out from Shumla with 36,000 men. Diebitsch, aware of this, immediately took 20,000 men from the force besieging Silistria, and placed himself at the village of Kalewtcha, not far from Shumla; and when the Turks, having failed in their designs against Prawady and Varna, passed by this place on their return to Shumla, he attacked and completely routed them. The siege of Silistria was now pushed, so that it surrendered on the 30th of June. Diebitsch now determined to leave troops in observation before Shumla, and with the remainder to cross the Balkan. About the middle of July the movement commenced. The disposable troops consisted of three army corps. The sixth corps, ten battalions, sixteen squadrons of regular cavalry, two regiments of Cossacks, and thirty-two guns, moved out from Varna towards Devna, and thence towards Bourgas. The seventh corps, ten battalions, two regiments of Cossacks, and twenty-four guns, towards Koprikoi, on the Kamschick, thence to Aidos. The second corps, seventeen battalions, eight squadrons, and thirty guns, was the reserve, and moved by Jenibasar to support the other corps as might be necessary. On the ninth day from Shumla, after encountering very little opposition, the three corps were assembled south of the Balkans at Rumilikoi, one hundred miles from Shumla. There was no longer any serious opposition, so that Diebitsch on the 19th of August arrived at Adrianople, whence he communicated with the Russian Mediterranean fleet at Enos on the Ægean Sea. Although the Russian army was reduced by disease and the casualties of service to a very small force, the firm attitude of Diebitsch so imposed upon the Turks that on the 14th of September the treaty of Adrianople was signed, conceding all the demands of Russia.

The Russian operations on the Danube during the existing war

are not yet sufficiently developed to admit of description or discussion. It can only be said that they have occupied the entire left bank of the Danube in large force, and that their crossing is delayed either to give full time for the occupation of Erzeroum, or to await the action of Greece and Servia, or by the condition of the roads and the floods in the river. However this may be, it is not probable that they have repeated the error of operating with an insufficient force.

Not many months since we asked a veteran European diplomatist what was the condition of the Eastern Question. He replied: "I do not know. There is but one man in Europe who knows, and that is the man who controls the strongest and most numerous battalions the world has seen. Tell me what that man intends and I will tell you how the Eastern Question stands." So we say to our readers that, so long as we do not know the intentions of Germany, so long as we are ignorant of the real understanding existing between the three great Empires, we cannot know the intentions of Russia, or predict the spread and results of the existing war. Russia has not acted wisely if she has plunged into this war without being well assured of the support of Germany in certain eventualities. Whatever Russia's real aims, — whether she intends to seize and hold Constantinople, or expects to make peace north of the Balkans, — she must, or at least ought to, carry on the war, so far as the Turks are concerned, precisely as if she intended to attack their capital both from the Danube and the Caucasus. The question as to the point in her course at which she will excite beyond endurance the susceptibilities of England and Austria, and what means will be at her disposal to meet their active hostility, she must have carefully considered and solved with certainty. It is unnecessary for us to consider these grave and important questions at present. But, as having a more immediate bearing on the war, it must be said that from day to day it becomes less improbable that Greece, Servia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina will, in addition to the gallant Montenegrins, take part in the struggle. If the hand of Austria be from any cause withheld, the situation would in this event become a complicated one for the Turks. Not only would it be necessary for them to maintain a considerable force in Thessaly, and on other portions of their western frontier, but there would probably enter upon the theatre

of operations a column composed of at least one Russian army-corps, supported by numerous auxiliaries from the districts we have named, which, moving by Sophia and Uksub upon Tatar-Basardjik, would completely turn the line of the Balkans.

But we are too ignorant of the facts to venture upon hypotheses that may have no foundation. We cannot as yet even solve the question whether the delay of the Russians upon the Danube is brought about by causes we have already referred to, or by the indecision of their commanders. Before our next number appears events will have solved many of the questions which now perplex us. For the present we can only practise the adage of the Russians, — "I sit upon the bank, and there I await the wind."

GEO. B. MCCLELLAN.

Art. III. — Fitz-Greene Halleck.

On the 15th of May the first monumental statue of an American author was unveiled in the Central Park of New York. It is not a fortunate specimen of our native art. The posture is ungraceful, the face over-conscious to the verge of ostentation, and the general character of the figure is so theatrical that few of those who knew the poet will immediately recognize him. But the question of the artistic value of the work is subordinate to that of its place as a landmark in the history of our literature. Washington Irving, born in the first year of the nation's independence, and first to represent the American people in letters throughout the world, still waits for commemoration in bronze or marble. Cooper, Poe, and Hawthorne, who, after him, have received wider fame and exercised a more distinct literary influence than any others of our departed authors, wear no honors save those bestowed upon their graves. Why should the first distinction fall upon Fitz-Greene Halleck, an author whose period of activity was so brief, whose good works are so few, and whose name has scarcely passed beyond his country's borders?

To answer this question fairly and satisfactorily, we are obliged to consider the poet's character and personality, and the peculiar circumstances of his literary life. The latter have faded from the memory of the general public; for every great political convulsion immediately throws the Past into sudden remoteness and indistinctness, by interposing a deep chasm between it and the Present. It is quite time that a history of American Literature — if only in its main outlines — should be written. The men who remember, clearly and intelligently, all the phenomena of our intellectual growth previous to the year 1830 are becoming few; and to them, rather than to old newspaper-files, must we turn for the best knowledge of those early days. Halleck's importance is at once perceived, if we project him against the background of his time. His position is almost that of the German poet, Gellert, — the first to sing a natural note, in a waste of dulness and imitation, and grow-

ing silent as he lived to be the contemporary of far greater men. Each of his lyrics came forth like a burst of light, because the poetic atmosphere was one of level gloom. He was the American twin-brother of Campbell, to whom, as a poet, he always felt nearest, yet whom he never imitated. He was cast in an independent mould; and it is not likely that, under other circumstances or with greater incentives to labor, his literary record would have been different in character.

The vein of poetic genius in Halleck's nature was wholly genuine, yet it was exceptionally quiet and undemonstrative. Its activity was less inherent in its substance than dependent on some external stimulus. For one who wrote so much and so fairly as a boy, his first flush of manhood and contact with life are surprisingly barren of verse. His friendship with Joseph Rodman Drake, which began about the close of the year 1813, and continued until the latter's death in 1820, was the spell which awoke his true powers, and gave him a swift and delightful fame. Drake was a born singer, — almost an *improvvisatore*, — whose imaginative faculty, although of rather flimsy texture, was always rapid, joyous, and infectious. He wrote in the ardor of his first conceptions, and seems to have rarely retouched or elaborated his work. Halleck, who, I suspect, composed more slowly, resembled Drake in the unstudied ease, grace, and sweetness of his lines. Before "The Croakers" and "Fanny," there was no American verse that was not either pompously solemn or coarsely farcical: hence this new fountain, wilfully casting forth its pure sparkling, capricious jets of song, was welcomer to the public than poetry can ever be again. If to readers of this day the sentiment may now and then appear conventional, or the humor dull, or the political allusions obscure, it must be remembered that Halleck was first read by a generation which had never before been refreshed by sentiment and humor and cleverness of allusion. The light *abandon* of his stanzas was as new as their racy local flavor. The mock American Muse seemed suddenly to have come down from her clattering *cothurni*, thrown away her grim Minerva-mask, and shown herself in young and breathing beauty, with the elastic step of a mountain maiden.

After Drake's death, Halleck's trip to Europe and his ardent Philhellenic sympathies prolonged his poetic activity for a time; but the ten years, from 1817 to 1827, begin and complete his season

of productiveness. Nothing that he wrote before or after that period possesses any vitality; and it is probable, in fact, that he will only be known to later generations by six poems, which I venture to name in the order of their excellence: "Marco Bozzaris," "Burns," "Red Jacket," "Alnwick Castle," "The Field of the Grounded Arms," and "On the Death of Drake." His "Fanny" may still be read with interest, but its original charm faded away with the surprise of its first appearance; some of the other brief lyrics and songs are unaffected, graceful, and either tender or mocking; and in a fragment of his poem on Connecticut we find these lines, which, although less sinewy and imaginative, are of the same quality as some passages in Lowell's noble patriotic Odes: —

> "Thy gallant men stepped steady and serene
> To that war-music's stern and strong delight,
> Where bayonets clenched above the trampled green,
> Where sabres grappled in the ocean fight;
> In siege, in storm, on deck or rampart, there
> They hunted the wolf Danger to his lair,
> And sought and won sweet Peace, and wreaths for Honor's hair!"

Six lyrics seem to be a slender basis for a poetic fame; but has Collins more? — has even Gray more? And these six of Halleck are indisputably his own. We may find in them the measure of Scott, something of the diction of Campbell, or the free metrical cadences of Byron, yet each of these features is colored by a distinct individuality, and all are fused into a poetic substance which asserts its native quality. Since Halleck never gave his life to the service of poetry, — never made an artistic ideal of that which came to him as an unsought delight, — we may with all the more justice accept his highest performance as the true measure of his genius. He lived at a time, and in a community, which did not guess the necessity of educating the finer intellectual gifts, of training the wings which would essay loftier flights. Perhaps the recognition of this necessity, coming upon him too late, may account for the silence of his later years. His mind, although limited in its range of interests, was both sound and delicately organized: he was as capable of distinguishing between his own complete or partial success as any critic of his day; and the circumstance that, after writing "Marco Bozzaris," he handed the manuscript to his fellow-clerk, Mr. Embury, with the simple question, "Will this

do?" was not, as Mr. H. T. Tuckerman asserted, an evidence of "unconsciousness of its superior merit," but the strongest possible proof that the author knew it *would* do. The poem is as far above Drake's "American Flag" — or, indeed, any heroic lyric which up to that time had been written in this country — as refined gold is above its oroid imitation. The invocation to Death has a solemn sweetness which perpetually haunts the memory: who has ever more nobly described the coming of death to the hero than in this passage? —

> "Come in her crowning hour, and then
> Thy sunken eye's unearthly light
> To him is welcome as the sight
> Of sky and stars to prisoned men:
> Thy grasp is welcome as the hand
> Of brother in a foreign land;
> Thy summons welcome as the cry
> That told the Indian isles were nigh,
> To the world-seeking Genoese,
> When the land-wind, from woods of palm,
> And orange groves, and fields of balm,
> Blew o'er the Haytian seas."

Carlyle complacently calls Walter Scott "a healthy man"; yet, if we take the phrase in its best intellectual sense, it is the reverse of disparaging. In the same sense Halleck might be aptly described as a healthy poet. He certainly knew no imaginative or spiritual woes; he even seemed to be incapable of comprehending them in others. His faculty acted freely, soaring or sinking into silence at its own good-will, taking the facts of life as something inevitable, without prying into the mystery of Evil, or beating its wings bloody against that barrier of transparent adamant which separated it from so much possible Good. He never attempted to express anything higher than the principle of Manhood, and his verses sprang from the source of that principle in his own being. Poetry so virile and sincere can never wholly lose its value. Men will become weary of abstruse metaphysical problems in rhyme, will occasionally prefer the ordinary moods of life without any admixture of doubt or speculation, and, after a surfeit of alliteration and rhythmical effect, will still find pleasure in honest and unexaggerated sentiment.

I have interpreted Halleck's character as a poet by my knowledge of him as a man. My acquaintance with him, renewed at

long intervals, extended over the last fifteen years of his life. Although the intolerance of youth still clung to me, and his tastes and opinions were sometimes so divergent from mine as to seem incredible, they were always expressed so simply and with such manly gentleness that I never ventured to dispute them. In fact, it is only by applying to my very distinct recollection of my intercourse with him the corrective of a somewhat maturer judgment, that I have reached a fairer recognition of his nature. I can see, now, to what extent his later life was an anachronism, — and utterly without his power to change the fact. No gentleman of Copley's painting, stepped out of his frame into the life of our day, could have found himself more alien to our literary tastes and prevalent political views. Nay, it even seemed that Halleck's nature was an instance of what Darwin terms the "reversionary tendency," — the sudden reappearance of an original type, after a long course of variation; for he was neither republican, democratic in the ordinary sense, Protestant, nor modern. He was congenitally monarchical, feudal, knightly, Catholic, and mediæval; but above all, *knightly*. I do not suppose that he had any curious habit of introversion, but a delicate natural instinct told him that he did not belong — or had belonged only for a short time — to this century; and he accepted the fact as he would have accepted any fate which did not include degradation.

His features were not handsome, but the clear, mellow manliness of his expression made them seem so. His forehead, however, was nobly arched, indicating a large and well-proportioned brain, and it was balanced by a finely formed chin. He was a little under the medium height, but his erect carriage, even as an old man, and his air of natural dignity, had the effect of adding somewhat to his stature. I have never seen a man who was so simply and inevitably courteous; he was an incarnate *noblesse oblige*. When he was sitting to Mr. Hicks for his portrait (I think in 1855), I called several times, at the artist's request, to make his hours of service a little more endurable, by inciting him to talk. He always gave his views with the greatest frankness, yet would listen to the opposite with a most delightful tolerance. More than once, after uttering something which probably brought my surprise unconsciously into my face, he would quietly add: "I am not a republican, you must remember; I am a monarchist." I

should also have supposed him to be a Roman Catholic, from the manner in which he occasionally referred to the Church of Rome; but he expressed, in reality, the feeling of an Anglican Catholic who regretted the separation.

One day the conversation turned upon poetry, and finally led to a discussion of some modern poets. Halleck at once became interested, straightened himself in his chair, and a new glow, as if slowly evolved from within, came upon his face. "They are still trying to define poetry," he said. "It can be explained in a word: it's simply the opposite of reason! Reason is based on fact; and fact is not poetry. A poet has nothing to do with the facts of things, for he must continually deny them!" "Will you give me an illustration?" I asked. "Certainly," said he; and then quoted, not from Campbell, or Byron, or Moore, as I was expecting, but these lines from Wordsworth's "Song at the Feast of Brougham Castle": —

> "Armor, rusting on his walls,
> On the blood of Clifford calls.
> 'Quell the Scot!' exclaims the lance:
> 'Bear me to the heart of France!'
> Is the longing of the shield:
> Tell thy name, thou trembling field,
> Field of death, where'er thou be,
> Groan thou with our victory!"

"There!" Halleck exclaimed: "was ever anything more irrational than the lance exclaiming and the shield longing? — but what poetry it is!" Taking his definition in that sense, of course I agreed with him; but when the conversation incidentally touched upon later authors, I preferred to disagree in silence, for the sake of hearing many curious and unfamiliar opinions. I found that he was no admirer of Tennyson, although he admitted that the latter possessed genius in a distorted form. I quoted several passages without much effect, until I happened to remember the little fragment called "The Eagle," which Halleck had never heard: —

> "He clasps the crag with hookéd hands:
> Close to the sun, in lonely lands,
> Ringed with the azure world he stands."

A sudden light flashed into the poet's eye. "'Ringed with the azure world,'" he repeated; "yes, that's poetry!" Presently he

continued; "Browning seems to be becoming very popular. I had read very little of him, and that little I did not like; but I thought I must try again. So the other day I took up his last volume, and the very first line of the first poem was this: 'Where the quiet-colored *end* of evening smiles!' How can an end smile? Evening may do so, — but 'the quiet-colored end'! The next line was: 'Miles and miles' — so that the *end* was not merely smiling, but it smiled miles and miles! It was impossible for me to read any more. I see that people nowadays admire these things, and are not offended by the violations of good grammar and rhetoric, but I can't understand it!"

It has often occurred to me, since, that Halleck's feudal inclinations sprang from the partial suppression — or, at least, the imperfect development — of his æsthetic nature. With all his monarchical faith, he was a sincere and devout lover of his country, and there is no touch of disloyalty to the principles of her government in his poetry. Perhaps, also, he unconsciously exaggerated his views, since they might indirectly explain his silence to the generation for which he did not and could not sing. During the latter years of his life he was overlooked except by the circle of old friends who knew the pure integrity and nobility of his nature, and in many of whom the music of his early fame still found an echo. To these, and to a small circle of cultivated men in other parts of the country, his monument is due.

I saw him last, about the beginning of the war, on one of his visits to New York. Calling with a friend at the quiet hotel where he was wont to lodge, I found that he was ill, and would have withdrawn; but he sent down a request that we should go to his room. With unnecessary courtesy, he had risen from his bed and taken an arm-chair: he looked weak and suffering; but his kindliness and gentle grace were so perfect as to be really touching. It was impossible to detect how much effort he made to converse cheerfully; the spirit of the knightly gentleman controlled his body, and gave him a factitious ease, which I trust we did not abuse.

No great poet is ever suddenly born into an age barren of poetry. He has his forerunners as well as his successors. Our only earlier poet than Halleck is Richard H. Dana, who still lightly wears the snows of his ninety winters; but his strains are few and grave,

and they reached the public after the ringing lyrics of the former. We must count them both as forerunners of the greater names in American Literature that have since come, and the greater that may yet come. If Halleck attained an easier fame than would be possible to like achievement now, we must not forget that it was through rising so much higher than those before and beside him. For a short time he was the representative of our poetry as Irving was of our prose; and both were the prophecies of their later brethren. It is idle to speculate (although the world is very fond of so speculating) upon what might have been the result if an author had yielded to, or resisted, this or that influence. Most lives shape themselves, in spite of seeming possibilities; and they do not often fail fairly to represent the quality of the man. Taking both his literary record and the somewhat uneventful story of his modest life, we shall find no reason to diminish our offering of respect and honor to Fitz-Greene Halleck.

BAYARD TAYLOR.

Art. IV. — The American Constitution.

II.

The imperfections in our National Constitution, demonstrated by experience, have come near making shipwreck of the nation upon several occasions, threaten to do it again if not repaired, and should command the attention of the American people. When time has demonstrated imperfections in any system of government, the power of amendment is the only safety that government has from revolution and destruction. The capability of the British Constitution for reform has repeatedly saved that government from revolution; and our fathers, perceiving this great truth, wisely provided in the Constitution for its amendment by two distinct methods.

Perhaps it might not be improper here to explain the interest I take in this question and my connection with it. I had my attention called to the defects of the electoral system some years ago, and in December, 1872, I offered the following resolution in the Senate: —

"*Resolved*, That the Committee on Privileges and Elections be instructed to examine and report, at the next session of Congress, upon the best and most practicable mode of electing the President and Vice-President, and providing a tribunal to adjust and decide all contested questions connected therewith, with leave to sit during vacation."

The resolution was adopted in March, 1873, and the committee met in the city of New York in September, was in deliberation for several weeks, and finally agreed on the form of an amendment to the Constitution, to be reported to the Senate at the next session. This amendment was reported in May, 1874, and is as follows: —

"*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled* (two thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as a part of the Constitution, to wit:

ARTICLE —.

"I. The President and Vice-President shall be elected by the direct vote of the people in the manner following: Each State shall be divided into districts, equal in number to the number of Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress, to be composed of contiguous territory, and to be as nearly equal in population as may be; and the person having the highest number of votes in each district for President shall receive the vote of that district, which shall count one presidential vote.

"II. The person having the highest number of votes for President in a State shall receive two presidential votes from the State at large.

"III. The person having the highest number of presidential votes in the United States shall be President.

"IV. If two persons have the same number of votes in any State, it being the highest number, they shall receive each one presidential vote from the State at large; and if more than two persons shall have each the same number of votes in any State, it being the highest number, no presidential vote shall be counted from the State at large. If more persons than one shall have the same number of votes, it being the highest number in any district, no presidential vote shall be counted from that district.

"V. The foregoing provisions shall apply to the election of Vice-President.

"VI. The Congress shall have power to provide for holding and conducting the elections of President and Vice-President, and to establish tribunals for the decision of such elections as may be contested.

"VII. The States shall be divided into districts by the legislatures thereof, but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter the same."

My attention was called strongly to the necessity for action by an occurrence which took place at the counting of the electoral vote in February, 1873. We had at that time what was called the Twenty-second Joint Rule, providing a plan and method for counting the electoral vote, and declaring the election of a President. It provided that when the two Houses were assembled to witness the counting of the vote, if any Senator or member of the House should make an objection to the counting of an electoral vote, for any reason, however trivial or immaterial, the two Houses should at once separate, the Senate return to its chamber, and each House vote upon the objection without debate; and

unless the objection was overruled by both Houses, the vote objected to was to be thrown out, and lost. When the State of Arkansas was called at that counting, an objection was made to receiving the vote of the State, because the Governor's certificate, showing the appointment of the electors, did not bear the impress of the great seal of the State. There was an impression of a seal upon the paper, which was very indistinct. By taking a glass and looking at it you could see upon it the words, "Secretary of State," and none others; and it was said that this impression was not made by the great seal of the State, but by a departmental seal kept by the Secretary of State. The House of Representatives overruled the objection. The Senate refused to overrule it; and the votes of Arkansas were thrown out, and nearly half a million of people disfranchised.

The Constitution of the United States provides, that "Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector."

Each State is to appoint its electors in such manner as the legislature shall provide. This power of the State to appoint electors is conferred by the Constitution of the United States, and not by the constitution of the State; and the exercise of it cannot be controlled by a State constitution. The method of appointing electors is always under the control of the State legislature, and the legislature may repeal at any time a law that may have been passed, providing for the election of electors by the people. It is a matter entirely within the control of the legislature, and there is no provision made in the Constitution whereby the appointment of an elector can be contested, and the States, except Louisiana, have made no provision for contesting the fraudulent appointment of an elector. Though electors may have been chosen by violence or manifest fraud, and though the whole world may know it, their votes must be received and counted; and there is no power in Congress or anywhere else to reject such a vote. This is clearly one of the great imperfections of our system, to begin with. The Convention of 1787 had more

difficulty in providing for the election of a President than with any other branch of the Constitution. Twice, by votes long debated, they decided that the President should be elected by Congress; twice they reconsidered that determination; and, at the last, the opinion of the Convention was entirely revolutionized upon the subject, and it was held to be necessary, not only that the President should *not* be elected by Congress, but that he should be made entirely independent of Congress; that the executive should be independent of the legislative; and for this purpose it was provided in the same section, that "no Senator or Representative or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States shall be appointed an elector." The purpose was to cut off all connection between the legislative and the executive; so that the President should not be dependent upon the Legislature in any sense, but be beyond its control. The Constitution provides that the electors shall vote by ballot, so that one elector shall not know how the other votes.

Our fathers contemplated an electoral college as a deliberative body, — a body of men who should come together and consider who was the proper man for President; and then, to insure their perfect independence of the country and of each other, they were to vote by ballot, so that they might vote secretly; and, to further continue this secrecy and secure their independence, the votes were to be sealed up and sent to the President of the Senate, and to remain sealed and concealed until the very moment they were to be counted in the presence of the two Houses; and if, when opened, there were imperfections or irregularities, it was then too late to mend or perfect them. As stated in a former paper, the theory of our fathers in regard to the electoral college originated in a profound distrust of the people. I have as much reverence for our forefathers as any one, but to assume that they were infallible or perfect would be a very great mistake indeed. They did not expect the legislatures would provide for appointing electors by the people; on the contrary, the history of the Convention shows that they were opposed to that. The proposition to choose electors by the direct vote of the people was voted down time and again, and the method of selection was left to the legislatures; and it was understood that they were to be chosen by the legislatures themselves. The idea of electing them by the people made slow

progress; and until 1861, the time of the Rebellion, South Carolina continued to choose her electors by the legislature. The idea was of aristocratic and monarchical origin. It had come down from ancient times, in countries where the nobility elected the monarch.

While this was the theory of our fathers, it has been completely overturned in practice. So far from these electors being left free and independent to make a selection of a President, it came to pass that in every instance they were pledged in advance. They were nominated expressly on the condition that they were to cast their votes for this or that man, or to represent this or that set of principles; and the very freedom and deliberation they were to exercise, and for which they were alone created, has been entirely abolished in practice. Our safety consists in having them overturned. The fact that electors are pledged in advance to vote for this candidate or for that is the only security the country has against corruption. If the electors were free to vote for whom they pleased, the patronage of a President is large enough to reach every man. It is not large enough to reach the masses of the people in all the States; they cannot be corrupted by reason of their great number; but a small body of electors, of less than four hundred, are within the reach of the patronage of the President; and if these men were free to vote for whom they pleased, there would be the greatest opportunities for corruption and fraud.

The only purpose the electoral college could possibly subserve is gone, but the dangers connected with it are left; and we have made our escape within the last six months from that very source. True democracy consists in a government of the people and by the people, in which every man shall be allowed to vote for that candidate who meets his approbation. Experience has shown us that there is more safety in a large electoral body than in a small one. The amendment proposed is, to abolish the electoral college, to brush away rubbish, and bring the election of President to the people, and let every man vote for the candidate of his choice. As the matter now stands he cannot do that; we are obliged to vote for electors; and, to do that, we must have a convention to put in nomination a certain number of men, who, it is known, will act together. One man cannot do that; there must be a convention, or "caucus," if you choose to call it by that name, and they must

ascertain that the men whom they select will carry out their views. Where that is not done you cannot vote for a President at all. Before the war in a number of States men could not vote for President unless they voted for candidates of a particular character; because those who agreed with them were not allowed to meet in convention and nominate electoral tickets; hence, under our present system, a convention or caucus is an absolute necessity. As the matter now stands, we have an election by the States; our present form denies our nationality; it is a vote by states, and not a vote of the people. We vote by general ticket, running through the State at large. If in the State of New York, with a population of forty-five hundred thousand, the electors on one side have a majority of one hundred, they get the whole vote of the State, just as if the people were unanimous, and the voice of more than two millions of people is silenced. The minority is utterly subjected. Where parties are nearly equally divided, a successful fraud in one precinct may determine the result in the whole State. In New York, in 1868, there was a successful fraud perpetrated in the election in the city, repeaters marching from poll to poll and voting through the day, and this fraudulent vote carried the State for a particular candidate; whereas, if the people had voted by districts, the fraud would only have operated in the district where it occurred. The effect of the fraud was that a particular candidate got the vote of the State of New York for President, while eighteen representatives out of thirty-one were elected in the rural districts by the opposite party. This is one of the great dangers of our politics. Frauds committed in the great cities control the States in which they are situated; whereas, if the people voted by districts, they would affect the vote only in those particular districts, and there would be less inducement to defraud.

The electoral college has, as we said in a former article, never represented the will of the people; it has never come within ten per cent of it, while it has varied from it as much as forty per cent. As it stands now it is an election by the States. But if the voting was by districts, if the people voted directly for the man of their choice, and if the man who received the largest number of votes in any Congressional district should count one, then the election would be national. Instead of New York going solidly for a particular candidate by reason of a small majority, it is divided very evenly. In

1844 Birney took from Clay in New York less than six thousand votes; that gave the vote of the State to Polk; whereas one half, I believe, of the members of Congress elected were Whigs. A like thing has been done from time to time in other States. I would prefer to elect a President by a direct vote of the people, as one great community, instead of being separated by State lines. I would prefer that they should vote as one people, and that the man who received the greatest number of votes in the United States should be the President. I would not require him to have a majority of all the votes cast, but would do, in regard to the election of President, as we do in the election of Governors of States; the man who gets the most votes to be President. Now the President must get a majority of the votes of the electors appointed, or the election goes to the House of Representatives. The principle itself is essentially false. But we cannot amend the Constitution so as to have a direct vote of the people as one great community. The smaller States will never consent to it. Ten States can prevent the adoption of a constitutional amendment. Therefore we should do the best we can. I propose such an amendment as can receive the support of the smaller States. To prove how nearly voting by districts brings the election home to the people, the following extract from a report I made to the Senate three years ago will show: —

"To illustrate the operation of the district system, we will consider the comparative results of the elections for President and for members of Congress, in the four States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, from 1860 to 1872.

"These States voted solidly for Mr. Lincoln in 1860, casting 74 electoral votes. At the same election they returned 66 members of Congress, of whom 24 were Democrats.

"In 1864 the same States cast 76 electoral votes for Mr. Lincoln again, and elected the same year 68 members of Congress, of whom 16 were Democrats.

"In 1868 the same States threw 76 electoral votes solidly for General Grant, and elected 68 members of Congress, of whom 22 were Democrats.

"In 1872 the same States again voted solidly, giving 85 electoral votes to General Grant, and elected 77 members of Congress, of whom 25 were Democrats.

"In these four States the Democratic strength, as compared with the

Republican, has been about as 9 to 10, but under the operation of the general-ticket system they had been wholly unrepresented in the electoral college; but in the House of Representatives, under the district system, they have had an average of nearly one third of the members.

"Take the State of New York alone for the same period. In 1860 New York cast her 35 electoral votes solidly for Mr. Lincoln. At the same time she elected 33 members of Congress, of whom 9 were Democrats. In 1864 she again cast her 33 electoral votes solidly for Mr. Lincoln, and at the same time elected 31 members of Congress, of whom 11 were Democrats. In 1868 she cast her 33 electoral votes solidly for Mr. Seymour. The State was carried for Mr. Seymour by his overwhelming majority in the city of New York, about the character of which grave charges were made, but of which the committee expresses no opinion; but the rest of the State, unaffected in their districts by this large majority in the city, returned 18 out of the 31 members of Congress, who were opposed to Mr. Seymour, thus showing conclusively how the voice of the people of New York outside of the city had been stifled in the Presidential election by the city majority, operating through the general-ticket system. In 1872 New York cast her 35 electoral votes solidly for General Grant, at the same time electing 33 members of Congress, of whom 9 were Democrats."

And I wish to show how far short the electoral system falls of representing the sentiment and views of the people. In 1872 General Grant received 55 per cent of the votes of the people; in the electoral college he received 81 per cent of the votes of the electors appointed. In 1868 General Grant received 52 per cent of the popular vote, and 73 per cent of the electoral vote. In 1864 Mr. Lincoln received 55 per cent of the popular vote, and 91 per cent of the electoral vote. In 1856 James Buchanan received 45 per cent of the popular vote, and 59 per cent of the electoral vote. In this election Mr. Fillmore received 25 per cent of the popular vote, and only 2 per cent of the electoral vote. In 1852 Pierce received 51 per cent of the popular vote, and 85 per cent of the electoral vote. In 1848 General Taylor received 46 per cent of the popular vote, and 56 per cent of the electoral vote. At this election Mr. Van Buren received about 10 per cent of the popular vote and no electoral vote. In 1848 James K. Polk received 50 per cent of the popular vote, and 62 per cent of the electoral vote. So that, while the electoral college has differed forty-two per cent from the popular vote, it has never come nearer to it than ten per cent.

While electing by districts does not represent precisely the voice of the people, as a nation, yet it makes a very close approach to it, — much nearer than that which we now have. As I said before, a small majority now carries the vote of an entire State. It is entirely possible for a man to get enough electoral votes to elect him President, by receiving small majorities in a number of States; while his antagonist may get overwhelming majorities in the other States, and have a majority of half a million or a million of the popular vote. This is not true Democracy; it is not true Republicanism; it is complex and complicated machinery, by which a minority may thus control a majority. Small majorities received in a number of States control overwhelming majorities received in the others. I call attention very briefly to that provision of the Constitution for electing a President by the House of Representatives in case there is no election by the electors; that is, in case no candidate receives a majority of all the electors appointed. In that case the House of Representatives is to proceed at once to choose a President, and it votes by States. Each State has one vote. New York has one vote, with forty-five hundred thousand people; Nevada, with forty thousand people, has one vote. New York, with one hundred and fourteen times the population of Nevada, has simply the same vote that Nevada has, in the election of the President. This is monstrous injustice. It cannot be defended for a single moment. We can hardly understand now how such a provision could have found its way into the Constitution of the United States. We have had two elections by the House of Representatives, one in 1801 and the other in 1825. This method of election presents the strongest possible opportunities for fraud, where a single member of Congress has it in his power, by changing his vote, to determine the result of a presidential election, and may make it to the interest of parties and of men to pay him vast sums for his vote. If we desire to lay temptation in the way of Congress, and danger in the path of our government, it could not be done in a more effectual way than this.

In 1801 the House of Representatives balloted for a number of days without making choice of a President. The fourth of March was approaching, and there was danger of its coming without a President being elected, — danger of an interregnum. On the night of

the day before the election, a member of the House, who represented a State that had but one member, went to a friend of Mr. Jefferson, and said to him: "If Mr. Jefferson will give assurance that he will retain the Collector of the port of Wilmington, in Delaware, and at Philadelphia, and will give two bills (which were named) his approval, I will change my vote to-morrow, and know of two other members from two different States who will change their votes. The effect of it will be to change the votes of those States, and give to Mr. Jefferson three additional votes, which will elect him." The message was carried to Mr. Jefferson, so said his friends, and on the next morning the assurance was given that the two collectors should be retained and the laws approved. The three members that day did change their votes, and Mr. Jefferson was elected. I know it is a common thing to say that public virtue has degenerated, and that public men have a lower grade of morals than they had fifty years ago; but such a thing as that would now destroy any public man.

In 1825 Mr. Adams was elected President by the House of Representatives. General Jackson had received the largest proportional majority that has been received by any candidate for the Presidency since that time, and he had a large plurality of the electors, — fifty per cent, — but lacked two or three of having a majority. The election was thrown into the House. There Mr. Clay of Kentucky (who, I believe, was a pure man, nevertheless) voted for Mr. Adams, and used his influence for him, and afterwards became his Secretary of State. This created an impression of corruption from which Mr. Clay never recovered. I have never believed there was a bargain in the case, but it presented a strong temptation and the opportunity.

I denounce this clause in the Constitution, first, because of its gross injustice. There can be no excuse made for it. It is simply trampling upon rights, when forty thousand people in the State of Nevada have the same power with forty-five hundred thousand in the State of New York. There is no justice, no sense, in it.

But, to take this matter still farther from the people, when the election goes to the House of Representatives, it is to be made by members of Congress who were elected nearly two years before. If the last election had gone to the House, the President would have been elected by members chosen in 1874, — chosen upon

wholly different issues and not with a view to their selection of a President.

We now have two hundred and ninety-three members of Congress. Under the operation of this provision, forty-six members out of that number can elect a President. If each member of Congress had one vote, that would be much more fair — that would bring the election of our chief magistrate somewhat nearer to the people. But under the provisions of the Constitution forty-six members can elect a President, as follows: Delaware, Nebraska, Nevada, and Oregon have each one member, and four members would cast the votes of those four States; Rhode Island and Florida have each two, and four members would cast the votes of those States; Minnesota, New Hampshire, West Virginia, Vermont, and Kansas have each three members, and two votes in each, or ten members in all the five, would cast the votes of those five States; Arkansas, California, and Connecticut have four members each, and three in each, or nine in all, may cast their votes; Maine and South Carolina have each five members, three of whom in each, or six in both, may cast their two votes; Maryland, Mississippi, and Texas have each six members, and four in each, or twelve in all, may cast the vote of those three States. Colorado has one member and would cast one vote, and added to the other States enumerated would make twenty and elect a President. Thus forty-six members can elect him against the wishes of the other two hundred and forty-seven.

OLIVER P. MORTON.

Art. V. — Moral Reflexions by a Japanese Traveller.

The American people have been so very kind in receiving my political reflexions, that I take the great liberty of writing again my observations and feelings about their country. I would not, however, do this without having been asked, because to offer opinions too freely often gives offence when it is not intended. So I wish clearly to explain, that what I write now is in consequence of urgent request, and is not my own proposal. No doubt, many will laugh at my opinions this time, just as they laughed at my political reflexions, but I cannot understand why they laugh. I read Senator Morton's paper on American Constitution. He said almost exactly the same things I did. This astonished me very much — and it also satisfied me, because I found this very clever Senator agrees so closely with me. But I observe newspapers did not laugh at him; then I thought, if I had signed his paper and he had signed mine, they would have laughed at his paper, and approved mine. American people look too much at names. They think, when a paper is signed by great name, they must approve, never mind what is in the paper; if foreigner or unknown man signs, then they don't approve — or pass by silently. I am sorry I said anything about "*seppukku*," because all over the country ignorant newspapers are laughing. This is only because they do not understand the question. Now I am going to tell them some things that they cannot laugh at, because they are very easy, even for them, to understand, and they are so true they cannot deny them, Besides my political studies, I have made moral studies in different Christian countries; these, as I said before, I am going to publish fully in Japan, but I will now take out of my notes a few points.

First, I observe in every country there is different kind of morality, different kind of vice, although all the countries may be Christian, still vices in Catholic countries differ from vices in Protestant countries, vices in old countries differ from vices in new countries, vices in countries where church is paid by the Govern-

ment, differ from vices in countries where churches are not paid by the Government, vices in countries where there is rich and idle aristocratic class, differ from vices in countries where everybody is equal and everybody is busy making money. As I am writing for Americans, I will leave all these other countries out of the question, and describe the vices which I observe in a new country, which is chiefly Protestant, where the churches are not paid by the Government, where everybody is equal, according to the Constitution, and all are busy making money. I will not say anything about their virtues, not because they have not got any; indeed, they have most excellent virtues and high qualities, but it is not necessary for me to tell them; they describe them very fully themselves both in conversation and newspapers, therefore there would be nothing new in this, but their vices are not so often described, except sometimes with bitterness, but I will describe them with great affection because I have received so much kindness from American people. In the first place, Americans, quite naturally, like all other Christians, think their religion best in the world, therefore they must try and make other nations adopt it; for that reason they send missionaries to Japan. If missionaries could come alone, without sailors or merchants, I think they might do some good. Generally, they are very good men, though missionaries of different Christian sects quarrel among themselves more than any other people; still, individually, they try to set a good example, only their religion does not prevent them from hating each other when they do not agree on religious subjects.

When they first began to instruct Japanese in principles of Christian religion, many Japanese accepted, especially of the lower orders, who had not studied Confucius and more deep philosophy, only they soon found great difference between what missionaries taught, and what so called Christians practiced.

I have examined into religious matter a good deal, and I find no religion where difference is so great between what religion teaches, and what the people practice as in Christian religion. Mahometan religion does not teach such high and pure morality as Christianity, but Mahometans practice their religion much more closely. They are never ashamed to pray, even when they are alone among strangers; they perform all observances very faithfully. They do not depart from teaching in order to make money, therefore they

cannot make it, when they are near Christians, because when Christians (so called) want to make money, they do not care much what their Bible teaches, but Mahometan cares what Koran teaches. Bible says, it is not good to lend money on usury, but Christians always charge interest. Koran says same thing, therefore among themselves Mahometans do not charge it, and so in many other cases Mahometans obey Koran, but Christians do not obey Bible. Therefore, Christians (so called) advance rapidly in material progress, because they sacrifice their religion to this kind of progress. Therefore, they quickly become highly civilized, but Mahometans will not sacrifice their religion, therefore they remain, like early Christians who had all things in common, rather barbarous. Buddhists are more like Christians than Mahometans; they also have high and pure moral teaching: indeed, all their theology is almost exactly like Christian theology when you examine original teaching, but common people have made it full of superstitions, so it is in many ceremonies very like Roman Catholic or Greek Church, and in same way common people are not so strict as Mahometans, more like Christians, only I think priests are better in many things than Christian priests; they do not quarrel among themselves, like Christian clergymen about religious questions. Generally they all agree very well, and many good ones do indeed try to make the people good, only the people are too ignorant to understand the real principle of Buddhism, and think to perform superstitious ceremonies is enough, and the priests are afraid to take away their ceremonies because then the people would think they were taking away their whole religion. I have not been in India, therefore I cannot tell about Hindoo religion, but there is one thing I remark which is very important. From all I can learn, neither Mahometan, nor Buddhist, nor Hindoo says, if you do not believe my religion you will be burnt to all eternity in hell fire with brimstone. Only Christian says this. For this reason many Japanese refuse, the moment they hear this, to become Christian. Suppose Japanese woman wants to become Christian, and her husband and brothers and sisters and children refuse, then she says "how can I become Christian and all my family go to hell fire for eternity? Better for me also to go to hell fire with them." Therefore she quite naturally refuses. Still, though this is a great objection to accepting Christianity in minds of Japanese

people, it might be overcome, if practice of Christians in daily life was superior to practice of people of any other religion, but this is not the case. Since Christians have come to Japan, many vices have been introduced which before were quite unknown. They are the vices which belong to what is called Western civilization — principally, vices connected with money-making. All kinds of cheating and fraud have now been taught by Christians to Japanese, of which they were quite ignorant twenty years ago.

When I try to compare the small number of new virtues they have learnt, since that time, by observing the practice of Christians, with the large number of new vices they have learnt from them, I am quite pained and distressed for my dear country to think of it. This is, indeed, a very sad reflexion; so I will not now dwell any more upon it. That is why I said I wish the missionaries had come alone, without any sailors or merchants. For one Christian who comes to teach us anything good, a hundred come to make money and teach us things that are bad. People who know how to make money by trying to get it from each other they called civilized people; people who have not learnt all the tricks by which money can be made out of each other they call uncivilized people. After much consideration of this subject, I can find no other distinction but this. I think quite differently. Civilization consists in people being pure and good in their lives, not in being rich and smart in their business. For what says the Great Master Confucius on this subject? "Virtue is the root, revenue the branches. If you lightly esteem the root and attend principally to the branches, you extend disorder and rapine among the people." Look at the great "civilized" cities of London and Paris and New York, and see how true this is. In these places all the effort of both Government and people is to "attend principally to the branches," and in what "uncivilized" and "heathen" cities can you find such disorder and rapine? When Mr. Tweed was governing New York, what did he think about the "root" which is virtue? In what Buddhist or Mahometan city would such corrupt government be possible, as existed in New York during time of Tweed? I can tell people of New York who laugh at *seppukku* and despise heathens, that such robbery and fraudulent government would be quite impossible in Japan.

Perhaps, after twenty years of Western civilization, we may get

so far advanced that such a man would become possible as a ruler; at present, we try to find our high officials among the best and purest men, because we have been so instructed by Confucius, — for what says the Sage? "To see a man of eminent virtue and talents and not to promote him, — to promote him, and not raise him to a high station, shows disrepect; to see a base man and not to dismiss him, — to dismiss him and not to send him to a great distance, is an error."

It is, indeed, most wonderful to think how truly Confucius describes what must happen to a man like Tweed. Exactly he shows how such a man must in the end be punished, for he says, "Upon the man who is ignorant, and yet pushes himself into office, who holding a low situation assumes authority, who, although living in the present age, returns to the (bad) ways of the ancients, the Divine judgments will surely come." Still, notwithstanding warning which New York has had, it is, even now, not governed by highest kind of men, but by a common class. This never can succeed, for again the Sage says, "Therefore the ruler must first have virtue in himself, then he may call for it in others; he must first be free from vice himself, then he may reprove it in others. If we ourselves cherish and practice what we do not wish in others, we cannot possibly enlighten them." The Tsoo book also says, "The Tsoo nation does not esteem gems valuable, it esteems nothing precious but virtue." For these reasons it is not yet possible for any Japanese city to be governed by a man who is known to be bad and dishonest. When I read your newspapers, it does not seem possible for your cities, and even your states, to be governed by any other kind. Take, for instance, what has been said of Governor Packard, and, before him, of Governor Kellogg in Louisiana. I do not know whether it is true or not, but in uncivilized country I come from, such men could not be accused of such things and live. Either they must prove that they are not true, and then people accusing them must be punished, or else, if they are true, they would be punished themselves. But here in this Christian country, where you are told to "honor all men," not "to speak evil of dignities," not to "bear false witness," not "to think evil one of another," "to do to others as you would they would do to you," politics are carried on entirely on an opposite principle. Foundation of American politics is *not* to honor any politicians,

always to speak evil of dignities, if they are on the other side in politics, always bear false witness, if election can be carried that way, to think a great deal evil of everybody, and, politically, to do always to the other side exactly what you would not at all like them to do to you. Although it is against Bible, this is done quite openly, nobody is ashamed of it, nobody publicly condemns it. I have heard many sermons in Christian churches; I have never heard a clergyman say that political men should love one another and honor one another, and not write abuse in newspapers against each other.

Even they ought each to esteem the other *better* than himself, but this is so impossible that even to propose it, though it is a sacred saying, would make everybody laugh. When I read newspapers, I feel sure it would not improve Japan to have civilized and Christian journalism introduced into that country, though, unhappily, some Japanese are trying to imitate this also. If newspapers were written to make politicians forgive each other and love each other, then, perhaps, they might do some good, but Christian newspapers only make people more angry with each other, and therefore more unchristian. Same thing with religious newspapers. Only they do not abuse politicians so much as they abuse each other. What is the use of churches and clergymen, if they do not preach against such bad things? Best men in this country say, that they cannot be politicians, because politicians generally dishonest, or else suspected of being dishonest, and nearly always called dishonest, and because to succeed, it is necessary "to go through so much dirt," therefore they say "we are obliged to leave to more mean kind of men to be politicians and to rule over us, and spend the revenue of the nation for us, and represent our interests in foreign countries, but we think you Japanese are still quite barbarous because you have different kind of government, which obliges you to choose more high and pure kind of men: therefore, we recommend you to become more advanced and civilized like we are." But how can we do this and forget the lofty saying of the Tsin book? — which says, "Had I a minister of unbending fidelity, although he might appear to possess no other talent, yet were his mind enlarged and generous, when he saw a man of eminent talents, he would view his talents as if they were his own. The man of vast intelligence and virtue he would not merely praise with his lips but really love him in his heart, and

embrace him in his regards. Such a man could preserve my children and my people. Would not such a man be of great advantage? But if a minister is jealous of men of talents, opposes and keeps from notice those who possess eminent ability and virtue, not being able to bear them, such a man is incapable of protecting my children and people, nay, how dangerous he may prove." American people may call such teaching heathen, but I call it best kind of Christian teaching, and this is rule we actually try always to follow in Japan. If any man does not follow this rule, he is very much ashamed and would rather die than let people suppose he was not good and pure; but here when newspapers call a Governor thief and robber, he feels no shame. Therefore, I still hope my countrymen will try and follow good old teaching of our wise and pure men, even though they were heathens. Again, I observe very curious thing. Perhaps, in politics or in commerce, a man is attacked this way in the newspapers, may be rightly, may be wrongly; if he is candidate for some high office, almost always he is accused of stealing money, or if he makes money very quickly in Wall Street, also others who lose their money accuse him of stealing it — quite openly they accuse him in newspapers, like they accused Mr. Tilden, or like they accuse Mr. Gould.

Then very often these same men profess to be very religious men; they buy very expensive pews in churches, and give a great deal of money to keep up clergymen and Sunday schools. Immediately, when they are so publicly accused of stealing, quite naturally clergyman should ask, "Is this true? At once you must prove to me this is not true, otherwise I will turn you out of my church, and throw back your money to you, and sell your pew to some honest man." I have asked great deal about this, but never have I heard of clergyman who did this thing. Only sometimes, if a man is very poor and cheats, then they do it, but if he is very rich they take his money. They do not inquire how he made it.

In countries where Government pays church, this vice does not exist, only they have other kind of vice. In England nobles and bishops can sell clergymen and churches, in quite a complicated and curious kind of way, very difficult to understand properly, though I studied it thoroughly, and I will explain it afterwards in my Japanese book fully. I think that will surprise Buddhist Priests more than anything I have seen in

Western civilization. Never would Buddhist priest allow himself and his temple to be sold, even by most high and powerful Daimio, — sooner he would die. Indeed, priests in my country do not try to become rich. However, I am not Buddhist myself; only for many things I respect them. I think priests in all religions should not care at all about money. In Bible also it says so. Indeed, Bible is strongly opposed to all money-making for any kind of people. I think one of great beauties in Christian teaching is constant attack upon rich people and love of money. It says, "love of money root of all evil"; "haste not to be rich." Then, money-changers were scourged out of temple for buying and selling inside, and rich young man was told he must give up all he had and give to the poor; indeed, that teaching is most beautiful. When I first read all that, certainly I thought I must become Christian. Even now I believe thoroughly all this teaching, but to practice it, I must go back to Japan. There a man could still live in daily life this teaching; here it would not be possible. Certainly he would starve immediately. In Japan, if man asked for cloak, you could give him coat also; immediately you would be celebrated for sacrificing self, and good people would acknowledge your goodness and support you. Many men in my country are celebrated, not for political cleverness or for richness, or for power, but for pureness and goodness. Several times, when I first arrived in America, I asked who is purest and best man in America, but no one could give me answer. A man in Japan can become celebrated for sacrificing self to neighbor, because Confucius teaches this, just like the Bible. Therefore, when he practices, everybody reverences him, but here they do not; for what says the Great Master on this subject? "That which you hate in superiors, do not practice in your conduct towards inferiors; that which you dislike in inferiors, do not practice towards superiors; that which you hate in those before you, do not exhibit to those behind you; that which you hate in those behind you, do not manifest to those before you; that which you hate in those on your right, do not manifest to those on your left; that which you hate in those on your left, do not manifest to those on your right. This is the doctrine of *measuring others by ourselves.*" And this doctrine we try to follow, and when we see any one doing this, we very highly approve and encourage him, but in this country such a man would

rather be laughed at and called a fool, because it is not possible to follow this principle and become rich, and to become rich is more esteemed than to become good. Indeed, it seems to me that in Christian countries everything is done exactly opposite to Christian teaching so high and pure and noble and self-sacrificing—but quite openly everything is done exactly on opposite principle. Then I say, why do you profess so much and do so little? This is most bad of all vices, to be hypocrite, because man who is hypocrite lives constant lie. All the time he is pretending to be one thing and is actually entirely different. Many men who have been considered most religious and ceremonious of men in church matters, get exposed in the newspapers, and then we find all the time that they have been practicing most wicked things.

The great Master teaches, that no man can be superior who does such things. I hope you will excuse my quoting so much out of teaching of great Master, but I want to show that, even if Christians would obey teaching of Confucius closely, even then, they would be better than they are, and that it is because we try to follow his teaching, we have morality quite as good as morality in Christian countries. And this is not because Christian teaching is not high and beautiful, but because Christians laugh at their own teaching, therefore we cannot respect them, and we feel that they have no right to call us barbarous and uncivilized, until they try to follow their moral teaching, at least as well as we follow ours.

This is what Confucius says about hypocrites. "That which is called rectifying the motives is this: do not deceive yourself; hate vice as you do an offensive smell; love virtue as you love beauty. This is called self-enjoyment. Hence the superior man will carefully watch over his secret moments. The worthless man, when in secret, practices vice; nay, there is no length of wickedness to which he does not proceed, but when he observes the superior man, he attempts to conceal his vices, and puts on the appearance of virtue. Men who observe see, as it were, his heart and reins. What, then, does he profit himself? This is what is meant by the adage, 'What is really within shows itself without.' Hence the superior man must be careful over his conduct, when no eye sees him." This is why I think it would be very difficult for superior man, if he was on New York Stock Exchange, to become quickly rich.

When Japanese first came in contact with Western countries, immediately we began to have financial affairs with them. Then at once we found ourselves badly cheated. First, came currency question in Japan, when all the merchants applied under all kinds of different names, not their own, for silver, so as to escape the rule of the Treaty. After losing great deal of money, we finally got that settled; then Americans sold Japanese Government bad steamers, for great deal more than they were worth, and again we were cheated. Then people came from England to persuade Japanese Government to make a large loan; then we did not understand foreign principle of emitting loan, and again in London we were cheated. Finally, I determined to study financial matters myself, first, in London, then, in New York. Then I found financial men in London cheat on different system from New York. I don't know which cheat worst. I will not now try and explain where the difference exactly is, but I will try and explain what I have discovered about New York system. For Japanese it is very difficult to understand all about Stock Exchange, and "Bull" men and "Bear" men, and Railway and Steamboat and Telegraph and other Companies, and so, even yet, I feel very ignorant on such questions. Nevertheless, very soon I discovered that first thing I must understand is, what is a "Ring," and how "Ring" can be made. For a long time no one would clearly explain this to me. At last I found true reason why even clever financial men would not explain it. Generally, they are very so-called pious kind of men, and "Ring" is a sort of secret society among quite a few most smart men to cheat other men who are not so smart, also to cheat the whole public which is generally rather foolish. Therefore, pretending pious financial men would not explain; only, finally, I found financial man not at all pious, also very smart; he explained all to me thoroughly, and I saw most plainly it was most wicked thing, exactly opposed to teaching in Bible, and also to teaching of Confucius, but I have not space here to quote his teaching on this point.

Therefore, immediately I thought it must be duty of every clergyman, before he takes money from so-called pious financial man, to ask, first, this important question, "Are you in any Ring?" As I was studying moral question, immediately when I thought this, I called on a clergyman, rather celebrated man, and I asked him, "Do you always ask this question?" Then he got rather

angry. He said, not possible to ask such questions, financial man would immediately answer "mind your own business!" Therefore, he could not ask. Then I replied, in the words of Confucius, what was duty of moral teacher like him; because Confucius explains very fully on this point. He says, superior man must "examine very narrowly inferior man who pretends to be superior"; but clergyman immediately answered, "Confucius is only heathen teacher." Since that time, I have not talked with clergymen on religious subjects. Only I study Bible; then I compare with it their practice. After great financial panic came in New York, I made very accurate moral study concerning it, and inquired narrowly about the principal men who failed; because newspapers were calling some of them thieves, and every one, indeed, was abusing them very much, because many people had lost money by them. Then I found nearly all were so-called pious financial men; so then I inquired why so many financial men must be pious, and one even founded "theological seminary" who was most celebrated in "Rings." Then my friend, who did not pretend to be religious, explained how, for many reasons, it was great assistance in financial operations to profess religion. Only he said he himself was too honest; nevertheless, he admitted he made great fortune by cheating people. Even yet I could not understand this matter thoroughly, but one day I visited a beautiful island in one of the great American lakes. There I found lovely little island, with beautiful cottage upon it full of clergymen of all kinds of different sects. Then I inquired how so many clergymen of different sects could, nevertheless, be living together peaceably in one house on this beautiful island, — then it was explained to me that they were all invited to come and rest together and recover health there, by a most powerful financial man, who had immense Railway plans; then, when his plans failed because from the beginning they were bad and hollow, in all the congregations of these clergymen great many bonds and stocks of this railway plan, which now had no value, were found. Since then, I quite well understand why it is very useful for financial man also to profess to be religious. When I say, "profess to be religious," I do not mean really religious, I mean pretend to be religious. Clergymen cannot attack them because, not being paid by Government, immediately they would be ruined if they made all these powerful men angry. Therefore,

the greatest vice I find in America is hypocrisy. Of all vices it is the worst. Then I ask you, my American friends, with great affection, because this is most serious matter, what would your churches live upon, and how long would they last, if there were no longer any hypocrites in this country? Also I hope clergymen also will excuse me, if I ask them especially this same question. Do not think because I ask this question, therefore I am attacking Christian religion. Religion is one thing; churches, another thing quite different. When the great Teacher of Christian religion came, first thing He did was, to attack Jewish church because Jewish church was not following religion, but was full of hypocrisy. Therefore, always He said, "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!" Very often He repeats this. All great moral teachers feel that most serious danger to real religion is hypocrisy. Therefore, He hated hypocrites most of all. Nevertheless, so-called religious men to-day do almost exactly the same things He blamed in Jews. They "do alms to be seen of men," they "love to pray in the synagogues," and "do their works to be seen of men," and "lay up treasure for themselves on earth"; therefore, He says "Woe unto you that are rich!" For these sayings, "the chief priests and the scribes sought to destroy Him." I almost think again they would do so.

Japanese people are now travelling very much all about Christian countries; — then, when they read this beautiful teaching and see members of Christian churches doing all things exactly contrary to it, and find that clergymen allow all this to go on in their churches, they lose all respect. Then, when they go back to Japan, they will explain all this to people. Then, when missionaries try to correct Japanese, they will ask them why they allow such things openly, and why themselves they do not follow more closely Divine teaching, then they must be ready to answer. Therefore, quite kindly, I tell them now, so when they are asked, they can have answer all ready prepared. It seems to me when people become immensely rich, then they need not be hypocrites any longer, because in this country money can do anything. I do not think, if a man had five million of dollars, he could be hung in this country, even when murder was quite clearly proved. Somehow he would escape. I think, if he had fifty millions, he could elect Presidents and everybody he chose; then, of course, no longer any occasion to be a hypocrite.

So then, I find three great powers in this country: first is money, second is hypocrisy, third is "Rings." To use American expression, these three powers "run the country." Only real pure virtue has no power, because almost certainly whoever was strictly superior man, according to Confucius, must seem like a fool to all smart men. He cannot succeed like other men, therefore he must retire.

I could write a great deal more on this subject, but partly I am afraid of saying things that may offend. If I knew English language better, I could write in more flowing kind of style, so I might even tell many true things in a manner that would not seem rather rude. Still, it is not my intention to be rude, only to be quite honest and sincere. In my book which I am going to write in Japan, I have divided American vices under four heads: first, ecclesiastical vices, that is, all vices connected with sects, churches, clergymen, religious newspapers, young men's Christian associations, and so on; second, political vices, that is all vices connected with elections, lobbying, political newspapers, wirepullers, Custom House frauds, Indian administration, political rings, and so on; third, financial vices, (I have already a little touched on these, from which you can see how I can describe them quite fully,) fourth, social vices, such as vices connected with marriage system in this country, the aristocracy of a democratic republic, and many other subjects rather delicate, therefore I will not say anything more. I only mention this to show that I have indeed earnestly examined your country, and I find one thing of which you are entirely ignorant, and this is "Taou."

This one word contains such a high idea, that I am afraid it is not possible for you to understand it. Nevertheless, I will try and explain. Taou is the "way of the Sage," or "the way of Heaven," it is omnipresent and fills and influences all things, therefore Confucius says, "The Taou of the supremely sincere enables them to foreknow things: it is only they who carry sincerity to the highest point, and in whom there remains not a single hair's breadth of hypocrisy, that can foresee the hidden springs of things. Taou is what men ought to practice, Taou is the self-sacrifice by which oneself is perfected, and the knowledge by which one perfects others. Taou is the virtue of nature, the way of uniting the external and the internal." All this is Taou, and a great deal more;

indeed, it takes a life to study and understand Taou, for it contains three hundred outlines and three thousand minute particulars thereof. It is not possible, indeed, to understand it without first practicing it. It cannot be understood by the mind alone, only by strictly living every day according to the highest principles of self-sacrifice, can it be understood. Tsze Sze, who was a great sage, and student of Confucius, thus describes this most wonderful principle in a few words. "It is only the man possessed of Taou that can perfect his own nature; he who can perfect his own nature, can perfect the nature of other men; he who can perfect the nature of other men, can perfect the nature of things; he who can perfect the nature of things, can assist heaven and earth in producing things. When this is the case, then he is united with heaven and earth so as to form a trinity." This, however, is too deep for ordinary intelligence to comprehend. Only those who practice Taou, can understand fully its meaning. Though most unworthy man myself, for many years I have tried to practice Taou. Therefore, my eyes are somewhat open to perceive moral questions in different countries, because I examine them by the light of Taou; therefore I have written frankly, because my purpose in writing has been quite pure. Now most earnestly I beseech you to stop making money, because it is not possible to spend your life in becoming rich, and still have time to discover and practice the "way of heaven," which is Taou. Also give up this openly trying to persuade men that you are good, by belonging externally to churches, when internally you are following the way of the inferior man. Remember what the Ode says, "Look into your own chamber, and see whether you have cause for shame in the presence of your household Gods."

Never mind if men despise you, and speak badly of you because you retire from their evil ways. At last the glories of Taou will shine through you, for what says the Sage? "He who possesses Taou, without showing himself he will shine forth, without moving he will renovate others, without acting he will perfect them." And again, "though the path of the superior man appear secret, yet it daily becomes more splendid, while the path of the mean man, though he strive to exhibit it, daily vanishes from sight." But, perhaps, you will say you have not studied Confucius and cannot obtain his works, therefore it is not possible for you to

practice Taou. Then, I at once answer most fearlessly you have your own Sacred Book, which contains the Divine principle of Taou, though, perhaps, your eyes are still too blind to perceive it, and your own most wonderful Teacher, who explained most fully "The Kingdom (or Way) of Heaven." Therefore, you cannot make any such excuse. Believe me, for I have studied this thing. It is most tremendous Power even now hanging over the world. Confucius says of it, "It waits for its men, and then is walked in, (or practiced,)" but it will not always wait; if men do not practice, it will overtake and crush them, and this is what your own great Teacher meant, when He said, "Whosoever shall fall upon that stone shall be broken, but upon whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder."

SIONARA,
A Japanese Traveller.

NOTE. — The author of this article requests us to state that the word Sionara has been mistaken for his name, when in fact it is a Japanese word, meaning farewell. As, however, he wishes to remain incognito, or, in his own vernacular, *Naibun*, he has expressed his wish to retain it as a *nom de plume*. — ED.

Art. VI. — New Russia.*

Until very lately a clear notion of the great Northern Empire under existing social conditions was only possible for those who were conversant with the Russian language. About two years ago, however, M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu began to print in the "Revue des Deux Mondes" a remarkable study of the New Russia, which has been continued up to the present time, and this has now been supplemented by Mr. Wallace's book. With the aid of these independent authorities it is practicable to trace the actual results of the reforms instituted by Alexander II.

Naturally the first question would direct itself to the position of the enfranchised class, and to the completeness with which the new element has been adjusted to the framework of Muscovite society. On the threshold of this inquiry we are reminded that in the greater part of Russia the dominant and subject classes were of the same race, and that serfdom was of modern origin, having been created by an arbitrary ukase less than three centuries ago, at the precise epoch when similar institutions were disappearing from Western Europe. There was always, therefore, room to doubt whether in principle the ownership of land was vested in the *mowjik*, or in his master, the *boyar*, and it is well known that the former was allowed by custom the usufruct of a part of his lord's domain. These circumstances partly account for the equitable provisions which distinguish the Russian plan of manumission from some analogous undertakings.

Not contenting itself with the naked gift of personal freedom, as in the United States, the law has here endowed the liberated class with lands for its support; and we may note further, that not mutilating its favors by leaving the new citizen under the tutelage of his former owner, as in Eastern Prussia before the reform of 1872, it has secured to him local independence by clothing his communal organization with administrative functions. On the other

* *Russia.* By D. Mackenzie Wallace. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1877.

hand, it was recognized that the loss of prescriptive rights entitled the *boyar* to an indemnity, and it seemed reasonable to impose this burden upon those who profited by the social revolution. We should add that the quantity of land conceded to each male peasant in fee was commonly equivalent to the area of which he previously had the usufruct, varying from five to twenty-five acres, according to fertility of soil and density of population, while the indemnity represented with tolerable accuracy the value of the services in kind (*corvée*), or of the money stipend (*obrok*) which formerly accrued to the proprietor. For the lands whose purchase devolved on him, the *mowjik* was as a rule able to pay only in small annual instalments. Hence the necessity of extending the process of liquidation, and consequently, in a strict sense, of emancipation over a long series of years. So long as the peasant has not formally accepted his allotment by completing a first payment, he continues to owe labor or pecuniary tribute to his former lord. The difference is, that these dues are no longer arbitrary, but fixed by local ordinances. According to the "Messager Officiel" the number of quondam serfs subject to this transitory *régime* is still considerable, amounting, on January 1, 1876, to rather more than a quarter of the whole category in the thirty-seven interior provinces.

Without the financial co-operation of the government it is obvious that such a method of purchase must have been fraught with much embarrassment to the proprietor as well as to the peasant. Accordingly the state advances the sum required, or rather the larger part of it, to all who demand assistance, the terms of reimbursement contemplating forty-nine annual payments. Under this system the instalments of purchase-money which would reluctantly be made over by the enfranchised serf to his former lord are transformed into a species of impost, whose collection is enforced by the civil authority, while to the manifest advantage of the proprietor a private claim is converted into a government bond. The state, in short, has made itself the banker of the two interested parties, and that its aid was an indispensable factor in the scheme of emancipation seems to be demonstrated by results. Out of 5,300,000 male peasants, who in the thirty-seven districts abovenamed have availed themselves of the decree and now own upwards of 50,000,000 of acres, seven eighths required government advances, which already aggregate more than $500,000,000.

It is plain that half a century must elapse before the process of manumission is concluded, and the Russian serf completely freed from special obligations toward his former lord or toward the state. Yet it is probable that the day is not far distant when every male peasant within the boundaries of the Empire will have taken, with government assistance, the first and decisive step towards the acquisition of the lands assigned to him. Not, however, that *mowjik* and *boyar* evince everywhere the same anxiety to regulate their mutual situation. In the province of Samara, for instance, so late as 1874, scarcely a fifth of the peasants, and in Bessarabia not a tenth, had taken advantage of the decree; whereas in Viatka, Pskof, and Kharkof, at the same epoch, the operation of manumission was far advanced. In general it may be noted that the sales effected by mutual consent constitute but two fifths of the total number, the remainder having been brought about upon the demand of the proprietors or their mortgagees. The scheme of emancipation gives the *boyar* the right to insist upon a purchase of land, but in such a case the *mowjik* is privileged to reduce his allotment to the minimum determined by local regulations. Where the soil is poor, or where the selling-rate calculated upon the old tariff of serf dues is relatively high, the landowner is of course interested in securing the price designated by law, and *vice versâ*.

It follows that the plan of emancipation, although everywhere grounded upon identical principles, has failed to produce everywhere the same effects, proving in one quarter onerous to the peasant and in another to the proprietor. To this circumstance is partly due the diversity of opinion expressed even in Russia respecting the great reform. That among the former masters of the soil the least rich would suffer most was so easy to foresee that the manumission act itself promised succor to the smaller landowners, many of whom find themselves completely ruined. On the side of the peasants no distinct category was specified as entitled to amends, but indirectly the state has sometimes relieved them by remitting arrears of taxes. Even, however, where the conditions of purchase were most favorable, the enfranchised class has sometimes failed to profit by them. Not seldom the peasants discovered a repugnance, doubtless justified by the bitter experience of centuries, for the transaction to which they were invited. Many saw in it a trap, and imagining that the Czar ultimately intended to bestow the land

upon them gratis, supposed the *boyar* alone interested in its transfer by purchase. Thus in a village belonging to one of the richest provinces, an upright and generous proprietor tried to make his quondam serfs understand how much for their profit it was to secure the maximum area permitted by the local statute. His proposition only awoke suspicion, and after long discussion was rejected by the commune. Such cases are not rare, and they demonstrate that the legislator had his reasons for fixing a minimum of land which the peasant could be compelled to buy.

While all the liberated serfs are far from having the same motives for regret, yet the greater part of them betray a common feeling of disappointment and disillusion. The expectations roused in the masses of the people by the name of emancipation were too lofty and chimerical, and the *mowjik*, emancipated, seems to have forgotten the oppressions and exactions of serfdom, and to regard only his present burdens and the evanescence of his dreams. Neither can it be denied that among the classes which shape public opinion the actual outcome of the measure is viewed with dissatisfaction, almost discouragement. Like the *mowjik*, the cultivated Russian had figured a second Eden behind the act of manumission, had beheld in a free Russia a new and ideal land wholly different from the land of serfs. As it happens, the consequences for good and evil have been less far-reaching, less conspicuous, less decisive, than some hoped and others feared. Although, however, the liberation of the Russian serfs has not yet answered the impatient wishes of its promoters, it has been by no means sterile, and manifestly holds the germ of healthful transformation and reasonable progress. Politically, the effect is so far absolutely null, but in other directions the fruits are well defined and precious. We might point, for instance, to a signal economical advance due to the stimulus given production by liberty, by the activity of paid labor, and by competition. We may cite, moreover, a moral improvement resulting from the enfranchisement of the popular conscience and the novel feeling of responsibility, and we will name finally the social metamorphosis which must gradually follow the decay of patriarchal habits and the growth of individuality.

That such consequences are not far more salient is by some students of New Russia charged upon the repressive, unifying tendencies of the communal system. Indeed, a Russian commission of inquiry, charged with the examination of the peculiar forms of

collective land tenure which obtain in a large part of the Empire, has lately recommended the summary abolition of communal property. The execution of such a measure seems impracticable, but it is worth while to mark what is said for and against a curious institution, and how far it has been affected by the manumission of the present class. Strangely enough, the collective ownership of real estate in the rural communities, which is the most striking feature of Muscovite society, was one of the last to attract notice at home or abroad. The visit of Baron Haxthausen about thirty years ago may be said to have revealed it to Western Europe. It is now known that this species of tenure, in which Slavophiles have chosen to see a distinctive, primordial outgrowth of the Russian nation and the formula of a new civilization, is the survival of an institution, once universal, which still subsists in Java, Egypt, parts of China and Hindostan, as well as in more than one Slavonic county of Europe, and which prevailed in Mexico and Peru at the time of the Spanish conquest. Although, however, the tenancy of land in common merely betokens an intermediate stage of social development, and seems to be a generic trait of the Slav peoples, there is no doubt that it takes on a specific character in that portion of the Czar's dominions — Great Russia — where it is most firmly established.

Corporate title entailing corporate responsibility, and on the other hand temporary usufruct by families, are the essential principles of the Russian communal system. The government looks for its revenues, and the quondam proprietor of the soil for his arrears of purchase-money, to the *mir*, or commune, in its collective capacity; but the land of which the latter, under the scheme of serfdom, was tenant by sufferance, and which it now holds in fee, is not tilled for common account, but apportioned at certain times and in certain ways fixed by local custom. The points to be heeded in these periodic partitions are the grounds of title to an allotment, the epochs, and the method of distribution. As regards the right to share, the assignment is made, not to individuals, but to families, and is proportionate either to the number of male persons or to the number of married couples therein. In either case it is obvious what encouragement the scheme lends to growth of population, since, instead of cutting up the paternal acres, a numerous progeniture augments them. The periods of allotment vary according to

the nature of the soil or the traditions of different districts. For pasture-lands the system of annual division preponderates, and there are communes in the province of Tambof which parcel out these twice a year. Sometimes arable fields likewise are subjected to yearly assignment, but most frequently they are distributed triennially, and not seldom this period is doubled or tripled, while in the government of Moscow a decennial term has been adopted. Passing to the method of apportionment, we find it defective chiefly because it aims at an absolute and therefore impracticable equality. According to the plan usually followed, the territory of a commune is segregated into three concentric zones. From the village forming the centre diverge as many radii as there are co-partners, and the sectors thus obtained supply the shares, which are then drawn by lot. The lottery is managed in such a way that each married couple or communal unit (whatever that may chance to be) has a strip of each zone or category of land, but no care is taken to dovetail the three or more parcels falling to one household. Often a given share is made up of parcels remote one from another, and perhaps shut off by a neighbor's ground. To appreciate the smallness of the fragments thus acquired we must bear in mind that the mean amount of land appropriated to the peasants at the time of the emancipation was from seven to ten acres per male inhabitant, but that, many having purchased only the legal minimum, the entire share of a given married pair is frequently much less. In some over-populated communes the process of subdivision is carried so far that parcels are cited not exceeding two yards in breadth.

The stability of the system seems to be demonstrated by its hold on the affections of the persons directly concerned. It is not prescribed but only tolerated by the imperial code, and any commune, by the vote of two thirds of the members, may substitute the principle of individual inheritable property. Nevertheless such changes are very rare ; while, on the other hand, there are instances of lands gratuitously distributed by generous proprietors among their former serfs which have been ultimately placed under a communal *régime* by the peasant owners. It is certain, however, that the *mowjik*, although upholding the custom of collective ownership, has not for the opposite mode of tenure the instinctive repugnance or deliberate disapproval which Herzen and the Russian socialists

would ascribe to him. Far from seeing in a personal title to property a monstrous anomaly and usurpation, he is eager to invest his savings in land outside of the corporate territory, holding fast meanwhile as his sheet-anchor the right to share in the communal allotment. In a word, this characteristic Muscovite institution can hardly be shaken from without so long as tradition and interest concur in recommending it to the peasant; but there are signs of a counter tendency in the modified economy of the commune itself under the action of the new spirit of liberty. We must remember that a Russian village community is conceived as an aggregation, not of persons, but of families, each of which holds in perpetuity its *izba*, or cottage, with the small adjacent close not comprised in the corporate territory, and not alienable except to those near of kin. Here, again, within this small domain and over the chattels pertaining to it reigns the system of indivisible ownership, — the family being in fact a miniature commune, or species of economical association, whose members are allied in blood, and whose director is the natural head of the house. Just as all the married males of the community may claim equal shares of the common ground, so all male kinfolk have a joint title to the household property. It is true that this could be subdivided by common consent, but in the time of serfdom a family preferred to remain concentrated, the mutilation of the patrimonial capital being regarded with misgiving, and stigmatized as the "black sharing." But such patriarchal manners cannot long survive the enfranchisement of the peasant class, and the *mowjik*, rehabilitated in his own eyes, is showing a disposition to free himself from the paternal despotism. Already the practice of partition has gained so much ground as seriously to fritter the appliances of tillage, and thus to threaten a curtailment of production. At the present time the Ministry of Agriculture is said to be seeking means of arresting this disintegration of farming capital, but it is hard to see what restrictions can be devised which would not infringe the fundamental liberties guaranteed by the decree of manumission.

There is a question of which we hear a great deal from theorists, and which no doubt will be pressed more and more earnestly upon the Russian *mowjik*, and that is whether the impulse toward individualism just noted, which apparently points to a sentimental recoil from communistic institutions, should be fortified by motives

of self-interest. Without pursuing the abstract inquiry whether a communal system or the scheme of individual property which prevails among Western nations is the more fruitful of general well-being, we may point out that some of the current objections to collective ownership do not impeach its essential principles. For instance, the abuse and neglect of the soil resulting from a want of interest on the part of the cultivator is no unusual occurrence on the leased farms of individual proprietors in England or in the United States; and we may add that many Russian communes have taken measures to remedy the evil by prescribing compulsory fertilization under penalty of keeping the same lot upon the next partition. Again, we must concede that the plan of minute parcellation and a short term of usufruct are not inseparable from the institution. We have seen that in some districts the period of tenancy is ten years, and the prevailing tendency seems to be toward prolongation. A stock charge against the tenure in question makes it attach a premium to wastefulness and indolence, but it may be asked, How would the case of a Muscovite peasant whose occupancy should be secured for an extended term differ from that of an English tenant under a long lease? The only difference is that the *moujik*, after the arrears of purchase-money due to his former master shall have been acquitted, — that is to say, after A. D. 1910, — will pay no rent to a landlord. As regards, moreover, the transformation of agriculture by those costly mechanical appliances to which the limitless steppes of Russia seem peculiarly adapted, it is by no means certain that the commune undertaking to work its land for corporate account might not find resources in its organization quite tantamount to those of private capital. At present its activities are cramped by an inordinate weight of debt, but with each succeeding decade that load will be lightened, and it is not unreasonable to expect a simultaneous expansion of the national intelligence. In short, the Russian communal system is on trial, and the next half-century will perhaps decide whether it is the swathing-cloth of an undeveloped society or capable of elastic adjustment to a riper civilization.

There is no doubt that the patriarchal habits rooted in the communal system too often bore the double fruit of paternal despotism and female slavery. The mere physical conditions of life, for example, in the Russian village communities, and especially the

mode of lodgement, contribute to the corruption of morals, and therefore to the degradation of women. We need not call to mind what consequences flow from the overcrowding of tenements in the large cities of Western Europe and America. In Russia the inconveniences are assuredly not less, where the same narrow cabin, or *izba*, shelters several generations and half a dozen married couples; where parents and children, brothers and brothers' wives, sleep, pell-mell, close to the big stove. Add to this unwholesome species of promiscuity the caprices of domestic tyranny, which are said to be a standing menace to the chastity and decency of families. According to Leroy-Beaulieu, it is a fact, that, emulating the authority formerly exercised by the nobles over their female serfs, the head of the peasant household sometimes arrogates a kind of *droit de seigneur* over the women subject to his control.

In the diverse conceptions of woman's claims and function encountered up and down the scale of ranks in Russia, we have the most decisive proof of the moral dualism between the crust of refinement and culture superposed by Catharine II. and the organic structure of old Muscovy. As regards the high society of St. Petersburg, or even the middle grades of the nobility, or of civil and military functionaries throughout the country, it is certain that the ladies are at least equal, perhaps superior, in breeding and education to the men. It is wholly otherwise in the trading and farming class, which constitutes the mass of the population, and whose ideas and customs keep the impress of Asiatic or Byzantine manners. Indeed, the contempt for the female sex, and the debased condition of the wife, subjected to ignominious ceremonies at the time of her marriage, and to ignoble treatment on the part of her husband, are the precise features of indigenous Russian life which have most shocked foreign travellers from the sixteenth century up to our own day. It is to Herberstein, who disclosed to Continental Europe the interior of Muscovy, that we owe the familiar story of the Russian woman married to a German, who complained of her husband's frigidity, because he had not once beaten her. There is a national proverb to the same effect: "Love your wife as your own soul, and beat her like your fur jacket." "A husband's cuffs leave no mark," is another adage put in a wife's mouth. Where such manners are consecrated by tradition, it is not to be expected that public opinion should recognize in blows

and maltreatment an adequate ground of divorce. The *mowjik* cannot be made to understand how his right to chastise his helpmate can be questioned, and when he is summoned for this offence before a magistrate serenely explains that the victim was his wife, his property. Here and there the popular songs bear traces of the griefs which in the rough furrows of daily life the Russian woman finds it prudent to conceal. "Ages have rolled away," says the poet Nekrasof, "the whole face of the earth has brightened, only the sombre lot of the *mowjik's* wife God forgets to change." And the same poet makes one of his village heroines say, apropos of the enfranchisement of the serfs, "God has forgotten the nook where he hid the keys of woman's emancipation." In a word, the wife of the Muscovite peasant seems to have been until recently the slave of a slave, and to have borne on her head the whole weight of a double edifice of servitude. Yet it may be that to rehabilitate her a little liberty and comfort would suffice, and probably the freedom of the serf will in the end be complemented by the elevation of his companion. Already in some communes there are gleams of a new order, the mother of adult children, for instance, enjoying a certain consideration, and the management of the household being occasionally intrusted to the widow of the head. The progress of individualism and the development of a sentiment of personal dignity cannot but inure to the profit of the female sex, although thus far melioration in this direction is rather a hope than a fact.

There is another unsatisfactory aspect of Muscovite society, and one which presents few signs of recent improvement, and that is the moral and religious status of the clerical element. The distinctive features of the Russian ecclesiastical system seem to be partly inherited from its parent the Greek Church, and to be partly due to special political conditions. We need not say that the Patriarchs of Constantinople never emulated the theocratic ambition of the Bishops of Rome. On the contrary, the Eastern or self-styled Orthodox Church has at all times remained true to Byzantine traditions of subservience, and, being herself accustomed to lean on the civil power, has never — except in the recent case of the Bulgarian Exarchate — strenuously resisted the outgrowth of new national establishments. For some two centuries after its conversion to Christianity — from 988 to 1240 — Russia

formed a part of the Byzantine Patriarchate. From the date of the Tartar invasion, on the other hand, the dependence on Constantinople was very slight, although it was not until two centuries later that the Metropolitan of Kief, who was then the chief ecclesiastical officer in the country, was formally consecrated at home by a council of Muscovite bishops. A further step in the direction of autonomy was taken in 1589, when the Czar procured the consecration of a Russian Patriarch equal in dignity and authority to his historic homonyms of Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria. In all matters of external form the new Patriarch was a very important personage, but, according to the authorities cited by Mackenzie Wallace, the Czar was even then the real ruler in ecclesiastical no less than in civil affairs. Still a bigoted, energetic primate might throw considerable obstacles in the way of power, and accordingly Czar Peter abolished the Patriarchate, replacing it with a Synod, in which, as a contemporary explained, the mainspring was Peter's will and the pendulum his understanding. Of course, in relation to the Orthodox Church as a whole (of which the Russian Church is only one member) the Czar could or can no more interfere with dogmas or ceremonial than a French Emperor could modify Roman Catholic theology, but toward the national establishment his position is peculiar. He is supposed to act in ecclesiastical administration by means of the "most holy, governing Synod," which, however, is not a council of deputies freely chosen by the clergy, but a permanent college, whose members are created by the will of the sovereign. Such a body could not be expected to enjoy much liberty of thought or action. As a matter of fact the Synod has usually confined itself to the registration of the imperial wishes, and from the time of its founder downward has reflected the character of the reigning sovereign.

The ecclesiastical administration is exclusively in the hands of the monks or the Black Clergy; that is to say, all the bishops and other persons of the hierarchy above the grade of parish priest belong to this class. This of itself is not an auspicious fact, but between Eastern and Western monastic systems the comparison is wholly to the advantage of the latter. At various epochs of its history the monasticism of Rome has made a vigorous, spontaneous effort at self-regeneration, which found expression in the foundation of new orders, each proposing some definite aim, some special

sphere of usefulness. In Russia we find no similar phenomenon. From time to time perhaps a solitary individual has raised his voice against prevailing abuses, or it may be that changes have been forcibly effected by the civil power; but neither in the monastic population as a whole, nor in any particular monastery, has there been a voluntary energetic movement toward reform. If we glance now at the parish priests, who, like their counterparts in Protestant countries, are allowed to marry, and who, as distinguished from the monks, are called the White Clergy, we find that in early times they were drawn from all classes of the population, but that long ago this custom fell into disuse. It appears that by the joint efforts of ecclesiastical and civil authority the parish priesthood has been made a separate Levitical body, legally and actually incapable of mingling with the other categories of the population. As Mr. Wallace points out, the simple fact that the whole clergy became an exclusive caste must have had a prejudicial influence on their character; but this was not all. The caste increased in numbers much more rapidly than the offices to be filled, and thus has been formed an ever-growing clerical proletariat, which gravitates toward the towns, and there recruits the ranks of radicalism and nihilism. The condition of the priests who remain in the villages is not much more satisfactory. They receive little consideration or respect from the peasantry and still less from the nobles. Fifteen years ago they were almost as completely under the power of the rural proprietor as were his serfs, and the power was exercised in the most humiliating way. We are told, for example, of one priest who was ducked in a pond on a cold winter's day for the amusement of some jovial gentlemen, and of another who, having neglected to doff his hat as he passed the Squire's house, was put into a barrel and rolled down a hill into a river at the bottom. The truth is that there is little in the functions of the Russian priest to command respect. According to our conceptions, which have changed but little on this head since Chaucer's time, a village pastor ought to expound weekly to his flock the truths of Christianity, and lead them by example as well as precept in the right way. The Muscovite clergy have no such ideal set before them. They are expected merely to conform to certain observances, and to perform punctiliously the rites and ceremonies prescribed by the Church. They rarely preach or exhort, and rarely have or seek to

have a moral influence over their parishioners. We are not surprised, therefore, to read in an official report by Mr. Melnikof to the Grand Duke Constantine, that the people do not reverence the clergy, but persecute them with derision and reproaches, and have recourse to them, not from the inner impulse of conscience, but from necessity. In all the proverbs and popular sayings in which a pastor is mentioned it is with contempt. How can people revere their spiritual guides when, according to this report, they hear that one priest stole money from below the pillow of a dying man at the moment of confession, that another was publicly dragged out of a brothel, that a third solemnly christened a dog, and that a fourth was pulled by the hair from the altar by his deacon while officiating at the Easter service? These are the statements of an orthodox Russian celebrated for his intimate knowledge of Muscovite provincial life, and addressed in all seriousness to a member of the imperial family.

If we would see represented in a visible form the peculiar characteristics of the national church, we have only to look at Russian religious art and compare it with that of Western Europe. In Roman Catholic countries from the time of the Renaissance religious art kept pace with intellectual progress. Gradually emancipating itself from archaic forms and symbolism, it converted lifeless typical figures into living personalities, and lit up their dull eyes with human feeling. In Russia, on the other hand, no such development has taken place. The old Byzantine emblems have been religiously preserved, and we find mirrored in the painted and embossed icons, stiff, archaic and expressionless, the flaccid immobility of the Muscovite Church. During the last two centuries, and more conspicuously during the last decade and a half, Russia has undergone a series of profound modifications, political, intellectual, and moral, but the spirit of her ecclesiastical polity has remained unchanged. Some modifications wrought by the civil power in its administrative structure have not affected its inner nature. Sterility, stagnation, and passive resistance to external pressure are still its distinctive traits. Partly from the predominance which it gives to the ceremonial element, and partly from the low state of general culture among the clergy, it has ever remained outside of intellectual movements. The study of the Roman Catholic Church to develop and adjust the traditional dogmas

by definition and deduction, and the efforts of the Protestant sects to reconcile their teaching with progressive science, are alike foreign to its temper and character. It is now what it was under the Patriarchs in the day of the Muscovite Czars, holding fast to the promise that no jot or tittle shall pass from the law till all be fulfilled.

There are many other topics which could not be overlooked in a complete exhibit of the New Russia, such as the economic condition of the peasantry, the tentative scheme of local government, and the existing intellectual activities, on all which heads Mr. Wallace may be consulted with profit, and we should also have liked to glance at the productive resources and finances of the country, about which Leroy-Beaulieu has collected much useful information. In view, however, of the limited space at our command, we prefer to follow the former's account of the official and landed noblesse, and of the mercantile classes as they appear in the society reorganized by Alexander II.

In the first place we find substantially confirmed the oft-repeated saying that there is in reality no aristocracy in Russia. The noblesse has little or nothing of what we call aristocratic feeling, of that haughty, domineering, exclusive spirit which an Englishman associates with the highest social caste. You find a plenty of Russians who are proud of their wealth, of their culture, or their official position, but scarcely ever a Russian who is proud of his birth, or imagines that a long pedigree confers a right to political privilege or even social consideration. To the ordinary noble such ideas appear absurd. What rights and immunities he possesses were received from the monarchy, and therefore he has no deep-rooted jealousy of the imperial prerogative, while, on the other hand, his order has never had to struggle with the other social classes, and therefore harbors toward them no feelings of rivalry or hostility. It may be said, in general, that the Russian noblesse looks more to the future than to the past, and is ready to accept any new ideas that wear the badge of progress; therefore tenacity of purpose is of course not one of its attributes. In a word, it has neither the characteristics impressed by a feudal history nor the specific virtues and failings fostered by an atmosphere of political liberty. Mr. Wallace is justified in dwelling at great length on the Russian nobility, for curiously enough they hold just the position

which the bourgeoisie held in France when Siéyès said of the latter that it was the state. The noblesse is the brain and the heart of Russia, and it is now, taken as a whole, the best friend of the *mowjik*, for it is utterly free from the spirit of caste, and since the consummation of manumission has no interest or prejudice counter to the peasant class. He cannot reiterate these facts too constantly, for it is not easy for us to credit such anomalies. It seems to be certain that the Dvoryanstvo, or quondam privileged order, is rapidly tending to assimilate with the other classes, and that it does not discover any disposition to form itself into a close corporation. In so far as the nobles have any political aspirations they aim at securing the political liberty of the people as an entirety, and not at acquiring special rights and immunities for their own order.

It is conceded by all students of Russia that the efforts to create an intelligent third estate have so far failed. The development of trade and industry in recent years has of course enriched the mercantile class, but it has not affected deeply their mode of life. Of all categories of men in the Empire they are the least progressive, and as regards education they are very slightly superior to the *mowjik*. When a Russian merchant becomes rich he builds for himself a sumptuous house, but as you enter the gaudily furnished apartments you remark a rigid symmetry and an indescribable rawness which unmistakably suggest that these fine things are not for use. The host and his family live down stairs in small, dirty rooms, and if you make a *visite de digestion* you will probably have some difficulty in gaining admission by the front door. It is to be noted, however, that the Muscovite trader's love of ostentation is of a unique kind, something entirely distinct from English snobbery and American shoddyism. He may delight in splendid salons, elaborate dinners, and costly furs, or he may display his wealth by lavish donations to religious or benevolent institutions, but in all this he never affects to be other than he is. He wears by preference a costume which plainly defines his social position, makes no effort to adopt fine manners or elegant tastes, and never seeks admission to what in Russia is called society. Having no desire to seem what he is not, he has a plain, unaffected manner, and at times a certain quiet dignity which contrasts favorably with the pretentious mien of many low-grade nobles who lay quite unfounded claims to being highly cultivated. At his great ban-

quets it is true the merchant likes to see among his guests as many generals — that is to say, official personages — as possible, but he never dreams of thereby establishing an intimacy with them, or of being invited in return. It is perfectly understood by both parties that nothing of the kind is meant. Finally, it is worthy of remark that the trading class recognizes no aristocracy but that of official rank. To them, and in a notable degree, as we have said, to all Russians, distinctions of birth, as discriminated from rank, are unintelligible. Many a merchant would cheerfully give a hundred roubles for the presence at his board of an "actual State Councillor," who perhaps never heard of his grandfather, while the same host would not give a kopek for the company of a Prince destitute of official status, although the latter might trace his pedigree up to the half-mythical Rurik. Of such a person the shrewd Muscovite would say, "Who knows what sort of a fellow he is?" whereas the Councillor exhibits unmistakable marks of the Czar's favor, — in other words, demonstrates to the merchant's eye some personal merit gauged, indeed, by a rude, often illusory, yet by no means wholly untrustworthy, standard. This is one of those superficial signs which partly reflect and partly reinforce the more profound indications of the essentially democratic character which belongs to the social structure of Russia, and of the comparative abruptness and facility with which an autocratic may perhaps one day be exchanged for an extremely liberal government, when the mass of the people shall have become fitted by partial and local experiment for self-government.

M. W. Hazeltine.

Art. VII. — How shall the Nation regain Prosperity?

How shall we as a nation extricate ourselves from the present hard times and regain material prosperity, is a question that comes very close to the interests, moral as well as material, of every man, woman, and child that helps constitute the nation, whatever may be their social position, occupation, or sectional location.

It is proposed to here attempt to contribute something in the way of fact and argument in answer to this question; or something which, if not a full answer, may at least help the people of the United States to determine what course of policy on the part of their government, in respect to economic and fiscal matters, will be most likely to effect the result which all agree is most desirable.

And, first, a word in the nature of general propositions. All wealth, meaning thereby property or material abundance, is the result of labor. Persons acquire and accumulate wealth by means other than labor, in the sense of physical toil, but no one produces wealth or abundance without labor.

Again, the results of labor exerted for production *under the same circumstances* as respects natural and accumulated capital, intelligence, and physical energy, are wonderfully equal all the world over; so equal that, *other things being equal*, one man's labor will exchange for another man's everywhere. In fact, there is nothing so permanent and so uniform and so equal in value as labor; and wages are nearly identical in all places, when measured by the same standard. Property or wealth (in the sense of the results of embodied or accumulated labor, which alone constitutes property or wealth) being once acquired, no nation or individual can increase such property or wealth by merely making or multiplying titles to it, and then counting the actuality as one property, and the title — as a debt, a promise to pay, written or printed, or a mortgage — based on it as another and distinct property; nor can property be increased by adopting and using a big unit or standard for measuring it. These propositions, as thus stated, may seem in the nature of truisms; and yet there are few subjects in respect to which peo-

ple in general, and the people of the United States in particular, are more inclined to deceive themselves. Thus, by most courts and legislators, and by many writers of eminence on law, finance, and political economy, debts are still regarded as property, as rightful subjects for taxation, and as rightfully included in valuations of the aggregate wealth of communities or of the nation, although each man's individual experience unerringly teaches him just the contrary. Again, the delusion we are apt to take upon ourselves from not clearly perceiving that the actual results of labor cannot be varied by varying the units or standards employed to measure or estimate them, is also very remarkable. Thus, with labor at three dollars per day, and the value of the products of labor measured proportionally, the aggregate product or wealth of the United States appears enormous. In China, on the other hand, they have neither debt, paper-money, nor coin; and the real standard of value — labor — is on the average twenty cents per day. Consequently taxes are small, revenue small, expenditure small, and country poor, according to our arithmetic. Other things being equal, however, the annual product of labor in the two countries will be in proportion to numbers; and by this rule the aggregate product of China to that of America should be in the ratio of five hundred millions to some forty-three millions.* Change now the standard for measuring the value of the product of the labor of these millions; reduce wages in the United States to twenty cents per day, and raise wages in China to three dollars per day. America will then appear most poor, while figures could hardly compute the value of the product of China. Yet nothing would be really changed, and yet nothing more uncommon than right notions on this subject.

So much in the way of propositions, the correctness of which, it is believed, cannot be impugned. Let us next see what in the way of deductions we are legitimately warranted in making from these propositions.

If labor is the source of all wealth, if labor under the same circumstances will produce equal results, then that country which possesses the greatest natural resources, which commands the most energetic and intelligent labor, which avails itself to

* Examination of Chinese archives at Pekin, instituted by the Russian Legation, indicates that the population of China in 1860 was in excess of five hundred and thirty millions.

the largest extent of labor-saving machinery and processes, which has the best and cheapest facilities for intercommunication, and the freest and most enlightened government, ought to produce to greater advantage than any or all other countries, ought to produce the most for the expenditure of a given amount of labor, ought to be able to sell cheapest, ought, finally, to take the first place in the race for industrial and commercial supremacy among the nations.

Now, the United States confessedly in very many respects occupies these positions of advantage. It is a country fitted by nature, and by the character of the people who occupy and possess it, to be a country of abundance. A given amount of labor under existing circumstances will here produce more, on the average, of the essentials of a comfortable livelihood than any similar area on the earth's surface. The evidence on this point is too conclusive almost to admit of even formal questioning. All the world has admitted it, for the *surplus* population of all the world, possessed of sufficient information to form an intelligent opinion in respect to their material interests, has rushed here to live. Men do not often think, when they hear or read of the hordes of Goths, of Vandals, or of Huns, which in the olden time rolled in upon the civilization of Southern Europe to obliterate or destroy, that, momentous as were these movements of population in respect to historical results, they were nevertheless, in point of numbers, especially if we take time into consideration, small in comparison with the wave of immigration which, impelled by peaceful motives, has flowed in upon the United States from other countries during the period from 1840 to 1873 inclusive (8,038,195),* to industrially produce and develop. Other evidence on this point, no less striking, is to be found in the rates of wages and of interest which for many years have prevailed in the United States, and which, as is well known, have been greater than in most other countries. But capitalists and laborers have received large remuneration in the United States simply and solely because their industry has produced largely. Wages being labor's share of the product of labor, and interest capital's share of the same product,

* Gibbon estimates the number of the entire Gothic nation, "of both sexes and all ages," which crossed the Danube in 876 A. D., at only "near a million." The army of Huns led by Attila into Gaul in 451 A. D. is estimated at 700,000.

neither wages nor interest can be large in any country unless the general average product resulting from the employment of labor and capital is also large. The late Professor Cairnes of London, one of the most careful observers and thinkers, a few years ago made an estimate, based on the best available industrial statistics for 1868–70, to the effect that in the commercial dealings of the several nations the product of a day's labor in the United States ought to enable "a workman to command the product, in round numbers, of a day and a third's labor in Great Britain; the product of a day and a half's labor in Belgium; the product of from one and three quarters to nearly two days' labor in France and Germany; while it probably would command the product of four or five days' labor in China and India." In truth, there are no criteria which better indicate the relative material prosperity of nations and communities than the rates of interest and wages which they are permanently willing and able to pay; high rates prevailing of necessity in countries where the products of labor and capital are comparatively large, and low rates of necessity in countries where the products of labor and capital are comparatively small. Wages at the present time are comparatively low, and declining in the United States, because, owing to various circumstances, the results of labor are not largely remunerative to employers. Again, there is no more capital in the country than there was four years ago, when the rates of interest were high,—probably not so much, for the multitudes of workers who have been idle during the last four years have been consuming rather than creating capital, as they have had to live, even if idle; and if rates of interest depend mainly, as many suppose, upon the abundance or scarcity of capital, interest at present ought to rule high. But so far from ruling high, it never was so low, and simply because the profit resulting from any use that capital can now be put to in the United States is not sufficient to justify a high rate of interest.

The circumstance that wages and interest have been and are now higher in the United States than in most other countries is often dwelt upon by men claiming to be statesmen and economists, as if it constituted a disadvantage to the country in making its foreign exchanges, which it was necessary to guard against and counteract by legislation. But permanent high wages and large interest in any country where life and property are reasonably

secure simply means that the country is in possession of such special resources and facilities as enable its labor and capital to produce abundantly and cheaply, and so exchange to the maximum of advantage with other countries; and any man who claims that they mean anything else either perverts the truth or has no clear conception of what he is talking about.

The fact that up to within a very recent period there have been but comparatively few paupers in the United States, and that even now it is doubtful whether we have anything corresponding to the permanent pauper classes of Europe, also constitutes an item of evidence alone almost conclusive of the correctness of the assumption that in respect to facilities for producing useful things easily and cheaply, the United States enjoy advantages superior to those of most other countries.

Passing now from premise to conclusion, from hypothesis to reality, the actual condition of the country will be found to be as follows: every section filled to overflowing with its peculiar useful products, — the South, with cotton, the staple textile fibre of the world's clothing; the West, with meat and grain; the Northwest, with lumber and with leather; the Middle States, with coal and iron; New York and New England, with textile and other manufactures, — and everywhere labor ready to augment these products, or elaborate them into higher forms of fabrication.

Under such circumstances all the world ought to come to the United States to buy, or, what is the same thing, exchange; or, to adopt the language of the eminent foreign authority before quoted, Professor Cairnes, who, taking the several facts in the case, and reasoning about them coolly and dispassionately, as would an expert in reference to a case in law, medicine, or mechanics, was led to say (as recently as 1874) that, "having regard to the geographical position, extent of territory, and extraordinary natural resources of the United States, as well as the character of its people, trained in all the arts of civilization, and distinguished beyond others by their eminent mechanical and business talents, there seems to be no reason why they should not take a position of commanding influence in the world of commerce, — a position to which no other people on earth could aspire." But most curiously all the world does not come here to buy, but for a great variety of products which we specially want to sell, and the world specially wants to consume,

turn away and buy elsewhere; and, as a consequence, the cry is everywhere throughout the land, that in the midst of our abundance there is no demand for our abundance; and because there is no demand, the labor and machinery employed in production cease to find employment for further production. Hence wages cease to be earned and paid, and the laborer starves. Hence corporate and other investments of accumulated capital become unremun erative and as real estate derives its entire value from the value of labor or accumulated labor, which alone is property, connected with or reflected upon it, as these values shrink, real estate depreciates also and becomes unsalable. The country is therefore suffering to-day, strange as the proposition may at first thought seem, not because we have not, but because we have; not from scarcity, but from abundance; and the thing which to-day prevents the owners and controllers of productive instrumentalities from putting them into full operation is the fear of increasing that abundance, and the knowledge that inability to dispose of it will result in its being kept or carried by the producers at a loss.

But lack of demand for things essential to maintain life, or the use and consumption of which augments the comfort and pleasure of living, must proceed from one of two causes, — either lack of desire to have, or inability to obtain for the purpose of satisfying desire. But lack of desire to have the good things of this world presupposes either that human nature has changed; that human wants and appetites no longer exist, or that the millennial period has come when every one is supplied with all that they want without effort. Absurd as all this is, people nevertheless do not talk as if it was absurd, for we continually hear it asserted that the country is over-producing. Now, that there may be injudicious production of certain forms of product in certain sections, from a lack of appreciation on the part of producers of the continually changing relations between supply and demand, and that demand for certain products may greatly diminish or entirely cease because through invention or discovery other products have come to be more useful or cheaper, is undoubtedly true. Examples of the first are continually occurring in agriculture and manufactures; while of the second, no more striking illustration can be found than the permanently diminished demand for iron rails in consequence of the greater usefulness and comparative cheapness of the

product resulting from the improved processes discovered by Bessemer. But taking the world as a whole, there can be no such thing as over-production of things necessary or desirable; and what is more, there never will be so long as any backs and sides are bare, hands and feet cold, or stomachs of human beings have not enough of food in them to satisfy. Any lack of demand for useful and desirable products which may exist must therefore be referred to inability on the part of those who desire to obtain; and to find out wherein this inability consists, with a view of remedying it, and thereby increasing demand, and consequently production and exchange, or, as it is commonly termed, *business*, is the problem that next offers itself for investigation.

And in entering upon this investigation the first fact in order to be noted is that, for the time being at least, *the power of purchase* to nations, communities, and individuals, so far as such power resides in accumulated labor, has been abridged; or, in other words, the so-called civilized nations of the world are not as rich as they might and ought to have been, inasmuch as for the last sixteen years especially they have been diligently wasting their capital, or placing it under conditions which will not permit of its ready use for productive purposes. It is not proposed to here enter into any extended details on this subject. But, in order to indicate somewhat of the nature of these details, it may be mentioned that since 1860 the national debts of the world, incurred mainly for war purposes, have been increased by a sum larger than ten thousand millions of dollars; that at least an equal amount, taken from current annual product, was expended during the same period for similar unproductive purposes; and that a *third equal sum* will probably fail to represent what has been invested during the same time in enterprises, industrial or productive in their inception or purport, but which are now unproductive in the sense of returning any income to those who contributed.* A part of this latter aggre-

* The fact is now very generally recognized, that the capital which, under the stimulus of war and a vicious fiscal policy, has been invested in the United States since 1860 in iron-works and woollen-mills, and which represented the savings for years of the labor of a very large number of persons, has been in great part as much wasted as though destroyed by fire or sunk in the ocean. A most remarkable item of evidence in support of this statement is to be found in a communication on the state of the Woollen Goods Trade in the United States, made to the New York World under date of February 17, 1877, by one of the most prominent manufactur-

gate undoubtedly represents change in the distribution, and not absolute waste of capital or wealth; but the items of loss omitted in any such estimate, and of which it is impossible to take more than general cognizance, would, if obtainable, undoubtedly carry the aggregate of the destruction or impairment of the world's capital since 1860 far above the sum of the figures above mentioned. Had all these losses fallen exclusively upon the United States, they would have been equivalent to the destruction or transfer of all its existing accumulated wealth, — the result of all the capital earned and saved, or brought into the country, since it became the abode of civilized man. In the case of Prussia, a country of small fortunes and small incomes, the losses sustained by 432 joint-stock companies since 1872, as measured by the fall in the market prices of their stocks, has been recently shown by Dr. Engle, of Berlin, to be equal to nearly six years of the public revenue, and to represent a very large part of the comparatively small savings of that nation. In short, the world, for the last fifteen or sixteen years, has been specially wasting its substance, — playing on a great scale the part of the Prodigal Son, — and such a course, if persisted in, will, in virtue of a common law, ultimately bring nations as well as individuals alike to the husks. Such, however, through invention and discovery, has been the comparatively recent increase in the world's power of production, that resort to the husks need be but temporary; and were it not for continued war expenditures and bad economic laws, the restoration of the world's impaired wealth, through economy or increased industry, would soon be effected.*

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ing firms in New England (Mudge, Sawyer, & Co.), in which they state "that there would be no improvement in the [woollen goods] trade until the mills ceased overproduction; that if one half of the machinery were stopped or burned the general trade would be good; that there was too much woollen machinery in the country for our market; and that, as we could not export any description of woollen goods, we should have to wait for the growth of the population or the wearing out of the machinery." Or, in other words, in the opinion of those best qualified to judge, one half of the capital invested in the woollen manufacturing industry of the country (worsted goods excluded), amounting, according to the last census (1870) to $ 49,400,000, is so useless and harmful that the general interests of the trade would be improved if the buildings, machinery, etc., which represent and embody such capital, were subjected to conflagration or compulsory inaction.

* "Our present aggregate debt, which seems so large, is but a trifle in comparison to the power of production. One has said, 'Mankind is as lazy as it dares to be, and

It is the opinion of Mr. Edward Atkinson, founded on data somewhat hypothetical but warranted (and with which the writer of this article after careful consideration and review agrees), that, with the existing power of production in the country, about twenty-five minutes' extra labor per day, on the part of its adult male working population, would suffice to defray all the interest on our present national, State, and municipal debt, and establish a sinking-fund sufficient to extinguish the aggregate principals of the same, provided a market and sale could be obtained for the resulting products of such labor at substantially existing prices.

The next important factor in this problem of inability to purchase and consequent lack of demand, and one which has not hitherto received the attention its importance entitles it, grows out of, or rather in itself is, this very increase in the power of production to which allusion has just been made; and which, although affecting in a greater or less degree the industrial condition of all countries, has of late probably manifested itself more remarkably in the United States than elsewhere.

Omitting anything in the way of preliminary discussion on this point, and coming directly to the consideration of hard, positive facts, attention is first asked to a remarkable analysis of the conditions of producing cotton cloth in 1838 and 1876, as recently presented to the New England Cotton Manufacturers' Association by Mr. William A. Burke of Lowell, Mass., and founded upon the records of the operations of one of the Boott Mills in that place in the respective years mentioned. The important fact brought out in this analysis is, that 90 operatives (men and women) engaged in the manufacture of cotton in one of the best mills in Massachusetts, produced regularly in 1876, with 16½ hours' less labor per week, more cloth measured in pounds, and of nearly the same quality (No. 13.64 yarn being spun in 1838 and No. 13.93 in 1876),* than 231 operatives working in the same mill

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no state or nation ever works to its full capacity except when an emergency calls out its force. The large ratio which production bears to accumulation, taken in connection with the fact that whenever a necessity to use any commodity, or an opportunity to sell occurs, production at once increases, indicates that the additional effort called for to pay debt can be executed at any time. The only difficulty is to adjust the method of taxation by which the debt is paid, so as not to impede production or exchange." — EDWARD ATKINSON, *American Social Science Association, Saratoga Meeting*, 1876.

* The average product of each operative in the Boott Mill, working one hour, in

did in 1838. Other results of interest shown by this analysis are, that the cotton-mill (male) operative of Massachusetts in 1876, working 60 hours per week, receives 40 per cent more in wages than did the operative of 1838, similarly working 76½ hours per week; — women 47 per cent more: that the average profits on the capital employed in the same manufacture have not increased *relatively* during the same period in anything like the same proportion, and probably are not as great absolutely to-day as they were forty years ago; * that the standard of health among cotton operatives is higher now than formerly, and the standard of intelligence lower; *twenty-five* per cent making their marks on the pay-roll of 1876, as compared with *eleven* per cent who thus signed in 1838.

Taking up this investigation at the point where Mr. Burke leaves it, Mr. Edward Atkinson of Boston has next been led to the conclusion that the value of the food and fuel products purchased and consumed by the cotton-operatives of Massachusetts in 1838 was, on an average, about $ 200 per annum for each person; or that the 231 operatives in Boott Mill No. 1 of Lowell, and a like number in every other similar cotton-factory in New England, in 1838 consumed, in the aggregate, food and fuel products — mainly of American production — to the extent of about $ 46,000 per annum; and also that it then required the labor of 460 farmers, miners, and other laborers, working slowly and imperfectly, and earning each, over and above the subsistence of himself and family, a surplus of $ 100 per annum (an estimate probably in excess of the average surplus earnings of this class of American producers for the time), to supply this food and fuel requirement to the 231 cotton-operatives. The ratio of economic or industrial equilibrium between cotton-cloth producers and the producers of other commodities essential to a comfortable livelihood in 1838, in the United States, was, therefore, approximately as 231 to 460.

Since then, as already shown, 90 cloth producers have come

1838 was 1.012 pounds of cotton fabric, No. 13.64 yarn, 2.91 yards to the pound; and in 1876, 3.333 pounds of fabric, No. 13.93 yarn, 2.85 yards to the pound.

* In the analysis of another Lowell mill — the Jackson — submitted at the same time to the Association (through Mr. Burke, by its treasurer, Frederick Amory, Esq.), the net profit per yard produced was estimated at 1.86 cents for 1838, and .948 cents for 1876.

to be able to make as much cloth in 1876 as 231 similarly employed persons could do in 1838; while the annual *per capita* cloth consumption of the country has not materially increased during the same period, and, measured in pounds, has sensibly diminished.* But, at the same time, increased power of production and supply has also come to the producers of useful things other than cloth; and to such an extent, especially to the producers of food in the United States, through improved agricultural machinery and larger and cheaper facilities for transportation, that the labor of one farmer on the fertile lands of the West will probably go as far in 1876 toward feeding the cotton-mill operatives of Massachusetts as the labor of two farmers could have done in 1838. The change which has taken place in the economic relations of the cloth-makers and food-producers of the United States since 1838, in consequence of these increased facilities for production, is probably, therefore, somewhat as follows: —

Ninety cotton-operatives, with an average annual food-purchasing power each of $ 300 (increased from $ 200, since 1838, by increase of wages), will now purchase and consume farm-products, or their equivalents, to the aggregate value of $ 27,000 per annum; requiring the present labor of 135 farmers, producing $ 200 per annum through improved machinery and processes (as compared with $ 100 in 1838) over and above the subsistence of themselves and families. The ratio of industrial or economic equilibrium

* The average consumption of raw cotton for spinning (excluding demand for upholstery and the like) in the United States, from 1849 – 50 to 1875 – 76 inclusive, is estimated by Mr. B. F. Nourse, of Boston, to have been as follows: from 1849 – 50 to 1860 – 61, inclusive, a period of twelve years, an average of 11.35 lbs. *per capita;* from 1865 – 66 to 1875 – 76 inclusive, a period of eleven years, 11.37 lbs. *per capita.* In an address before the New England Cotton Manufacturers' Association, April, 1876, Mr. Edward Atkinson of Boston stated as a deduction from his investigations, capable of absolute proof, "That the production of cotton fabrics in 1876, other than printing cloths, consisting of sheeting, shirting, drills, and colored goods, is no more, probably less, than it was in 1859 and 1860, in proportion to the population of the United States"; or including printing cloths, that the net product of cotton goods for home consumption was 22.59 yards per head in the United States in 1875 as compared with 24.16 in 1860.

Comparing 1875 with 1860, an estimate of Mr. Nourse shows a decrease in the consumption of cotton for spinning, *measured in pounds*, in the ratio of 10.2 lbs. *per capita* in 1875 to 11.25 lbs. in 1860; but, on the other hand, a very considerable absolute increase in production measured *in yards* in 1875, as compared with 1860; lighter, finer, and less durable goods being worn at the present time, especially by the colored population of the South, than before the war or prior to 1860.

between cotton-cloth producers and the producers of other commodities essential to a comfortable livelihood in the United States in 1876 was therefore approximately as 90 to 135; or, in other words, the labor of 225 persons is as effective in 1876 in meeting the demands of the country for cloth and food products as was the labor of 691 persons in effecting similar results in 1838; and as a consequence of this change in the power of production, the labor of 466 other persons have, within this time and within the special industrial sphere under investigation, been rendered unnecessary; and they have been compelled to enter into relations with new wants and new capabilities of purchase in order to find employment. Results similar, and possibly even more striking, are afforded by the analysis of other leading American industries. Thus, in the manufacture of boots and shoes, three men working with machinery can do at present what, prior to 1860, required the labor of six men to effect; while the individual or *per capita* consumption of boots and shoes in the United States has probably been more uniform during the same period than is the case with almost any other commodity. At a convention of the stove-trade last year (1876) in St. Louis, it was also officially reported, that under what may be called a healthy trade there was at least 33 per cent greater present capacity for making stoves in the United States than the country requires; and that three men now, with the aid of machinery, can produce as many stoves as six men unaided could have done in 1860. In the manufacture of straw-goods, 300 hands in one of the largest factories in New England do more with the sewing-machine than what a comparatively few years ago required a thousand to effect when sewing of the braid was done by hand; and the steam-press turns off four hats to the minute, in place of the old rate of one hat to four minutes. Similar results, derived from the consideration of our industries as a whole, are also given in the last national census, which shows that while the increase in population in the United States from 1860 to 1870 was less than 23 per cent, the gain in the product of our so-called manufacturing industries during the same period, *measured in kind*, was 52 per cent, or near 30 per cent in excess of the gain in population.*

* A comparison of the conditions and results of manufacturing in the city of Cincinnati, published in the New York Commercial Bulletin, during the past year

The changes affecting labor in trade and commerce within a comparatively recent period, consequent upon the use of the telegraph and greatly increased facilities for transportation, have also been not less remarkable than those which have occurred in agriculture and manufactures, through the introduction and use of labor-saving machinery and processes. In place of large stocks of many of the leading articles of commerce being kept in store as formerly at nearly every important centre of population, to be distributed to local consumers through the agency of jobbers or middle-men, consumers, especially for manufacturing purposes, now more and more order direct through the agency of the telegraph, as supplies are needed, from the great centres of production, and at producers' prices, thus doing away with the services of a large number of intermediates and a great variety of expenses and profits incidental to repeated transfers and handlings. The number of lumber-yards, for example, in one of our large seaboard cities is reported to have been reduced fifty per cent within the last few years by the operations of a single agent representing one large source of lumber-supply hundreds of miles distant, and occupying, with one or two

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(1876), included the following curious table, in illustration of the relative increase in the number of persons employed and the quantities produced in the various leading industries of that city during the period embraced between the years 1840 and 1876 :—

	In persons employed.	In amount produced.
Iron manufacture.....Increased	7 fold.	10 fold.
Other metals	5	8
Wood	6	6½
Leather	5½	7
Food	3¼	4¾
Soap, candles, and oil	7	22
Clothing	12½	6½
Liquors	17	80
Cotton and hemp	2½	4
Drugs and chemicals	4	8
Stone and earth	7	15
Carriages, cars, etc	14½	18
Paper	¼	2½
Bookbinding, blank-books	6	7
Printing and publishing	2	4
Tobacco	6	8
Fine arts	2½	4
Miscellaneous	4	6

It was also stated in the same connection that, in 1840, 9,000 persons employed in manufacturing in Cincinnati produced 16⅓ millions per annum in value, or at the rate of $1,500 per head; while, in 1875, 61,000 persons produced annually manufactures to the value of $144,000,000, or $2,300 per head.

clerks, a single office near the centre of the circle of his local demand and consumption. Nor are these influences restricted to domestic exchanges. The submarine cable, connecting continents, works as regularly and reliably as the overland wire, and is used in precisely the same manner as an instrumentality for effecting exchanges and distributing information. The price and stock on hand, or *en route*, and the prospect of supply of tea, in China, tin in Singapore, coffee in Brazil, wool in Buenos Ayres, or cotton in Texas, — information formerly the basis for the commercial transactions of a few, — are now as readily at the command of the smallest operator as of the largest house; and seaboard cities with capacious harbors, in place of being termini, as formerly, are yearly becoming more and more intermediate stations on the great lines of transportation for distribution, or, as a recent writer has expressed it, a city thus located "is at the wrong end of a railway."

One of the most striking illustrations under this head is afforded in the case of the Suez Canal, the opening of which at the close of the year 1869, and its subsequent use, especially from 1870 to 1873, is regarded by the "London Economist" (Commercial History and Review of 1875) as sufficiently important to stand by itself and be cited as one of the agencies especially responsible for what it calls "the present diffused commercial depression." Some of the remarkable results which have attended and followed the completion of this great enterprise have been thus reported: It diverted from employment and rendered comparatively useless, between 1870 and 1875, about two millions sailing-vessel tonnage, and substituted steam tonnage, passing through the canal. It shortened the time for operations in India produce in Europe to the extent of certainly one half, and probably five sixths; and this economy of time, conjointly with the use of the telegraph, has not only obviated the necessity of accumulating and carrying large stocks of India produce in Europe, which were essential when every Indian order necessitated six months after it was given for its fulfilment, but has also correspondingly diminished the great advantage which England formerly enjoyed in this trade from her immense capital and credit. It has restored in a degree to the Mediterranean ports the commerce of India, of which they were so disastrously deprived at the close of the fifteenth century by

the discovery by Vasco da Gama of the route by the Cape of Good Hope. Or, to sum up, it has rendered unnecessary so large and so costly an amount of the old machinery of an important branch of the world's trade, — warehouses, sailing-vessels, capital, six-months' bills, and the merchant himself and his retinue of employees, — and has so altered and twisted so many of the existing modes and channels of business, as to cause immense losses, mischief, and confusion.

This remarkable increase in the power of production and distribution here pointed out, with the consequent derangement and displacement of labor, is not, however, any new thing, nor confined to any one country. But there is novelty in its present method of manifestation, especially in the United States; and it is to this manifestation that attention is now specially solicited.

Prior to 1860, say from 1838 (the period adopted as a starting-point in the analysis of the manufacture of cotton cloth above given) to 1860, this increase was gradual and uniform in the United States; so gradual and uniform that labor without any perceptible shock as gradually adjusted itself to its new conditions. The gold discoveries of California and Australia made during this period, and the consequent transfer of a vast amount of labor to new employments and new localities, the creation of new markets, and the general stimulus given everywhere to consumption, also helped greatly to make easy any readjustment of the conditions of labor which continued progress in the powers of production and distribution made necessary. It should be also borne in mind that during most of this period, or from 1846 to 1861, the market in foreign countries for those products of the United States which require the greatest amount of labor to fit them for consumption rapidly enlarged, and became greater, absolutely and relatively, in 1859 and 1860 than at any other period in the history of the country, from the adoption of the Constitution down to the present time (1877).

The outbreak of civil war in 1861, and its vigorous prosecution until 1865, acted as an immense stimulus to invention and discovery in the Northern States, and led to an application of labor-saving machinery and methods to the work of production which, taking time into consideration, has probably no parallel in the world's experience. Such a result was, however, almost necessary,

in order that the nation might live, and not be crushed by the burden of its war expenditures and the diversion of a large proportion of its industry from productive to destructive purposes. With certainly not more than five millions of male adults engaged in agriculture, mechanic arts, manufactures, and transportation in the Northern States in 1860, the close of the war in 1865, found more than a million of adults enrolled in the service of the Northern armies. But the industrial products of these same States, especially the products of agriculture, did not, however, in general decrease during the war-period by reason of the diversion of labor noted; but, on the contrary, and mainly through the invention and use of labor-saving machinery, they largely increased. Thus, for example, the amount of wheat raised in Indiana in 1859 was 15,219,000 bushels; but in 1863, notwithstanding this State, out of a population in 1860 of 1,350,000, had furnished to the army more than 124,000 fighting men, its product of wheat exceeded 20,000,000 bushels. And what was true of Indiana was also true of Iowa, Illinois, and other agricultural States, and in respect to productions other than wheat. At the close of the war, with stocks of industrial products of almost every kind — except cotton and woollens — reduced to a minimum in the Northern States, and the South, with a population of twelve millions, destitute of nearly everything essential to the continuance of civilization, and yet possessing large purchasing power through the enormous advance in the price of the raw cotton* that remained to them, the full productive power of the country continued in full demand. And after the vacuum of product of every kind occasioned by the war had been supplied, there came on, with full effect, the stimulus of an excessive issue of irredeemable currency, and an unprecedentedly high tariff; under the joint influence of which, coupled with thoroughly unsound and extravagant ideas engendered by the war, and pervading the whole community, on almost all economic subjects, works for production and distribution of products, — mills, mines, furnaces, railways, and buildings, — far in excess of any legitimate wants of the country, were undertaken and vigorously prosecuted. Labor, also, influenced by like ideas, worked less, measured in

* The value of the raw cotton exported the first year after the war, 1865–66, was returned at $281,000,000 currency.

time; worked less efficiently; received more (nominally, at least) in compensation for its effort, and consumed more, absolutely. Under such conditions, whatever there was of labor in the country, which under ordinary circumstances of supply and demand, labor-saving machinery and processes, would have made surplus, continued to find full opportunity for employment, and the day of industrial disturbance did not come. It delayed coming so long that to many who endeavored to acquaint themselves with the reason of things and the experience of other nations, it seemed as though the special providence described by an old diplomat as ordained for infants, drunken men, and the United States really existed; that it carried us along prosperously as a nation, in spite of our manifold economic transgressions, and that we constituted a peculiar country and people, in and among which what had been elsewhere regarded as natural laws did not and never would prevail.*

But natural laws have at last prevailed, and the day of industrial disturbance has at last come. Artificial stimulants to production and consumption in the form of paper money, irredeemable and therefore excessive; high discriminating taxes imposed to foster special industries; and extravagant ideas engendered by the war, no longer avail to stimulate; and consumption of every kind having been reduced to the requirements of almost absolute necessity, and investments of capital in constructions looking to future and larger production having been almost entirely suspended, the question of almost transcendent importance before the country to-day is: *What disposition is it proposed to make of the labor of the country which labor-saving machinery and new methods of business have now, for the first time, and under existing conditions, made manifestly surplus?* What is it proposed to do about the 466 cotton-operatives and food-producers which were formerly required by every cotton-mill in the country of 7,000 spindles, making No. 14 yarn, to supply the demand for cotton fabrics, but whose labor has now

* One of the most remarkable examples of economic prophecy, founded on cold, scientific reasoning from hard, positive facts, and natural laws, and which time is working to exact fulfilment, is to be found in Chap. III. of "Some Leading Principles in Political Economy newly expounded," by the late Professor Cairnes of University College, London; in which the author, writing in 1873, before the panic of that year, predicts the present financial and industrial disturbance in the United States, and shows why its occurrence is a necessity from previous economic conditions.

been supplemented by machinery, and has not been permanently absorbed by other employments? What about the three men out of every six that within a more recent period have been notified that their labor was never to be again proportionally wanted in the manufacture of stoves and of boots and shoes; of the seven women out of every ten in the straw hat manufacture; and what of the even possibly still larger proportion of laborers that have been already, or in the immediate future are likely to be, for similar causes, permanently thrown out of employment in other industries? An estimate by Mr. Atkinson of Boston, founded on extensive investigation, is, that "at present about *ninety* per cent of our population, using improved tools and machines, can produce all that one hundred per cent can consume of the staple articles of food, fuel, clothing, tools, wares, and the like, which constitute the great bulk of our consumption, and can, in addition, produce all that we have yet been able to find a market for abroad"; leaving ten per cent, or thereabout, of the population without any opportunity for employment. Reasoning, however, from the difference in the ratio of increase in population and the so-called "manufacturing power" from 1860 to 1870, as shown by the returns of the last census, and also from the data afforded by the analysis and comparison of the conditions of almost any special industry of the country as prosecuted in 1860 and 1876, the surplus labor of the United States at present *wanting* and willing as well as needing and seeking employment would seem to be larger than the estimates assumed by Mr. Atkinson. At the same time it ought to be clearly understood that the data available for making any estimates on this subject are not of a kind that will warrant anything more than approximately correct opinions.

In a general sense, and in the long run, all such results as have been noted of the increased power of production for a given amount of human labor ought to be most gratifying; for it is the regular and permanent large excess of production over consumption that constitutes the surest, or, rather, the only basis for large permanent remuneration for both labor and capital. Such results, furthermore, are in fact long strides in the path of progress towards a millennial period, when the forces of nature shall be so much further subordinated and brought under our control as to do all of our work for us, instead of as now doing but a part; and when poverty and the

masses — the wolf and the lamb of modern civilization — shall, through the attainment of an all-sufficient abundance, be no longer the inevitable reciprocals they now are. Increased and cheaper facilities for the movement of capital and the distribution of product work in the same direction, for they bring producer and consumer nearer together, economize time and risk, and diminish waste and taxes. But for the present the question of importance is, not in respect to the ultimate good resulting from these changes in the conditions of production, but in respect to the disturbance and harm that are happening in the adjustment of labor and capital to the new conditions.

There is another feature in the present industrial and social condition of affairs which is well worthy of attention. Heretofore, owing to various circumstances, there has been no country in which a man, through industry and economy, could so rapidly and easily raise himself from the position of a laborer, dependent on others for employment, to the position of a capitalist, himself controlling employment, as in the United States. But the conditions for effecting such desirable social and economic changes are every year becoming less and less favorable. Labor-saving machinery, by the use of which alone can production be carried on to the best advantage, is expensive, and in general is not at the ready disposal of those whose only capital is their hands and their brains. The sharp competition in all exchanging (buying and selling) has also so reduced the rate of average profit that the transaction of large business is essential to the realization of any considerable gain. But the transaction of large business in most cases requires the use or control of large capital, which, in turn, represents previous accumulated labor.* Note also the changes affecting the prospects of the American laborer without capital, growing out of the change in respect to the occupation and tillage of new lands. Formerly

* The following incidental paragraph in a letter on other subjects, written under date of May 11, 1876, by the head of one of the largest and most successful houses in the drug-trade, is extremely pertinent and suggestive: "Our own business, I am pleased to say, was never better than at present; but this is due to regrettable causes. During the past few years a great many houses have succumbed under the stringency of the times, and we have at present more intelligent competition than usual. The weak and inexperienced have failed, and no young men begin in these times. Where will this end? what will become of our young men? is a problem for serious consideration."

an enterprising man without capital could, as the result of a few years' service as a laborer at the West, acquire sufficient means to enable him to enter upon a tract of fertile government land, and put it, in all or part, under immediate cultivation. The result of the first year's crops not unfrequently reimbursed him for all his expenditures, and made him a capitalist, independent and with means sufficient for attaining larger results through greater production. But the opportunity for achieving such results, although perhaps not terminated, is rapidly drawing to a close. The quantity of fertile public land suitable for farm purposes which can now be obtained by pre-emption or at nominal prices is comparatively limited, if not nearly exhausted. According to Major Powell (in a communication recently made to the National Academy), "all the good public lands fit for settlement are sold. There is not left unsold in the whole United States, of land which a poor man could turn into a farm, enough to make one average county in Wisconsin. The exception to this statement, if it is open to any, may perhaps be found in Texas or the Indian Territory, elsewhere it is true." And in respect to the arid region of the plains, which, it is alleged, is eminently fitted for grazing, Major Powell further says: "In this whole region, land as mere land is of no value; what is really valuable is the water privilege. Rich men and stock companies have appropriated all the streams, and they charge for the use of the water. Government sections of one hundred and sixty acres that do not contain water are practically, or at all events comparatively, worthless."

But whether these statements be fully warranted or not,* there can be no question that the time draws near when the wave of population, which for so many years has uninterruptedly flowed

* Since the publication of Major Powell's paper various protests have been made against the full acceptance of his conclusions. The northern half of Nebraska and all of Dakota, which have been generally believed to be arid regions without rainfall sufficient for agricultural purposes, are declared, by persons professing to speak with authority, to contain a greater proportion of fertile lands than either Wisconsin or Michigan; and that Western Minnesota, which is in large part yet unoccupied, is more fertile and productive than the eastern portion of that State. The simple fact, that the question as to how much, or if any considerable amount of fertile public land in the United States yet remains unappropriated, has come to be a matter of controversy, is, however, conclusive that the conditions of national abundance in this particular are very far from being what they were at a comparatively recent period.

westward from the Atlantic, will reach a natural limit; and that thereafter its tendency will be to stop, and possibly flow backwards. But when this change takes place, if it has not already commenced, the United States will have entered upon a new social order of things; an order of things similar to what exists in the more densely populated countries of the Old World, in which the tendency is for a man born a laborer, working for hire, to never be anything but a laborer.

But, coming back to the more immediate question under consideration, namely, what it is proposed to do *now* with the labor of the country that improved methods and machinery of production have made in excess of *any present demand*, the answer will most certainly be found to consist in one of two alternatives. Either new wants have got to be found or created, for the supplying of which a larger field for the employment of labor will be afforded than now exists; or else the emigration of labor from the country and the formation of a permanent pauper class among us will begin. And contingent upon the success of those to whom it is given to mould and administer the policy of the country, in creating these new and enlarged wants or demands for our products, and as a consequence new and enlarged employments for our labor, is the time when commerce will revive, manufacturing be extended, railroads and other corporate enterprises become profitable, the consumption of coal increase, real estate appreciate, and labor be in demand; in short, when the whole country will again become prosperous. But while the nation waits, not clearly perceiving the nature of the problem forced upon it for consideration, and having thus far taken but one step towards its solution, — namely, the restoration of domestic peace, — immigration rapidly diminishes,* emigration begins, and pauperism increases; labor of foreign birth returning in crowds to the land of its nativity; labor

* The total alien immigration into the United States for the fiscal year 1876 was 169,986 (calendar year 157,440), as compared with 209,036 for the fiscal year 1875, and 449,483 for 1872. Offsetting the emigration of persons of alien birth, the United States for the first time in many years, perhaps for the first year since the country was originally settled by Europeans, probably had no augmentation of its population in 1876 by reason of the change of residence of persons of foreign nativity. The reports of the British Board of Trade, show that while for 1876 the emigration from Great Britain into the United States was 54,554, the immigration into Great Britain from the United States during the same year was 54,697; or the United

of American birth asking for opportunity to seek new homes in Australia; while the reports from one of our oldest and richest States — Massachusetts — show an increase in number of recipients of public charity between 1873 and 1877 of about *fifty* per cent.

How to create these new wants, how to find new avenues for trade or enlarge those already existing, and how thereby to find or develop new employments for the masses, are therefore the most important questions of the hour that can occupy the attention of the statesman, the legislator, and the merchant; those whose business it is to educate through the school or the press, those whose mission it is to teach morality and religion. We repeat, *more especially*, those whose mission it is to teach morality and religion, because there is no greater or more insurmountable obstacle in the way of intellectual, moral, or religious growth than poverty. When the stomach clamors, when the back is bare, and the hands and feet are cold, there is little place in the mind of any person except for thoughts relating to the satisfaction of the animal. When the New York Prison Association state, as they do, in one of their recent reports, that crime is increasing in New York and New England and in other parts of this country in an alarming ratio — in a ratio greater than is manifest in England and Ireland — they present a case which is not to be primarily remedied by the preaching of sermons or the singing of hymns. And if half the time spent in preaching sermons and singing hymns, and in metaphysical discussions as to whether the Pope is the "man of sin," and "whether modern culture tends to infidelity," were spent in inquiring *why it is* that in this country, with all the elements of abundance, we have enforced idleness, increasing poverty, and, consequently, increasing crime; why it is that people who pass out of churches and tabernacles where sermons

States sent more persons to England, Ireland, and Scotland in 1876 than was drawn from these same countries. In respect to emigration from Great Britain to Canada the Board of Trade reports that it "has fallen to the smallest dimensions, if it has not altogether been suspended"; and "that, in fact, the records of 1876 are the records of a movement of passengers to and fro," and not in any real sense "emigration" at all. On the other hand, the emigration to the Australian Colonies from Great Britain, on the whole, was well maintained; the emigrants to Australia and New Zealand for 1876 numbering 32,196, while the immigrants were only 2,597.

are preached and hymns sung, pass out into an atmosphere so crammed with unnatural necessities that overcome virtue, and with artificial temptations to do wrong so powerful that human nature, as ordinarily constituted, cannot resist, there would be more souls made happy in this world, and more probably saved for the next, than there now is.

But in respect to these new wants, new avenues for trade, and consequent new employments, can they be created, it may be asked, if all whose business it is should give the matter earnest attention? We answer unhesitatingly, that in respect to the United States, and to the present emergency, it is not only possible, but comparatively easy, to effect such results. But the demonstration of the *how*, and the presentation of evidence sufficient to enable each person who has followed this line of argument and investigation to arrive at an independent judgment and a self-answer, is a work to be entered upon separately.

DAVID A. WELLS.

Art. VIII. — Reformed Judaism.

The Jews are justly called a peculiar people. During the past three thousand years they have lived apart from their fellow-men, in a state of voluntary or enforced isolation. The laws of the Pentateuch directed them to avoid contact with heathens. Christianity in turn shunned and execrated them. Proud and sensitive by nature, subjected to every species of humiliation and contempt, they retired upon themselves, and continued to be what the seer from Aram had described them in the olden time, "A people that dwells in solitude." * It followed that, in the progress of time, idiosyncrasies of character were developed, and habits of thinking and feeling grew up amongst them, which could not but contribute to alienate them still more from the surrounding world. They felt that they were not understood. They were too shy to open their confidence to their oppressors. They remained an enigma. At wide intervals books appeared purporting to give an account of the Jews and their sacred customs. But these attempts were, in the main, dictated by no just or generous motive. Their authors, narrow bigots or renegades from Judaism, ransacked the vast literature of the Hebrew people for such scattered fragments as might be used to their discredit, and exhibited these as samples of Jewish manners and Jewish religion. The image thus presented, it is needless to say, was extremely untrustworthy. And yet the writings of these partial judges have remained almost the only sources from which even many modern writers are accustomed to draw their information. The historian is yet to come who will dispel the dense mists of prejudice that have gathered about Jewish history, and reveal the inward life of this wonderful people, whose perennial freshness has been preserved through so many centuries of the most severe trials and persecution. In one respect, indeed, let us hasten to add, the popular judgment concerning the Jews has never been deceived. The intense conservatism in religion for which they have become proverbial is fully con-

* Numbers xxiii. 9.

firmed by facts. There exists no other race of men that has approved its fidelity to religious conviction for an equal period, under equal difficulties, and amid equal temptations. Antiochus, Titus, Firuz, Reccared, Edward I. of England, Philip Augustus of France, Ferdinand of Spain, exhausted the resources of tyranny in vain to shake their constancy. Their power of resistance rose with the occasion that called it forth; and their fervid loyalty to the faith transmitted to them by the fathers never appeared to greater advantage than when it cost them their peace, their happiness, and their life to maintain it. Since the close of the last century, however, a great change has apparently come over the Jewish people. Not only have they abandoned their former attitude of reserve and mingled freely with their fellow-citizens of whatever creed, not only have they taken a leading part in the great political revolutions that swept over Europe, but the passion for change, so characteristic of the age in which we live, has extended even to their time-honored religion; and a movement aiming at nothing less than the complete reformation of Judaism has arisen, and rapidly acquired the largest dimensions. The very fact that such a movement should exist among such a people is rightly interpreted as a sign of the times deserving of careful and candid consideration; and great interest has accordingly been manifested of late on the subject of Jewish Reform. In a series of articles we shall undertake to give a brief sketch of the origin and bearings of the movement. But before addressing ourselves to this task it will be necessary to review a few of the main causes that have enabled the Jews to perdure in history, and to consider the motives that impelled them to resist change so long, if we would properly appreciate the process of transformation that is even now taking place among them. Among the efficient forces that conduced to the preservation of the Jewish people we rank highest

The Purity of their Domestic Relations.

The sacredness of the family tie is the condition both of the physical soundness and the moral vigor of nations. The family is the miniature commonwealth, upon whose integrity the safety of the larger commonwealth depends. It is the seedplot of all morality. In the child's intercourse with its parents the sentiment of reverence is instilled, — the essence of all piety, all idealism;

also the habit of obedience to rightful authority, which forms so invaluable a feature in the character of the loyal citizen. In the companionship of brothers deference to the rights of equals is practically inculcated, without which no community could exist. The relations between brother and sister give birth to the sentiment of chivalry, — regard for the rights of the weaker, — and this forms the basis of magnanimity, and every generous and tender quality that graces humanity. Reverence for superiors, respect for equals, regard for inferiors, — these form the supreme trinity of the Virtues. Whatever is great and good in the institutions and usages of mankind is an application of sentiments that have drawn their first nourishment from the soil of the family. The family is the school of duties. But it has this distinguishing excellency, that among those who are linked together by the strong ties of affection duty is founded on love. On this account it becomes typical of the perfect morality in all the relations of life, and we express the noblest longings of the human heart when we speak of a time to come in which all mankind will be united "as one family." Now the preeminence of the Jews in point of domestic purity will hardly be disputed. "In this respect they stand out like a bold promontory in the history of the past, singular and unapproached," said the philosopher Trendelenburg.* According to the provisions of the Mosaic Code, the crime of adultery is punished with death. The most minute directions are given touching the dress of the priests and the common people, in order to check the pruriency of fancy. The scale of forbidden marriages is widely extended with the same end in view. Almost the entire tribe of Benjamin is extirpated to atone for an outrage upon feminine virtue committed within its borders. The undutiful son is stoned to death in the presence of the whole people. That husband and wife shall become "as one flesh," is a conception which we find only among the Jews. Among them the picture of the true housewife which is unrolled to us in Proverbs had its original, — the picture of her who unites all womanly grace and gentleness, in whose environment dwell comfort and beauty, "whose husband and sons rise up to praise her." The marriage tie was held so sacred that it was freely used by the prophets

* Vide the essay on the Origin of Monotheism in Jahrbuch des Vereins für Wissenschaftliche Pädagogik, Vol. IX. 1877, by the author of this article.

to describe the relations between the Deity and the chosen people. Jehovah is called the husband of the people. Israel shall be his true and loyal spouse. The children of Israel are his children. The worship of false gods was designated by the Hebrew word that signifies conjugal infidelity. This feature of Jewish life remained equally prominent in later times. In the age of the Talmud marriage was called Hillula, — a song of praise! The most holy day of the year, the tenth of the seventh month, a day of fasting and the atonement of sins, was deemed a proper occasion to collect the young people for the purpose of choosing husbands and wives. On that day the maidens of Jerusalem, arrayed in pure white, went out into the vineyards that covered the slopes of the neighboring hills, dancing as they went, and singing as the bands of youth came up to meet them from the valleys. "Youth, raise now thine eyes," sang the beautiful among them, "and regard her whom thou choosest." "Look not to beauty," sang the well-born, "but rather to ancient lineage and high descent." Lastly, those who were neither beautiful nor well born took up the strain, and thus they sang: "Treacherous is grace, and beauty deceitful; the woman that fears God alone shall be praised." The appropriateness of such proceedings on the Atonement day was justified by the remark that marriage is itself an act of spiritual purification. The high value attached to the institution of the family is further illustrated by many tender legends of the Talmud which we cannot here stop to recount. A separate gate, it is said, was reserved in Solomon's Temple for the use of bridegrooms, before which they received the felicitations of the assembled people. The marriage celebration was essentially a festival of religion. Seven days it lasted. The Talmudic law, usually so unbending in its exactions, relaxed its austerity in favor of these auspicious occasions, and recommended to all to rejoice with the joyful. On the Sabbath of the marriage-week, the young husband was received with peculiar honors in the synagogue, and the liturgy of the mediæval Jews is crowded with hymns composed in honor of these solemn receptions. If a whole congregation thus united to magnify and sanctify the erection of a new home, the continued preservation of its sanctity might safely be left to the jealous watchfulness of its inmates. Cases of sensual excess or of unfilial conduct have been extremely infrequent among the Jews, down to modern times. However mean the outward ap-

pearance of their homes might be, the moral atmosphere that pervaded them was rarely contaminated. If the question be asked, how it came about that so feeble a people could resist the malevolence of its foes; that a nation, deprived of any visible rallying-point, with no political or religious centre to cement their union, had not long since been wiped out from the earth's surface, we answer that the *hearth* was their rallying-point and the centre of their union. There the scattered atoms gained consistency sufficient to withstand the pressure of the world. Thither they could come to recreate their torn and lacerated spirits. There was the well-spring of their power.

The Schools.

If the Jewish people were preserved in moral vigor by the influence of their domestic life, the care they bestowed on the education of the young kept them intellectually fresh. Schools were erected in every town and country-district. It was forbidden a Jew to reside in cities where no provision was made for the instruction of children. Teachers were called the guardians of cities. The destruction of Jerusalem was attributed to the fact that the schools had been suffered to fall into neglect. Synagogues were often used for purposes of primary instruction. "A sage is greater than a prophet," said the proverb. To increase in knowledge, at least in a certain kind of knowledge, was a part of the Jew's religion. According to the theory of the Rabbies the revelation of God to man is fully embodied in the books of the Old Testament, especially in the books of the Pentateuch, commonly called the Tora, — the Law. They contain, either by direct statement or by implication, whatever it is necessary for men to know. They anticipate all future legislation. Though apparently scanty in substance, they are replete with suggestions of profound and inexhaustible wisdom. To penetrate the hidden meanings of "the Law" became, on this account, the primary obligation of the devout; and ignorance was not only despised on its own account, but was, in addition, branded as a sign of deficient piety. The ordinances of the Jewish sages are all ostensibly deduced from the words of the Sacred Law. Without such sanction no enactment of any later lawgiver, however salutary in itself, could aspire to general recognition. The civil and criminal law, the principles

of science, sanitary and police regulations, even the rules of courtesy and decorum, are alike rested on scriptural authority. The entire Talmud may be roughly described as an extended commentary on the Mosaic Law.* The authors of the Talmud led a studious life, and relied in great measure upon the habit of study to preserve the vitality of their faith. Among the sayings of the sages† we read such as these. Jose ben Joeser says: "Let thy house be the resort of the wise, and let the dust of their feet cover thee, and drink in thirstily their words." Joshua ben Perachia says: "Get thee an instructor, gain a companion [for thy studies], and judge all men upon the presumption of their innocence." Hillel says: "Who gains not in knowledge loses. . . . . Say not, 'When I am at leisure I will study'; 't is likely thou wilt then never be at leisure. . . . . He who increases flesh increases corruption; he who increases worldly goods increases care; he who increases servants increases theft; but he who increases in the knowledge of the Law increases life." Jochanan ben Sakkai says: "If thou art wise in the knowledge of the Law, take not credit to thyself, for to this end wast thou created." After the destruction of the Temple by Titus, academies sacred to the study of the Law were erected in different cities of Palestine, and similar institutions flourished on the banks of the Euphrates. In the eleventh century the chief seats of Jewish learning were transplanted to the West; and since that time the European Jews have excelled their brethren of the East in all the elements of mental culture. In the course of their manifold wanderings the Jews carried their libraries everywhere with them. Wherever a synagogue arose, a school for young children and a high school for youths were connected with it. In the dark night of the ghetto the flame of knowledge was never quenched. While the nations of Europe were still sunk in barbarism the Jews zealously devoted themselves to the pursuit of medicine, mathematics, and dialectics, and the love of learning became an hereditary quality in their midst. The efforts of many generations have contributed to keep their intellectual faculties bright; and, unlike most oppressed races, they have emerged from a long epoch of systematic

* For a concise but comprehensive account of the origin of the Talmud, vide the art. *Talmud* in Johnson's Encyclopædia.

† Collected in the Tract Aboth (Fathers).

persecution well fitted to attack the problems of the present with fresh interest and undiminished capacity.

The Democratic Organization of the Synagogue.

The spirit of monotheism is essentially democratic both in politics and religion. There is to be but one king, and he the spiritual Lord in heaven. All the people are equal before him. When the Hebrews clamorously demanded a king the prophet charged them with treason against their proper ruler. The prophet and the priest were hostile powers; and their antagonism was clearly felt, and sometimes energetically expressed. The Lord takes no delight in the slaughter of animals. The bloody sacrifices are an offence to Him. What He requires is purity of heart, righteous judgment, and care for the widow and the fatherless. The idea of priestly mediation — of mediation in any shape — was repugnant to the Jews. "The whole people are priests," it was said. When the sanctuary at Jerusalem had been laid in ashes, anything resembling a hierarchical caste was no longer tolerated among them. The Law and the Science of the Law were open to all; and each one was expected, according to the measure of his capacity, to draw directly from the fountain-head of faith. The autonomy of the congregations was strictly guarded. Entire uniformity in the ritual was never achieved.* The public lector of prayers was called "the delegate of the congregation." The Rabbies (the word means Masters, in the sense of teachers) were men distinguished for superior erudition and the blamelessness of their lives, and these qualities formed their only title to distinction.† Their duties differed radically from those of the Catholic priest or the Protestant clergyman. They never took upon themselves the care of souls. Their office was to instruct the young, and in general to regulate the practice of religion according to the principles and precedents laid down in the sacred traditions of their people. The several congregations were independent of each other. There were no general synods or councils, no graded hierarchy culminating in a spiritual head, no oligarchy of ministers and elders; but rather

* Vide Zunz Die Ritus.

† Many of them supported themselves by following some humble calling, refusing to receive remuneration for their teachings, on the principle that the Law "should not be made a spade to dig with."

a federation of small communities, each being a sovereign unit, and connected with the others solely by the ties of a common faith, common sympathies, and common sufferings. Any ten men were competent to form themselves into a congregation, and to discharge all the duties of religion. The fact that this was so proved of the utmost consequence in preserving the integrity of Judaism. The Jews were parcelled out over the whole earth. The body of the people was again and again divided. But in every case the barest handful that remained sufficed to become the nucleus of new organizations. Had the system of Judaism required any one central organ, a blow aimed against this would doubtless have proved fatal to the whole. But by the wise provisions of the federative system the vital power seems to have been equally disseminated over the entire community. Like the worm that is trodden under foot, to which Israel so often likens itself in the Hebrew prayers, the divided members lived a new life of their own, and though apparently crushed beneath the heel of their oppressors, they ever rose again in indestructible vitality.

The Influence of Persecution.

In surveying the history of the Jewish people we find a strange blending of nationalism and cosmopolitism illustrated in their actions and beliefs. They proudly styled themselves the elect people of God, they looked down with a certain contempt upon the Gentile nations, yet they conceived themselves chosen, not on their own account, but for the world's sake, in order to spread the knowledge of the true God among men. They repudiated heathenism, and regarded Trinitarianism as an aberration. In contradistinction to these their mission was to protect the purity of the monotheistic religion until in the millennial age all nations would gather about their "holy Mount." They considered their own continued existence as a people foreordained in the Divine scheme,* because they believed themselves divinely commissioned to bring about the eternal happiness of the human race. The centripetal and centrifugal forces of character were thus evenly balanced, and

* "Let it not seem strange to you that we should regain our former condition, even though only a single one of us were left, as it is written, 'Fear not, thou worm, Jacob!'" — JUDA HA-LEVI, in the book *Cusari* (twelfth century), III. 11.

this circumstance contributed not a little to enliven their courage in the face of long-continued adversity. When the independence of Greece was lost, the Greeks ceased to exist as a nation. But the loss of the Temple and the fatherland gave barely more than a passing shock to the national consciousness of the Jews. Easily they acclimatized themselves in every quarter of the globe. The fact of their dispersion was cited by Christianity as a sign of their rejection by God. They themselves regarded it as a part of their mission to be scattered as seed over the whole earth. That they should suffer was necessary, they being the Messianic people! Their prayers were filled with lamentations and the recital of their cruel woes. But they invariably ended with words of promise and confidence in the ultimate fulfilment of Israel's hope. Thus in the very depths of their degradation they were supported by a sense of the grandeur of their destinies, and by the proud consciousness that their sufferings were the price paid for the world's spiritual redemption. In the earlier half of the Middle Ages the Jews were still permitted to enjoy a certain measure of liberty. In Spain, France, and Germany they lived on amicable terms with their neighbors, they engaged in trade and manufacture, and were allowed to possess landed property. In the tenth and eleventh centuries a great part of the city of Paris was owned by Jews. But at the time of the Crusades a terrible change in the aspect of their affairs took place. The principles embodied in the canonical law had by this time entered into the practice of the European nations. Fanaticism was rampant. The banks of the Rhine and the Moselle became the theatre of the most pitiless persecution. Among the Crusaders the cry was raised, "We go to Palestine to slay the unbelievers; why not begin with the infidel Jews in our own midst?" Worms, Spires, Mayence, Strassburg, Basle, Regensburg, Breslau, witnessed the slaughter of their Jewish inhabitants. Toward the close of the thirteenth century one hundred thousand Jews perished at the hands of Rindfleisch, and the murderous hordes of whom he was the leader. To add fuel to the passions of the populace the most absurd accusations were brought forward against them, and their religion was made odious by connecting it with charges of grave moral obliquity. Jewish physicians being in great request, especially at the court of kings, it was given out that with fiendish malice they were wont to procure the death of their Christian

patients.* They were accused of killing Christian children, and using the blood of Christians in celebrating the Passover festival, and this monstrous falsehood was repeated until no one doubted its substantial truth. Let it be remembered that this charge was originally preferred, in a somewhat different shape, against the Christians themselves. It floated down, as such rumors will, from age to age, until, its authorship being forgotten, it was finally used as a convenient handle against the hated Jews. In this manner the Eastertide which was to announce the triumph of a religion of love became to the Jews a season of terror and mortal agony, and the Easter dawn was often reddened with the flames that rose from Jewish homes. It is impossible to calculate the number of lives that have been lost in consequence of this single accusation. It has lived on even into the present century.† In the fourteenth century the Black Death devastated the Continent of Europe. Soon the opinion gained ground that the Jews were responsible for the ravages of the plague. It was claimed that the Rabbi of Toledo had sent out a venomous mixture concocted of consecrated wafers and the blood of Christian hearts to the various congregations, with orders to poison the wells. The Pope himself undertook to plead for their innocency, but even papal bulls were powerless to stay the popular madness. In Dekkendorf a church was built in honor of the massacre of the Jews of that town, and the spot thus consecrated has remained a favorite resort of pilgrims down to modern times. The preaching friars of the Franciscan and Dominican orders were particularly active in fanning the embers of bigotry whenever they threatened to die down. In England, France, and Spain the horrors enacted in Germany were repeated on a scale of similar magnitude. The tragic fate of the Jews of York, the fury of the Pastoureaux, the miserable scenes that accompanied the exodus of the Jews from Spain are familiar facts of history. In Poland, in the seventeenth century, the uprising of the Cossacks under the

* Thus in the case of Charles the Bald, and others.

† In the year 1840 it was simultaneously renewed in Rhenish Prussia, on the Isle of Rhodos, and in the city of Damascus. In that city the most respected members of the Jewish community were arrested, with the assistance of the French Consul, Ratti Menton, and underwent cruel torture. The intense excitement caused throughout Europe at the time is, doubtless, still fresh in the memory of many who will read these pages. The utter falsity of the charge was at last exposed, thanks to the efforts of the Austrian Consul Merlato and the energetic action of Lord Palmerston.

chieftainship of Chmielnicki became once more the signal of destruction. It is estimated that in ten years (1648–1658) upwards of two hundred and fifty thousand Jews perished.* Even when the lives of the Jews were spared, their condition was so extremely wretched that death might often have seemed the preferable alternative. The theory propounded by the Church and acted out by the temporal rulers of the Middle Ages is expressed in the words of Innocent III., "Quos propria culpa submisit perpetuæ servituti, quum Dominum crucifixerint — pietas Christiana receptet et sustineat cohabitationem illorum."† By the crucifixion of Jesus the Jews had forfeited for themselves and their posterity the right to exist in Christian states. They lived on sufferance merely. In the feudal system there was no place for them. They were aliens, were regarded as the property of the Emperor, and he was free to deal with them as suited his convenience. Hence the name *servi camerœ* — servants of the imperial chamber — was applied to them. They could be sold, purchased, given away at pleasure. Charles IV. presented "the persons and property of his Jews" to the city of Worms. In a schedule of toll-dues dating from the year 1398 we read: "A horse pays two shillings, a Jew six shillings, an ox two heller."‡ They were compelled to wear a badge of shame upon their garments;§ were confined to narrow and filthy quarters, — *ghetto juderia*, — debarred from all honorable employments. The schools and universities were closed against them. The guilds shut them out from the various trades. To gain the means of subsistence nothing remained for them but to engage in the petty traffic of the pedler or the disreputable business of the money-lender. They had absolutely no choice in the matter. The laws of Moses forbid the lending of money at interest without any qualification whatsoever. The authorities of the Talmud severely condemn the practice of usury, and refuse to admit the testimony of usurers in courts of law.‖ But all scruples on the part of the

* Graetz, Gesch. der Juden, X. p. 78.

† Cassel, art. *Juden*, p. 83, in Ersch und Gruber; vide also p. 85, "ad perpetuam Judaici sceleris ultionem eisdem Judæis induxerit perpetuam servitutem."

‡ Ibid., p. 91.

§ The *signum circulare* was borrowed from Islam. It has been ingeniously conjectured that the circular form was selected in contradistinction to the sign of the crescent. Ibid., p. 75.

‖ Mishna Sanhedrin, III. 3.

Jews had now to be set aside. Gold they must have, and in abundance. It was the only means of buying their peace. The taxes levied by the imperial chamber were enormous.* The cities, the baronial lords, in whose territory they took refuge, constantly imposed new burdens as the price of toleration. The Jews have often been held up to contempt for their avarice and rapacity. The reproach is unjust. It reminds one of the ancient Philistines, who, having shorn the Hebrew of his strength and blinded him, called him with jeers from his prison-house to exhibit him to the popular gaze and to make sport of his infirmity.

Under these circumstances the conservatism of the Jews in matters of religion can no longer astonish us. Rejected by the world, they lived in a world of their own. They had inherited from their ancestors an extended code of ceremonial observances, dietary laws, and minute and manifold directions for the conduct of life. In these they beheld the bulwark of their religion, the common bond that united the scattered members of their race. The Jew of Persia or Palestine could come among his German brethren, and hear the same prayers expressed in the same language, and recognize the same customs as were current among his co-religionists in the East. The passwords of the faith were everywhere understood. To preserve complete unanimity with respect to religious usage was a measure dictated by the commanding instinct of self-preservation. The Jews of all countries were furthermore united by the common yearnings with which they looked back to the past, and their common hope of ultimate restoration to the heritage of the promised land.† However prolonged their abode in the land of the stranger might be, they never regarded it otherwise than in the light of a temporary sojourn, and Palestine remained their true fatherland. "If I forget thee, Jerusalem, wither my right hand," was sung as plaintively on the banks of the Danube and the Rhine as it had resounded of old by Babel's streams. The Jewish

* A general tax paid in recognition of the Emperor's protection ; the Temple tax claimed by the Holy Roman Emperor in his capacity as the successor of Vespasian ; the so-called *aurum coronarium*, or coronation tax, by virtue of which every new emperor, upon his accession to the throne, could confiscate the third part of the property of the Jews. Besides these, extraordinary levies were frequent.

† On the eve of the 9th of the fifth month it was customary at Jerusalem to announce the number of years that had elapsed since the fall of the Temple. Zunz Die Ritus, p. 84.

people walked through history as in a dream, their eyes fixed on Zion's vanished glories. Empires fell; wars devastated the earth; new manners, new modes of life, arose around them. What was all this toil and turmoil of the nations to them! They were not admitted to the fellowship of mankind, they preserved their iron stability, they alone remained changeless. So long as the world maintained its hostile attitude toward them, there was little likelihood that they would abandon their time-honored traditions. But toward the close of the last century the first tokens of political, social, and spiritual regeneration began to appear among the despondent people of the Hebrews. The spirit of the Reformation, which had slumbered so long, awoke to new vitality. The voice of love rebuked the selfishness of creeds; Philosophy in the person of Kant emphasized the duties of man to man; Poetry sent its warm breath through the German land, and with its sweet strains instilled broad, humanitarian doctrine into the hearts of men. Lessing celebrated the virtues of his friend, Moses Mendelssohn, in "Nathan the Wise," and in the parable of the rings showed how the true religion is to be sought and found. The Royal Academy at Berlin nominated the same Mendelssohn for membership in its body. Jewish scholars were received with distinction in the Austrian and Prussian capitals. Eminent statesmen and writers began to exert themselves to remove the foul blot that had so long stained the conduct of the Christian states in their dealings with the Jews. In France the great Revolution was rapidly sweeping away the accumulated wrongs of centuries. When the emancipation of the Jews came up for discussion in the Convention, the ablest speakers rose in their behalf. The Abbé Gregoire exclaimed: "A new century is about to open. May its portals be wreathed with the palm of humanity!" Mirabeau lent his mighty eloquence to their cause. "I will not speak of tolerance," he said; "the freedom of conscience is a right so sacred that even the name of tolerance involves a species of tyranny."* On the 28th September, 1791, the National Convention decreed the equality of the Israelites of France with their Christian fellow-citizens. The waves of the Revolution, however, overflowed the borders of France, and the agitation they caused was quickly communicated to all Germany. Wherever the armies of the Republic penetrated, the gates of the ghettos

* Vide the account of the debates in the official Moniteur.

were thrown open, and in the name of Fraternity, Liberty and Equality were announced to their inhabitants. When Napoleonic misrule at last exasperated Germany into resistance, the seeds which French influence had sown had already taken firm root in the German soil. On the 11th March, 1812, Frederick William III. issued his famous edict, removing the main disabilities from which the Jews of his dominions had suffered, granting them the rights and imposing upon them the honorable duties of citizenship. They were no longer to be classed as foreigners. The state claimed them as its children, and exacted of them the same sacrifices as all its sons were called upon to bring in the troublous times that soon followed. With what eager alacrity the Jews responded to the king's call the records of the German wars for independence amply testify. On the battle-fields of Leipzig and Waterloo they stood side by side with their Christian brethren. Many sons and fathers of Jewish households yielded their lives in the country's defence. In the blood of the fallen the new covenant of equal justice was sealed for all time to come. However prejudice might still dog their footsteps, however shamefully the government might violate its solemn pledges to the Jewish soldiers on their return from the wars, the Jews of Germany had now gained what they could no more lose. They felt that the land for which they had adventured their all, in whose behalf they had lost so much, was indeed their fatherland. For the first time, after many, many centuries, the fugitives had gained a home, a country. They awoke as from a long sleep. They found the world greatly changed around them; vast problems engaging the attention of thinkers, science and philosophy everywhere shedding new light upon the path of mankind. They were eager to approve themselves worthy and loyal citizens, eager to join in the general work of progress. They dwelt no more with anxious preference on the past. The present and the future demanded their exertions, and the motives that had so long compelled their exclusion from the fellowship of the Gentiles were gradually disappearing. As their religion was mainly retrospective in character and exclusive in tendency, great changes were needed to bring it into harmony with the altered condition of affairs. These changes were accordingly attempted, and their history is the history of Jewish Reform.

FELIX ADLER.

Art. IX. — America in Africa.

I.

1. Africa to-day is the realm of romance. It is the central fascination of the scholar, the explorer, the philanthropist, the man of business. It is the one spot of earth which draws all eyes and hearts to its majestic mysteries. Books of travel, voluminous and costly, are pouring constantly from the presses of Europe and America. When a geographical congress was held in Brussels last autumn, the King of the Belgians expressed a willingness to preside, provided the topic for consideration was Africa. Its explorers are fêted, and receive the costliest medals from kings and learned societies. To get the first name in modern discovery one must devote himself to Africa. From Mungo Park to Cameron, its explorers hold the highest rank. Barth and Lander, Grant and Speke, Schweinfurth, Stanley, and Baker, surpass their rivals in other regions. We care but little for Schuyler and Burnaby in Turkistan, for Burton in Arabia, Arnold in Persia, Wallace in the Archipelago, or travellers in China and Japan, in comparison with the admiration in which we hold the African discoverers. Chief of all travellers, by uncontested suffrage, is Livingstone, who spent a lifetime in threading its jungles, floating down its rivers, circumnavigating its lakes, crossing its paradises, dwelling in its villages; who penetrated more unknown lands and disclosed them to the civilized world than any traveller of any age.

Nor is the romance losing any of its attractions. Like a mysterious story, it grows more mysterious as the plot proceeds to the *dénouement*. One would suppose the marvellous discoveries by Speke and Grant of the great Nile lakes, the magnificent march and narrative of Baker, the revelations of Schweinfurth and Barth, and especially the profuse discoveries of Livingstone, might have palled the appetite. But, like Cæsar's ambition, it grows by what it feeds upon. And Cameron's fearful tour and Stanley's bold explorations only find a public growing more and more hungry with every *bonne bouche* these travellers can toss it.

The reduction of the limits of unexplored territory only makes the secrets yet concealed the more tantalizing. When Cameron spends months in Central Africa trying to get the brutal chief to consent to his visiting a reputed lake, which he thinks is connected with the river Kongo, and is at last compelled to abandon the project, and to "step westward" leaving the mystery unsolved, every reader, stung to like passion for research with himself, is ready to follow him in the renewal of his effort, and never rest till on the bosom of that lake, and drifting thence on the broad river to the western sea.

The belt of the absolutely unknown is decreasing annually, but, like all fortresses, the unsubdued part is the strongest and most defiant. We have crept down from Egypt a thousand miles. We have pushed up from the eastern coast a thousand miles. From Khartoum to Victoria Nyanza, from Zanzibar to Tanganyika, the country is well known. No secrets remain there of any especial value, though Colonel Long seeks to manufacture some from a bold raid of his on the track from Gondokoro to Victoria, a region traversed and abundantly described by previous investigators. Even South Africa, below the parallel of Zanzibar and Loando, is quite well known. At Lake Nyassa missionaries are located, who are seeking to connect that lake with Tanganyika, some five hundred miles to the north. A chain of posts will soon unite this lake and Victoria Nyanza, which is already united with the Lower Nile. So that from Alexandria to Cape Town we may consider African exploration done, and African colonization begun.

The region yet unknown lies north of Cameron's line, which was substantially that of Livingstone years ago, to the borders of the Saharan Desert, and west of the lake system from Nyassa to Albert. There rise the rivers that flow into the Atlantic, — the Niger, the Kongo, and other famous streams. Not one of these is fully explored. The Niger has been penetrated the farthest, but much of that still remains a secret, while the mystery of the Lualaba and Kongo is still unsolved. It is not certain that they are the same. This vast tract, covering the real heart of Africa, all its vital organs, and which Schweinfurth never visited, though he calls his book "The Heart of Africa," nor Long, though he boastfully entitles his "Central Africa," nor Cameron, nor Livingstone, is the object of every eye turned in that direction, and the ambition of every explorer who touches that shore. Cameron says some natives who

had visited the lower edge of it report "a country of large mountains wooded to the summits, and valleys filled with such dense forests that they travelled four or five days in succession without seeing the sun." "The equatorial regions of dense forests in Central Africa is still one of the greatest *terræ incognitæ* of the globe." *

2. But Africa is not only the land of romance, it is the land of the future. A romance once read is rejected. A secret once solved is spurned. If the unknown is miraculous, so the known is despised. "Ignotum mirabile; res cognita sordet." When the North Pole is discovered all interest in the problem will disappear, for it can never be utilized. But Africa is more than a romance; it is a reality. It has a future as great as our own continent, perhaps greater. It is a land of wonderful abundance, animal, mineral, and vegetable, a land of rivers and mountains and plains and forests, of every variety and of unequalled richness. To it the eyes of commerce, no less than of science, are turned. "You see you are to lose America as a market," says an American to an Englishman at the Philadelphia Exposition; "whither will you go?" "To Africa," was the quick reply. England has already gone there. She controls Egypt and the Cape Colony, the extreme north and south. She holds two thousand miles of the west coast under her sway. She rules from Zanzibar through Abyssinia to Suez. She means to possess Africa, as she now possesses India.

Less active, but not inactive, is Germany, whose ships and factories are on the western coast, whose travellers are among the most resolute of explorers. France, holding Algiers, the Gambia, and the Gaboon, is not without interest in Africa. The Dutch and Portuguese and Spanish have not surrendered the rich spoils which their earliest discoveries gave into their hands.

Africa is looked upon as the greatest of unappropriated treasures on the world's map to-day. America, three and almost four hundred years ago, was the chief object of desire on the part of European nationalities, and Spain, Portugal, Holland, France, and England fought for the prize, and continued fighting for over three centuries. So Africa to-day is the centre of European attraction, in the interests of commerce no less than in those of science and humanity.

Chief of these nations in her commercial activity is Great Brit-

* Encyclopædia Britannica.

ain. No other nation has an approximate control of that continent. Two lines of steamers connect Liverpool with the west coast. One steamer leaving every two weeks gives to that coast a steamer every week, either going out or returning. Almost equally numerous are her South, and East African steamers, while her connections with the Nile and the Red Sea are closer than with her colonies in America, or even than with her Empire in India. England has girdled Africa preparatory to transferring it as a whole to her own flag.

Nor is this mere political ambition or mere love of aggrandizement. That practical nation in all its enterprises "means business." She has no romance for discovery, no more than has her great rival Russia, or her greater rival America. She is as practical as Mr. Gradgrind himself; cent per cent is her motto. As was that of Spain in her American conquests, as was that of Rome in all her conquests, so is England's to-day. "Will it pay?" is her wise question; "It shall pay," her wiser answer. She extirpates the slave-trade and slavery in order that she may have more purchasers of her wares, more producers of material which shall buy these wares. She sends thither her traders, her sailors, and her soldiers, that she may make profitable returns to her own wealth. If not many captives, she has brought much traffic back to her Rome, "whose value doth the general coffers fill." Her fifty vessels a year at the western ports, her like close connections with Cape Colony, her closer ones with Egypt, mean money, and all which that involves. Every steamer goes out loaded to the Plimsoll line, and above it, if the owner dare, with the products of her farms and factories. Two stores are "run" on the ship, — the forecastle or Cheap John, and the cabin or Oxford Street. Broadway and Bowery have their representatives on all these lines. You can buy anything from a hawk to a hand-saw, only you buy the hawks in the shape of pigs and chickens on the outward-bound steamers, and in the shape of parrots and monkeys on the homeward-bound. "Do you wish for some potatoes?" said a sweet Scotch brogue to me on the Senegal, as I mounted her ladder and stood on her deck in the harbor of Monrovia. What our party did want, it got, — straw hats, umbrellas, shoes, collars, neckties. Had we asked for silks or broadcloth, for chairs or bedsteads, for anything or everything, it could have been supplied, at twice its value forward, at four times its value from the chief steward.

These variety-stores stop at every port and "coigne of vantage" from the Gambia to Benguela. They are six to ten weeks on the voyage out. They dispose of all their "truck" at or before they reach their last port. On their return they stop at the same ports, picking up ivory, palm-oil, palm kernels from which oil will be pressed in European mills, camwood and other dye-woods, sugar, coffee, gold-dust, birds, and smaller wild animals. The net profits of one of these trips must not be less than £5,000 sterling, or $25,000. Such is the traffic already going forward with great activity and profit on the west coast of Africa.

But the European governments not only look to Africa as the future outlet for their manufactures, they also see in it an outlet for their population. The explorers of the Nile basin had respect to the colonizing quality of the continent. Baker refers to it. Cameron speaks of it in the last and not least valuable contribution to African exploration. It is already well developed at Sierra Leone, at Lagos, and at other ports on the west coast, while in South Africa it is become a strong colony. The beauties of the land Livingstone, Baker, and Cameron never tire of praising. Thus Cameron speaks of one view not far from the west coast:

"As we went forward the scenery increased in beauty, and at last I was constrained to halt, and surrender myself to the enjoyment of the view which lay before me.

"I will content myself with asserting that nothing could be more lovely than this entrancing scene, this glimpse of Paradise. To describe it would be impossible. Neither poet with all the wealth of word-imagery, nor painter with almost supernatural genius, could by pen or pencil do full justice to the country of Bailunda.

"In the foreground were glades of woodland varied with knolls crowned by groves of large English-looking trees, sheltering villages with yellow thatched roofs; shumbas, or plantations, with the green of young crops and bright red of newly hoed ground in vivid contrast, and running streams flashing in the sunlight; while in the far distance of endless and pleasing variety of form, gradually fading away until they blended with the blue of the sky. Overhead there drifted fleecy white clouds; and the hum of bees, the bleating of goats, and crowing of cocks broke the stillness of the air."*

Such is the land awaiting colonization. Pictures of equal beauty

* Across Africa, pp. 410, 411.

fill the pages of every traveller but Long, who, to make his adventures the more marvellous, has to write down the landscape to the uttermost of his capacity. Yet, as he visited only a bit of the continent, and that at the marshy connections of great lakes, and that too at the rainiest season, we may take his notions of the continent itself with as much discount as we should those of one who, describing the overflow of the bayous of the Gulf in the spring, should declare them to be a sample of Pennsylvania valleys or the prairies of Iowa. Colonization will as certainly follow trade there as it has here, and the Africa of adventure become the Africa of occupation.

3. But what has this to do with America in Africa? Much every way. We have an Africa in America. The air has been full of that Africa for almost half a century. It is full of it to-day. The solution of the Americo-Afric problem is slow and unsteady, though advances towards it, as towards the solution of the African geographical problem, are plainly perceptible, if we observe large spaces of time. From the seizure of naked people on their native coast, and the horrors of "the middle passage," to the emancipation and enfranchisement of their children, and their partial advancement to political and social equality with their enslavers, the steps are marked and marvellous. What yet remains before the presidential promise is fulfilled of blotting out the color-line, is but a trifle to that already achieved, though the path to its accomplishment may be long, costly, and even bloody, as has been the road to the heights already attained. Africa in America is an accomplished fact. In the whole continent, including its islands, there are probably more than ten millions which draw some of their blood from that source. In our own land there are over five millions, and their number is steadily progressing. The census of 1880, if it takes cognizance of these distinctions in blood, which a national census of such a conglomerate people as ours would do well to avoid, will find, we think, that, despite the oppression, poverty, and enforced, and often too willing, degradation of this portion of our fellow-citizens, perhaps in consequence thereof, their ratio of progress in population is in advance of that of any other class, not excepting the Irish, or the German-American. There is no possibility that this great and growing portion of our population will be deported to Africa. As well expect the Anglo-American to be

deported to Great Britain. The African is the forerunner of the Englishman. He was brought over by the Spaniards in the beginning of the sixteenth century. The first permanent English settlement was not established until the beginning of the seventeenth. So that the Anglo-American is almost a century the junior of the Afric-American. Whatever contributions he may make to the settlement of America in Africa, he will not perceptibly diminish his numbers here; nor will the problem going forward to its solution here — the problem of the Declaration of Independence, the liberty, equality, and fraternity of all men — be perceptibly affected by any emigration to Africa, however extensive and persistent.

Nor, it should be said, will America in Africa be of any one class exclusively of the American population. While undoubtedly many of partial African descent will be among its colonists, others of pure European descent will likewise go. As we have seen, England not only looks on Africa as a field of romance and a mart of business, but a land to be occupied. So will white colonists settle in those midland perfections of soil and climate as numerously as they have in Australian wildernesses, and more numerously than they have in the plains of India.

The first movement to bring Africa and America into closer relations was from New England. April 7, 1773, Rev. Samuel Hopkins, of Newport, R. I., visited Rev. Ezra Stiles, afterwards President of Yale College. His object was to educate two pious youths of African origin, and send them to that land as missionaries. August 31 following, these two clergymen united in an appeal for aid to this enterprise. February 7, 1774, ladies in Dr. Hopkins's congregation made their first contribution. Other societies and individuals in Massachusetts and Connecticut also contributed. November 21 following, two of the young men sailed for New York, on their way to Princeton, N. J., to be educated under Dr. Witherspoon. November 24, bills were drawn on London for amounts collected in England and Scotland in aid of this enterprise. The War of the Revolution put a stop to this undertaking.

This was the first effort that looked towards entering Africa from America. It occurred a little over a century ago. It was a missionary effort, and did not intend anything of a governmental or colonizing character. It was simply to send Christian teachers to that continent, as they are sent to any other heathen land for

religious and not political considerations. These efforts were interrupted by the War of Independence. They were renewed by Dr. Hopkins after the war. Efforts were made to send out a colony in 1789, but failed of success. Granville Sharpe at that time founded the Sierra Leone Colony, and quite a company was sent thither from Nova Scotia. Dr. Hopkins sought to add to them a colony from New England, but failed to carry out his purpose. In 1791 he secured the organization of a society in Connecticut, and in 1793 preached before a like society in Providence. He died in 1803, and may be justly considered the father of this movement, though it did not take living shape till some years after his death.

The second and less reputable, but more potent, source of its origin was from Virginia. The Virginia Legislature, in secret session, December 31, 1800, adopted this resolution: —

"*Resolved*, That the Governor be requested to correspond with the President of the United States on the subject of purchasing lands without the limits of the State, whither persons obnoxious to the laws, or dangerous to the peace of society, may be removed."

Governor Monroe, in communicating this resolution to President Jefferson, gave the meaning of the words "obnoxious" and "dangerous." A conspiracy of slaves had been discovered in Richmond, and the leaders had been sentenced to death. They thought banishment a milder punishment. Probably they feared many other slaves, and especially free persons, were involved in the conspiracy, and they wished to get rid of more than they dared to execute. That this last was the real motive was seen in the resolution adopted the year following, January 6, 1802, directing correspondence "for the purpose of obtaining a place out of the limits of" the United States, "to which free negroes or mulattoes, and such as may be emancipated, may be sent, or may choose to remove." The free negroes and the half-breeds, whose white blood made them objects of dislike and dread, were those who were chiefly to be considered in the Virginia movement. Mr. Jefferson entered warmly into this movement, but nothing came of it.

In Williams College in 1808 may be found the third and successful attempt to put America into Africa. Samuel J. Mills, the founder of American foreign missions, was also the founder of African colonization. He did not begin to agitate this subject

until three or four years afterwards. In 1815 he had succeeded in directing public attention to this question. In 1816 the secret resolutions of the Virginia Legislature became known to Mr. Mercer, a member of the House of Delegates of that State, and he secured their readoption. Mr. Monroe, the governor at its passage, was then President.

The South by this time had become convinced of the necessity of some such action, from what they considered prudential considerations. Many States therefore seconded the action of Virginia, and though undoubtedly the purpose of Mr. Mills and of Dr. Hopkins was benevolent, whether wise or not, yet it cannot be thought that such resolves as those which were readopted by the Virginia Legislature, and which were the basis of action in Maryland and other States, had anything directly or intentionally to do with the advancement of the Anglo-African. It was to relieve a local danger, not to discharge a Christian duty or found a new State, that this action was taken. Undoubtedly many who joined in it were actuated by higher motives. The throbbings of the new birth of emancipation stirred the heart and conscience of the land. Emancipation without expatriation seemed to many an impossibility. They therefore sought emancipation through expatriation. But others sought through this process to become rid of those "free negroes and mulattoes" who were "obnoxious to the laws or dangerous to the peace of society."

The Colonization Society was organized January 1, 1817. It sent out two explorers, New England ministers, Rev. Samuel J. Mills, and Rev. Ebenezer Burgess. They sailed November 16, 1817, visited England, and arrived at Sierra Leone March 22, 1818. The Sierra Leone authorities received them hospitably, according to instructions from the home authorities, but did not, conceal their dislike to having an American colony established in their vicinity. They have not got over that dislike yet. They explored the coast to Sherbro, only a short distance below Sierra Leone, not visiting any portion of the present Republic. They left Sierra Leone May 22, two months after their arrival, and Mills died on his voyage the 16th of the month following.

The enterprise languished, and would undoubtedly have died but for a new force impelling the movement. The foreign slave-trade had ceased as a legal traffic after 1808, but slaves were still smug-

gled into the South. Georgia in 1817 ordered that such slaves should be taken from the importers, and sold at auction for the benefit of the State treasury, but allowed the Colonization Society to take them to Africa, provided it reimbursed the State for its expenses in recovering them from their illegal owners. Congress did not interfere with those who had been brought into the States, but provided that all who were captured on the high seas should be carried back to Africa. The first emigrants, therefore, were not Americans, nor even those who could speak the English language, but native Africans returned to their own shores. Three hundred were thus sent back in 1820, while only eighty-eight manumitted or free Americans accompanied them. President Monroe had been so active and earnest in this matter that the chief town was called by his name. His zeal, as one can see from the secret resolution of 1801, was far more political than philanthropic. It was to relieve the slave States of a dangerous class more than to build up an America on African shores. This desire was affected by the general feeling of the age that the ocean slave-trade must be extinguished, though in the last year of the last century over one hundred thousand of these victims had been borne across the ocean.

It should be said that these recaptured and returned Africans have been among the best Liberian citizens. They did not abide in slavery long enough to become weakened by its power. They have proved themselves among the most industrious and energetic of the colonists.

In 1820, then, the American colony of eighty-eight persons landed on the shores of Africa. They were long looking for a habitation. They did not get a permanent foothold until 1822, the jealousy of the English and the natives preventing earlier success. January 7, 1822, they found their Plymouth Rock on a small island at Cape Mesurado, a few rods from the shore. April 25 they effected a permanent lodgement on the continent.

Even then the enterprise was on the point of being abandoned. But for one man it would have been. Rev. Elijah Johnson, who had walked the beach from Sherbro to Mesurado, a distance of nearly two hundred miles, carrying his babe in his arms, became the Elder Brewster of the Pilgrims. The agents of the society were tired out. They wished to give up the undertaking. The few colonists

chose rather to return to the evils that they had known than to endure those upon them and before them there. But this minister declared he would not retreat. "I have been two years searching for a home in Africa," he said. "I have found it. I shall stay here." No wonder that a marble monument to his memory stands in the grounds of the only public building owned and occupied by the Republic in the capital; the only marble monument yet erected by the citizens of the Republic to any of her settlers or sons.

Not less significant and prophetic was his act and word when the captain of a British man-of-war offered to protect him from the natives if he would cede a few feet of ground on Cape Mesurado to that government, where they might simply erect a flag. Much as he needed their help to overcome the enemy thronging upon them, his American instincts caught the full significance of the request, and he promptly declined, saying, "It would cost more to pull down that flag than it will to whip the natives!"

In August of that year Ashmun arrived, the most energetic of all the governors of the colony. In November they had their first battle with the natives, — eight hundred against thirty-five. In December their second, twice the number of assailants against less than the first number of defenders. In each case the handful conquered and the contest for that portion of the land ceased from that hour.

This is the story of the planting of America in Africa. It has been repeated in multitudinous shapes, till it is as well known and well worn as the story of the Pilgrims. The accession of new lands, the retirement of the Colonization Society from the management of affairs, because the European traders would not recognize their government, the erection of a republic, the administration thereof, have been put before our public in so many forms that no one is ignorant of the main facts. Even their presidents are as well known to us as our own, and Roberts is as familiar a name to Americans as Washington, with whom the Liberians like to compare him.

There are, however, points upon which less is known. The American public has been compelled, the last two decades, to turn its attention to the Afric-American in its own land. It has been compelled to wrestle with the problem of emancipation, a vastly greater theme than that of colonization. It has been compelled to settle that problem on the field of wasting war. It has been compelled to consider the problems that have arisen out of that settle-

ment, the permanency of the Union, enfranchisement, civil rights, education, and other duties of an imperatively national obligation It is far from having exhausted these obligations. Can it, ought it, to look across the seas and be kindly affectioned towards a colony planted more than half a century ago, in contempt and weakness immeasurable: planted by captured natives and by expatriated slaves, who had been crushed by local laws, so that neither writing nor reading, nor handicrafts, except in rare instances, nor self-reliance, nor experience in political or any other matters, had been enjoyed by any of them?

Look at the colony after the lapse of this half-century, and see if it has attained in any direction to the stature of manhood; see if America in Africa has any value to America in America. We shall leave out of consideration its religious and educational condition, since the scope of our purpose will not allow of that examination. The commercial and political condition and relations of Liberia will occupy our attention.

We ought, first of all, not to expect a very great showing. What was any English colony in America fifty years after its settlement? In 1670 Massachusetts had hardly penetrated beyond the seaboard. In 1675, more than fifty years after her Pilgrims landed at their Cape Mesurado, King Philip planned the destruction of the colony and wellnigh executed his purpose. He destroyed many villages and ravaged the frontier settlements, which only extended about twenty miles west of Boston. A few towns on the Connecticut had been planted, as they have to-day on the St. Paul's River, the Connecticut of Liberia. But the country a dozen miles back from the coast was practically a wilderness inhabited by savages.

Equally unsettled were New York and Virginia in 1660 and 1670. The little colonies were dependent entirely on the home government for protection and even for preservation. It took a hundred years more before they were strong enough to stand alone and to resist Indian and French attacks, and even these were not repelled without the aid of troops from the motherland. Let not then Liberia be lightly esteemed if at the end of fifty years she is no farther advanced than Plymouth and Connecticut and Virginia were in the same lapse of time. If she is equal to these she is superior; for if with her far inferior advantages she has attained an equal condition, she is entitled to the greater honor.

GILBERT HAVEN.

Art. X. — CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1. — *Die treulose Witwe, eine chinesische Novelle, und ihre Wanderung durch die Weltliteratur.* Von Eduard Grisebach. Dritte, umgearbeitete Auflage. Stuttgart: A. Kröner. 1877. 16mo. pp. 128.

"The Faithless Widow" — the heroine of the very ancient Chinese tale which gives the text for Herr Grisebach's learned little monograph — was named Tiän-sche, and was a daughter of the princely house of Tiän. When she had grown into a beautiful young woman, whose face was "of the color of a milk-white icicle," there came travelling through her father's country a very learned scholar and philosopher named Tschwang-söng, who had laid aside all desire for worldly honors and was in search of Tao, the great Wisdom. Attracted by the fame of this esteemed and holy man, Tiän-sche's father gave her to him in marriage; and although the philosophic Tschwang-söng had separated himself from the things of the world forever, he was overcome by the maiden's charms, gave up for a time his search after the Tao, and established himself with his new wife in the province of Sung, in the retired region of the Nan-chwa hills. Now, Tschwang-söng had been unfortunate in two previous marital experiences, and this fact had made him somewhat cynical, apparently, and had given to his numerous maxims and quotations from the Chinese classics a direction unfavorable to the female sex. Shortly after his marriage with Tiän-sche, he chanced upon an incident which confirmed these views. As he was walking one day among the hills he came upon a group of graves, and while he indulged in some of the reflections which never failed to fill his contemplative mind, he became aware that one of the graves was new, and that beside it sat a woman, fanning it. This action appeared so singular that even the philosopher was forced to smile, as he asked its reason; and his cynical soul was not less amused to learn that this was the grave of the woman's husband, to whom she had given a solemn promise that she would not marry again until the earth over his body should have grown dry. It was for this end, she explained with considerable naïveté, that she was fanning the fresh mound.

Now, Tschwang-söng was a man of great practical benevolence, and one to whom his holiness and wisdom gave such power that he was occasionally capable of something like a miracle. Taking the fan from the woman's hand, therefore, he passed it once or twice across the grave,

and, behold! the earth was dry. Then the woman was very grateful, and would have given him her silver hair-pin; but the philosopher refused it; and, accepting only the fan which he had used, he made his contemplative way homeward, and related the whole story to Tiän-sche his wife, not without some sarcastic comments which roused that lady to a warm display of feeling. "There were few women in the world," she opined, "as heartless as this one"; and as for herself, she asserted, it was not a question whether she would wait two years, or five, or many, after her lord and master's death: she never would marry again, and even her dreams should never be of another than Tschwang-söng.

That philosopher held his peace; but at the end of a few days he suddenly grew ill and died, accompanying his last breath with the unamiable remark that his wife might now regret that she had broken the fan he had brought home with him, for now she had nothing left to fan his grave withal. But Tiän-sche broke out into loud wailing when he died, and tore her hair, and put on mourning and sat down beside his coffin and refused to be comforted. Many guests came to comfort her and pay their respect to the dead man; and among others on the ninth day there arrived a young prince of the neighborhood, "incomparably beautiful, with lips as though they had been colored with a dragon's blood." Alas for poor Tiän-sche! It was not long before her husband's most cynical beliefs were justified; first the young prince and the widow mourned together; then they talked together; briefly, at the end of a few days, they were deeply in love, and had agreed to marry. The prince objected that it would never do to marry in their mourning garments; Tiän-sche agreed, and dressed herself in splendor. The prince objected that no marriage could have good luck that had been contracted when a coffin was in the house; Tiän-sche conceded this, and employed men to move her late husband's body to an old ruined shed. Finally all was ready for the marriage ceremony, when, as he entered the room, the beautiful young prince fell in a fit upon the threshold; and his old servant wrung his hands, and declared that the prince had had such fits before; that he had feared them, and that only one method of cure existed. Hurriedly Tiän-sche demanded what this was; it was, said the servant, part of the brain of a living man or one not yet forty days dead.

Tiän-sche's ingenuity was equal to the emergency. Taking an axe, and going out alone, she approached the side of Tschwang-söng's coffin, and burst it open with many blows. To her horror, its inmate opened his eyes, sat up, and thanked her audibly. Overcome as she was, she stammered out that she had opened the coffin because she had been thinking of stories of those whose souls sometimes returned to them

But, queried the resuscitated husband as they returned together to the house, how was it that she appeared in embroidered garments instead of those of mourning? Again she stammered that when her hopes led her to open the coffin and to think he might return to life, she did not think she should wear clothes of evil omen. "But how comes it," said the philosopher further, "that my coffin was not in my chamber, but in that tumble-down shed? Is that a happy omen?" At last the wife was silenced; and a moment after, the prince and his attendant appeared upon the threshold, and then at a sign from Tschwang-söng they vanished into thin air. Then the unhappy Tiän-sche knew that they were phantoms, and that she had no escape left her, and, taking off her embroidered girdle, she tied it to a beam and hanged herself. But Tschwang-söng, when he had burned the house and all that it contained, except the sacred books, went forth again alone on his search after the Tao.

Taking this old Chinese story as the text for his commentary, Herr Grisebach shows its theme and its general features to be almost as clearly traceable through all literatures as any of the great Aryan myths. The essay in comparative philology which he bases on this light foundation is a perfect monument of erudition, of a kind that is almost peculiar to Germany. With wonderful patience and skill Herr Grisebach has found and laid before us in this little book versions or variations of the theme of the Chinese tale in almost every language and the literature of almost every race as far back as even the philologist will dare to follow. A short treatise on the aspect of marriage among different peoples accompanies this singularly exhaustive study; and the monograph is not simply worthy of close study as an example of singular learning, and as a contribution to the science in which the author is a close and careful student, but it is most interesting to the reader, whom mere curiosity leads to follow the protean shapes of a single legend through every phase.

The reader will notice peculiarities of spelling in Herr Grisebach's book, which show him to belong to an advanced school in this matter. Chief among them is the omission of the silent *h* following a consonant in German words. Thus, he uses *tat* for *that*, *heimat* for *heimath*, *gemüte* for *gemüthe*, etc. We give these German nouns intentionally without capitals; for this method is adopted by Herr Grisebach throughout his work, giving it a singular appearance to one accustomed to the reading of ordinary German text. Double letters, also, he avoids in many cases; and even in his title uses the spelling *Witwe*.

2. — *Richard Wagner at Bayreuth. The Ring of the Nibelungs: A Description of its First Performance in August, 1876.* By John R. G. Hassard. New York; reprinted from the New York Tribune. 1877. 8vo. pp. 57.

The letters here republished not only formed the best description of the Bayreuth Festival that appeared in the American press, but for the purposes of the general reader, and for the preservation of the really memorable features of the scene and the great trilogy itself, we have not met with anything so excellent among all the accounts that we have read elsewhere. It was not Mr. Hassard's purpose, from the very nature of his task, to write to the newspaper in which his well-known musical criticism has given ample evidence of his ability, a purely technical account of Wagner's masterpiece; but he has succeeded in doing a more widely useful thing, — in putting upon record in the most vivid way the impression made by it upon one whose knowledge made him a competent observer, while his experience made him a thorough interpreter of what his readers wished to know.

This useful republication of the letters is made at a most opportune time, when the attempt has been made to reproduce on the American stage some of the wonders of the Nibelungen Ring. Mr. Hassard's remarks on some of the features of the Bayreuth performance will serve to emphasize some conclusions to which the attendants on the American reproduction must have come, either wittingly or unwittingly. Apart from the music altogether, it has been the habit of many opponents of Wagner's theories to scoff at his insistance upon the thousand things which, in his belief, are necessary to "absolute fitness" in the production of his works. An attempt at the reproduction of these works without such assistance gives a clew to how much even this little part of his artistic perception may mean. The darkened theatre, the orchestra concealed in its "mystic gulf," the carefully secured absence of any approach to an incongruous effect, can do nothing toward making a work great; they may do much to prevent a work that is great from being marred. A certain fussiness, no doubt, attends Wagner's nervous care for all these things; but in the great end he is right, and we are too much given to the slighting of the smaller means.

It is not because Mr. Hassard's letters dwell upon this comparatively unimportant aspect of their theme, that we make this rather random observation; but we could not help seeing this feature among those which made the Bayreuth performance convey the impression of completeness which he so faithfully records. And this is one of the strongest

points of Mr. Hassard's description; one of those which make us glad that it has been put into this permanent, if still almost too modest, form. Better for preservation than any but the very greatest technical criticism, it will keep before our eyes all of the spectacle that words can well convey; and its record of the effect of Wagner's crowning work upon so well trained a student will make it always a valuable contribution to the history of music.

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3. — *New Lands within the Arctic Circle. Narrative of the Discoveries of the Austrian Ship Tegetthoff in the years 1872 – 1874.* By Julius Payer, one of the Commanders of the Expedition. With Maps and Illustrations by the Author. Translated from the German with the Author's approbation. New York: Appleton & Co. 1877. 4to. pp. 399.

The Austrian Arctic expedition was productive of such important results, and is so full of dramatic incidents, that a narrative of it must, in any case, have been interesting. Commander Payer has, however, invested it with a literary charm which will secure for his book a large circle of general readers. His descriptions of intricate and dangerous navigation, of the hardships and perils of sledge travel, of the scenery of new and undiscovered lands, and of the exciting and hazardous escape of the officers and crew from the abandoned ship, combine to form a story of Arctic adventure that has not been surpassed. Polar exploration has heretofore been almost exclusively confined to the regions north of the American continent and the shores of Greenland. Since the celebrated journey of Sir Edward Parry, in 1829, no effort has been made to force a ship due north from the quarter attempted by the Austrian expedition, though it has been a favorite theory with Petermann and other geographers that the route by Smith's Sound is impracticable. This is now proved, by the recent British expedition under Sir George Nares, to be the case; but the experiences of Commander Payer and his brave companions only go to show that the difficulties are quite as insurmountable to the north of Novaya Zembyà as they are to the north of Greenland, while the chimera of an open polar sea, which at one time found favor even with some geographers who should have known better, may now be considered to be exploded. Commander Payer, like Sir George Nares, is a profound disbeliever in the existence of any such *polynia* as that to which Dr. Hayes has so persistently clung, and devotes a chapter to the consideration of the subject. The chief value of this book, from a scientific point of view,

lies in the very careful study which Commander Payer has made of the nature of polar ice, of the laws by which it is governed, and of the influences of currents and temperature upon its distribution and character. Taken in conjunction with the data obtained by Sir George Nares, and with the very interesting and elaborate conclusions arrived at by that officer, we are, for the first time, able to form some definite theory in regard to circumpolar phenomena; and we are bound to say it does not encourage us to believe in the possibility of the North Pole being reached, either by Captain Howgate's proposed colony or any other means. This is a point, however, in regard to which the readers of the book before us are able to form as good an opinion as we can. Before starting on their great voyage in the Tegetthoff, Messrs. Payer and Weyprecht made a pioneer cruise in the Tsbjorn, a Norwegian sailing-vessel of fifty tons, in which they spent the three summer months of 1871, between Spitzbergen and Novaya Zembya. In the following year the Tegetthoff endeavored to force her way north of the latter island, and was caught fast in an ice-pack in a comparatively low latitude, from which she was never afterwards released. There can be no doubt that, in many seasons, she might have avoided this fate, and have attained a higher latitude. She finally drifted to the northward, approaching, at last, the eightieth degree of latitude, a point never before reached by a ship in that part of the world. A sledge-party was then organized, and a continent was discovered, which was named Franz Joseph's Land, after the Emperor of Austria; Commander Payer succeeding in planting the flag of his country on a cape a little to the north of the eighty-second parallel, to which he has given the name of Cape Fligely. The hardships of the second winter in the ice are thrillingly described, and the narrow escape of the whole party from sharing the fate of Sir John Franklin and his companions forms a series of sensational episodes. All these perils were forgotten in the ovation which awaited the officers and crew on their return to their native land; and we cannot close the narrative without a feeling of admiration for the pluck which was displayed throughout, and for the admirable discipline which was preserved, and which has reflected the highest credit on all who took part in the expedition. The work is carefully and profusely illustrated.

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4. — *Titian: His Life and Times.* By J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle. London: John Murray. 2 vols. 1877.

We know of no biography, unless it be Masson's Life of Milton, which, while tracing the career of a distinguished man, reproduces in

such large outline and patient detail the tissue and color of his times. The historic materials which have been culled and woven together in this work seem to be quite exhaustive, and in a large measure new. The data collected early in this century by Dr. Jacobi, and which formed the basis of Ticozzi's somewhat flimsy book, have been winnowed anew and made to yield much curious information. So, too, the correspondence of Titian with the marquises and dukes of Gonzaga was opened to Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, and in the Simancas library they obtained access to countless letters exchanged between the painter, Charles the Fifth, Philip the Second, and their ministers. These privileges have been turned to account with creditable industry, and the authors have also been at pains to visit and study almost all of the works to which, rightly or wrongly, the name of Titian is attached, although their number in England and on the Continent exceeds one thousand.

Of course a review of Titian's achievement involves an analysis of Italian art at the epoch of culmination, and in the first stage of decadence, and for this undertaking it will be acknowledged that the joint authors of the "History of Painting in North Italy" had proved themselves competent. Not that they are themselves artists in words, like Ruskin and Taine, but perhaps for that very reason their connoisseurship is the more trustworthy, since they are not betrayed into verbal coruscations, but confine their aim to presenting, in a homely, exact way, facts carefully sifted and conclusions deliberately evolved. It follows that the reader will scan these volumes in vain for criticism of the sparkling sort which is available in conversation, for the striking, paradoxical judgments compressed in epigrams; but the earnest student of art, at a most interesting and decisive era of its development, will find substantial aid in forming sound opinions for himself.

5.—*Science Primers.* Edited by Professors Huxley, Roscoe, and Balfour Stewart. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876.

In this day of well-edited school-books perhaps the most useful and creditable achievement in the direction of assimilative apparatus is the series of Science Primers published by Appleton. Eight of these have now appeared, and they are not only invested with the authority which attaches to the authors' names, but they are for the most part skilfully adapted to the purposes of elementary education. We should not say, of course, that they are equal in this respect, since few first-rate experimentalists possess the felicitous diction of Professor Huxley, from whom,

by the way, we are promised an introductory treatise. Among the most lucid and efficient of these little books we may cite the manuals of Physics and Chemistry, the one by Balfour Stewart, and the other by H. E. Roscoe, Professor in Owens College, Manchester. While the general object of all the Primers is to state the fundamental principles of the several sciences in a manner suited to pupils of an early age, Professor Stewart aims not so much to give information as to endeavor to discipline the learner's mind in a way which has not hitherto been customary, namely, by bringing it into immediate contact with Nature herself. For this end a scale of simple experiments is devised leading up to the capital truths of physical science. It is recommended that these experiments be performed by the teacher in regular order before the class, whereby a power of observation in the pupils will be awakened and strengthened. We ought likewise to mention specially J. D. Hooker's contribution to these text-books. His treatise on Botany aims to supply a rudimentary knowledge of the principal facts of plant life, together with the means of training beginners in the way to observe plants methodically and accurately. In using the Primer it is suggested that the plants indicated should, wherever possible, be put into each student's hand. Many of them might be grown in every school garden, and arranged in it systematically, so that the instructor would have the same appliances for displaying the principles of classification that the great founder of the natural classification of plants — Bernard de Jussieu — had after the gardens of the Trianon were thus arranged by him under Louis XV. Mr. Hooker advises, further, that the teacher of Botany should have a copious stock of dried flowers and other parts of plants so preserved as that the learner can, after moistening them, separate the organs. Moreover, if it is sought to make the study stimulative and fruitful each pupil should have a pocket-lens magnifying three or four times, a sharp penknife, and a pair of forceps, and he should be encouraged to preserve between sheets of paper the specimens he has examined, with a descriptive ticket attached. All these hints carry on their face their credentials, and are not likely to be neglected. We will name particularly one other member of this series, namely: Dr. Foster's elementary view of Physiology, which will be found a convenient introduction to Professor Huxley's First Lessons in the same science. In his descriptions and explanations Dr. Foster has supposed the reader willing to handle and examine such things as a dead rabbit and a sheep's heart, and he has framed his treatise accordingly, being convinced that actual observation of structures is as necessary for the sound acquirement of even elementary facts in Physiology as are actual experiments for Chemistry.

6.—*The Principles of Sociology.* By Herbert Spencer. Vol. I. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1877.

The system of synthetic philosophy which is in course of construction by Mr. Herbert Spencer receives in the volume before us a peculiarly interesting application. Of the four previous volumes which followed "First Principles," two dealt with the physical phenomena presented by living aggregates, vegetal and animal, of all classes, while the other two discussed those more special phenomena, distinguished as psychical, which the most evolved aggregates display. In the present book he enters upon the remaining division, which he calls superorganic evolution, embracing under that term all those processes and products which imply the co-ordinated actions of many individuals, actions which achieve results exceeding in extent and complexity those attainable by individual actions. Mr. Spencer's object, partly, is to give a comprehensive conception of this superorganic evolution, as not of one kind, but of various kinds, determined by the characters of the several species of organisms among which it shows itself,—among bees and ants, for instance, as well as man,—and partly to suggest (in which suggestion he of course takes issue with the upholders of a natural or a revealed religion) that superorganic evolution of the highest order known to us arises out of an order no higher than that variously displayed in the animal world at large. In other words, he affirms that the social and moral growths, structures, functions, and products which human societies exhibit are explicable on what is called the evolutionary hypothesis, and on no other.

We may illustrate by some reference to the chapter on monogamy the application of Mr. Spencer's method to social phenomena in the present work, which the author himself probably regards rather as a tentative than a demonstrative performance. Undertaking to trace the gradual evolution of the monogamic relation, he points out that among inferior creatures inherited instinct settles the fit arrangement, that is, the arrangement most conducive to the welfare of the species. In one case, for example, there is no continuous association of male and female; in another there is a polygynous group; in still another there is monogamy lasting for a season. A good deal of evidence may be given that among the primates inferior to man there are monogamic relations of the sexes having considerable persistence. Why then in groups of primitive men do we find divergences from this arrangement? Mr. Spencer's answer is that during certain transitional stages between the first extremely scattered or little gregarious stage of human society and the extremely aggregated or highly gregarious stage there have arisen various conditions favoring various kinds of union, and so causing temporary deviations

from the primordial tendency. Be that as it may, it is manifest, our author thinks, in spite of some counter facts supplied by Islam, that monogamy has long been growing innate in civilized man, all the ideas and sentiments that have become associated with marriage having as their necessary implication the singleness of the union.

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7. — *Turkey.* By James Baker, M. A., Lieutenant-Colonel Auxiliary Forces. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1877. 4to. pp. 495.

One of the few compensations to be derived from the painful interest which must ever attach to a theatre of war consists in the flood of information that pours in upon us in regard to the countries chiefly concerned. Thus, during the last six months so many books, pamphlets and articles on Russia and Turkey have issued from the press that the public has only itself to blame if it remains in ignorance of the real condition of those countries. Of these, two must bear the palm from all others: Mr. Wallace has made an exceptionally exhaustive study of the Russia of to-day, and now Colonel James Baker has given us his personal experiences of Turkey, and the result of his observation and researches into the history and present condition of its heterogeneous population. Colonel Baker, who is a brother of Sir Samuel Baker and of Colonel Valentine Baker, now in the military service of the Sultan, is himself a considerable landed proprietor in Turkey, his estate being situated in Macedonia, about eight miles from Salonica. He tells us that he has resided three years in the country; has ridden over a thousand miles through some of its least-known provinces; and has consequently enjoyed unusual facilities for forming an accurate opinion upon the much-vexed question of Turkish administration, and of the actual position and treatment of the Christians. In his preface Colonel Baker announces his intention of dealing with the subject in a perfectly fair and impartial spirit, and we are bound to say that he has fulfilled his promise. The people with whom he has been brought chiefly into contact are the Bulgarians, whose rebellion and its consequences excited such active sympathy at the time, and have since exercised so powerful an influence upon the Eastern Question. Nearly a hundred of these Bulgarian Christians are in the author's employ, and he has been a frequent visitor to their leading men. While he gives a most favorable picture of their national characteristics, he altogether repudiates the idea that they have ever been so disaffected towards the Turkish government as has been represented. On the other hand, he points out unsparingly the defects of the Turkish system of administration, showing at the same time the

almost insurmountable difficulties with which they have had to contend. Colonel Baker's political, social, and economical observations are pleasantly varied by picturesque sketches of sport and travel; but the chief value of the book lies in the careful historical résumé which he has given of the different races which compose the population of European Turkey. The origin of the little known Bulgarians, of their first appearance in Turkey, of their quarrels with the Greeks, and of the relation in which they now stand to the Slaves, is fully narrated, while successive chapters are dedicated to the Osmanlis proper, to the Ottoman slaves, to the Albanians, and to the various minor tribes with whom the author was brought into contact. In the concluding chapters Turkey is presented to us in a new light. The author, who has made the experiment, recommends it as a field of emigration, its advantages of soil and climate, its proximity to markets, and abundance of labor, rendering it in his opinion superior, for a farmer with a moderate capital, even to the United States. Colonel Baker supports this theory with facts, describing in detail the nature of the land tenure, the system of taxation, and the kind of farming which he considers most profitable. We can cordially recommend his book as one which contains an immense fund of information on a comparatively little known country, and which would at any time have been an acceptable addition to our libraries. In the presence of the stirring events which are now transpiring in the East it cannot fail to have a special value and importance.

8.—*The Cheveley Novels: "A Modern Minister."* Edinburgh and London. W. Blackwood and Sons. May, 1877.

The publication of a novel in monthly parts must always be a hazardous experiment. The inimitable genius of Dickens could alone have inaugurated an idea which derived its success from the fascination which that author contrived to impart to his works, — a fascination which depended no less upon the novelty and charm of his style than upon the subtlety and engrossing interest of his plots. The public thus became accustomed to receive in monthly instalments what for many years seemed a sort of literary necessity, and serial stories were adopted with marked success both by Thackeray and Lever; but since their death no author has been bold enough to venture upon a plan which has seemed to depend largely for success upon a well-secured literary reputation, and a name that was in itself a guaranty of the excellence of the work. With characteristic courage and enterprise, the well-known Scotch publishers, Messrs. Blackwood and Sons, now present to

the public a series entitled "The Cheveley Novels," the first number of which has just reached us. It is called "A Modern Minister," and is to be completed in thirteen monthly parts. So great is the mystery which enshrouds this publication, that we are given to understand that the name of the author or authoress has been withheld even from the publishers, who have, however, doubtless good reason to know from the manuscript which has been placed in their hands, that its merit warrants so remarkable an experiment as the one which they are now making. The Messrs. Blackwood have abundantly proved by their long and successful career that they have a singular instinct for discovering unsuspected genius, and we owe to their fine perception and keen intuition of the public taste many of the most popular novels of the day. We anticipate that "The Cheveley Novels" will fully bear out the reputation they have thus earned. It is needless to speculate as to the authorship. Here and there we imagine we discern a familiar touch which reminds us of one of the most celebrated of living writers, and there are peculiarities of style so marked that they almost seem to be employed for purposes of disguise. The form in which the whole work is presented to us is at once novel and eminently sensational, — we use this last epithet in its best, not its worst sense. First we have the dedication as follows: "To Charles Cheveley, Esq., in grateful recollection of unvarying kindness and sympathy, I dedicate 'A Modern Minister,' the initial work of a series I propose with your permission to entitle 'The Cheveley Novels.'" Mr. Cheveley we suppose to be a mythical personage. Then, after the manner of a play, we have a list of the characters who are to figure in the story, who amount to no fewer than a hundred and seventeen, each with an appropriate definition; and before we have read many pages we find ourselves absorbed in a narrative at once thrilling and mysterious, and which exhibits dramatic talent of a very high order. While, from a literary point of view, the style and treatment show great power, we feel inclined to take exception to the license which the author allows himself of leaving out articles, and beginning sentences in a way not always grammatical; here and there are touches too florid to be altogether in keeping with the scenes depicted, as, for instance, Arden's solitary dinner on board his yacht. On the other hand, the tragedy of Eagle Hall is throughout a fine piece of word-painting. Altogether it is impossible to put down the first number without feeling a strong determination to get the next as soon as it appears, which is, perhaps, the best test of the accuracy with which the publishers have gauged the public requirements. It is essentially adapted to modern taste, and is typical as an illustration of the novel of the day. We have no doubt that it will appeal, therefore, to a very large class of readers.

9. — *Camp, Court, and Siege: A Narrative of Personal Adventure and Observation during Two Wars 1861–1865, 1870–1871.* By Wickham Hoffman, Assistant Adjutant-General, U. S. Volunteers, and Secretary U. S. Legation at Paris. 12mo. New York: Harper Brothers. pp. 285.

Since the early years of this century there has been no epoch more fruitful of stirring events than that comprised between the years 1861 and 1871. The sketch which Colonel Wickham Hoffman has given us in "Court, Camp, and Siege" of the part which he played in these events derives its chief interest from the fact that in the scenes which he describes he occupied a position which afforded him opportunities of acquiring information denied to the ordinary observer. Throughout the military operations in Louisiana he served under Generals Butler, Banks, and Franklin, nearly always in a staff capacity, while as Secretary of the American Legation at Paris, he was brought into intimate relations with the Court of the Emperor Napoleon, and on the overthrow of that monarch saw the inside workings of the commune from a vantage-ground denied to the members of the other legations. To the ordinary reader Colonel Hoffman's French experiences will be read with a deeper interest than those which he shared in common with so many of his own countrymen in the South during the war. He does not shrink from giving us his estimate of the generals with whom he came into contact, supporting it with facts which will doubtless interest many of our military readers, and the conclusions he draws may possibly be open to criticism. His Parisian experiences, on the other hand, are in many respects unique, and throw light on some important passages of contemporary history. Considering the importance of the period through which Colonel Hoffman passed, and the knowledge he must necessarily have acquired, we almost regret that his account is so sketchy and meagre. We have glimmerings of light where we should gladly have had a fuller blaze. This may partly be due to the fact that the writer's official position has obliged him to observe a certain reticence, and is doubtless in some measure to be attributed to the absence of that literary faculty which might have enabled him to impart a more picturesque and lively coloring to the sensational episodes which he so lightly touches upon. Still we are thankful for what we have got. Colonel Hoffman's book possesses a distinct historical value; if it is not brilliant, it is readable, and there are occasional touches of humor which redeem it from anything like dulness. We put it down with a sensation of regret that a writer who has seen so much should have given us so little, and of gratitude that he has not

so far distrusted his own powers as to shrink from giving us anything at all. Should fate reserve for him another decade of sensational history, we trust that he will rise to the importance of the subject, and treat it in a manner worthy its dignity and interest for future students.

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10. — *The Nineteenth Century. A Monthly Review.* Edited by James Knowles. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1877.

The appearance of a new and prominent monthly review in the arena of periodical literature is an event of no common importance. We have in the establishment of the Nineteenth Century, in face of numerous rivals, fresh proof of the growing demand for the best organs of miscellaneous and weighty thought. Within a few years more new reviews and magazines have been started in Great Britain than were published during the previous half-century. For a long time the English public contented itself with the Edinburgh, Quarterly, and Westminster Reviews, and with Blackwood's, Fraser's, and two or three other magazines. But although the difference between the manner and the matter of these periodicals was quite remarkable, readers have come to demand still greater variety, and in the case of reviews have generally wearied of a three months' interval. The publication of monthly reviews was accordingly adopted in England, and with notable success. In one or two instances these periodicals have even hastened their appearance by adopting the fortnightly issue, and have gone far to supersede the magazine. This frequency of appearance and more timely consideration of topics has by no means diminished, but perhaps rather increased, the general excellence of articles. How to account for this may be difficult. Is it not that knowledge of late has rapidly increased, is more swiftly methodized by thinkers, and that the quickness of mental movement has ceased to detract from its weight? Moreover, the roll of scholars and writers of the highest order has been largely extended, and there can be no doubt that able contributors are now more easily obtained in Great Britain than when Jeffrey drummed up writers for the Edinburgh, and Sir Walter Scott did the same necessary service for its rival, the Quarterly.

In the Nineteenth Century we now have a representative of the freshest and most vigorous English thought, and not only do its pages embody the best intellect of the country, but, like our own, they offer a common battle-ground to the thinkers of all parties and all sects.

Seldom if ever has the initial number of any publication met with such surpassing success, and called forth such unmixed praise. This

speedy prosperity may be traced not only to the support of such men as Mr. Tennyson and Mr. Gladstone, but to the editorial talent and capacity of Mr. Knowles, late editor of the Contemporary Review, who carries over with him the flower of his old staff. There is no marked difference in the table of contents furnished by the Contemporary a short time ago and that which now appears on the cover of the new Review. Certainly the authors are our old friends, and the vein of topics is the same. Indeed, were it not for the name and the color of the cover, an old number of the Contemporary and one of its new rival might easily pass one for the other.

The first number of the Nineteenth Century, ushered in by a sonnet from the poet-laureate, made its appearance last March, and has since been followed by three numbers, which maintain the splendid promise of the first. That splendid indeed it was may be gathered from the array of names which vouch for its contents. There are, besides Mr. Tennyson, the Rt. Hon. Wm. E. Gladstone, M. P.; Mr. W. R. S. Ralston; Sir John Lubbock, M. P.; the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol; the Hon. M. E. Grant Duff, M. P.; the Rev. J. Baldwin Brown; Professor Croom Robertson; Cardinal Manning; and, last but not least, Mr. Matthew Arnold. A novel feature, borrowed from the ancients, under the title of "A Modern Symposium," will add to the interest and utility of the Review, admitting, as it does, the discussion of some important topic by a variety of able writers, their opinions appearing in juxtaposition.

We are happy to tender from this side of the Atlantic our best wishes for the prosperity of the Nineteenth Century, which fairly promises to outlive the limits imposed by its name.

11.—*Studien und Kritiken.* Von Bruno Meyer. Stuttgart: W. Spemann. 1877.

Studies and Criticisms. By Bruno Meyer. 8vo. pp. 460.

This handsome volume is made up from the contributions of an art-critic to leading German journals during the last twenty years, and it consists of nearly fifty essays upon leading topics of contemporary art. It is full of information upon artists and their movements, and it abounds in instruction especially as to the great art-expositions of Germany and France. The author is not afraid of any aspect of his subject, however festive or solemn; and he is apparently as much at home in treating of the new monument to Luther at Worms, as of the new curtain at the Berlin Opera House. There are two of these essays that

are especially interesting and important to us in America, and we will give the upshot of them in few words.

The Essence of Art Industry, with its significance for our time, is presented in a good paper of fifteen pages, which was written in 1868, when the movement in that direction was beginning, and few men were aware of the great results of it. The distinctive principle of art-industry is that it must meet a practical necessity, and enlist beauty in the service of utility. It follows from this principle that the artistic faculty must work within the limits of a certain technical necessity, and also that the work of art should not owe its origin to the utilitarian end which the product is to serve, but should be regarded as the free act of the artist, by which he seeks to satisfy himself in the creation. Meyer argues that the art-workman is as free from merely external considerations in the æsthetic part of his labor as any other artist impelled by the idea of satisfying the inherent impulse of construction. There are three phases or steps in the combination of the two elements of utility and imagination. First, the conception of the beautiful form comes to the artist; then he confronts this conception with the necessities of his material and its use; then comes the last step, when the ideal triumphs over details of material and use, and, even if the product is useless as a vessel, it has new value as a work of art, content with symbolizing its use. It is obvious that the object of the work, the material, and the fabrication are the main points to be considered, and that the forms of art-industry will vary according as either of these essentials is most insisted upon. The result may be a handsome piece of furniture for actual use, or it may be an exquisite vase, that has no use except to show fitly and fairly the hue or veins of precious stones and metals, or to symbolize a heroic or ideal life.

Meyer ascribes the decline of art-industry in our time to two causes, — the decay of the natural and instinctive feeling of style, and the separation of art from labor, — two agencies that act and react upon each other. The times have gone in which the honorable master of industry sent far and wide into the world from his workshop works of art in which the greatest artists held it to be a worthy task of their genius to design the patterns for the common things of daily utility. Modern culture, moreover, has introduced the unhappy principle of the division of labor into this department; and the All-knowing of modern science and the Almightiness of modern machinery has done its utmost to deaden the genial spark which before consecrated and inspired the shaping hand and its works. A better day is coming, and the national life is calling for the elevation of work under the influence of art. Every consumer ought to be a connoisseur, every producer ought to be

an artist. Architecture, as peculiarly the art-industry, ought to lead the great movement, and is doing it, and adding color to form in the structures that meet all uses and employ all manners of taste and labor.

The most elaborate essay in the volume seems to have been made from a series of criticisms on the Art Exposition at Munich in 1869, and in thirty-six pages it reviews the influence of these expositions upon the temper of artists and the spirit of their art. The critic allows that the combination of so many specimens of contemporary art awakens interest in fine work, gives a generous cosmopolitan tone to art, — a *humanity* much better than the *humanism* of the fourteenth and fifteenth century; and he rejoices in the realistic tendency that strives to put nature and life upon canvas and into marble, and cares more for manhood than for caste and creed. But he fears that pride of technic perfection is getting the better of inspiration, and that artists are tempted to vie with each other in startling effects for high prices before the eye of the great public, instead of studying Nature under the guidance of some devoted master, and courting ideal Beauty for her own sake, not for her golden dower. This whole essay is full of valuable suggestions and instructive criticisms.

12. — *Abhandlungen zur Kunstgeschichte als angewandter Aesthetik.* Von Dr. Hermann Ulrici, ordentl. Professor an der Universitat Zu Halle. Leipzig: T. D. Weigel. 1876.
Treatises upon Art History as Applied Æsthetics. 8vo. pp. 290.

Dr. Ulrici has been most conspicuous of late by his elaborate works, "God and Nature" and "God and Man," which have probably been the strongest defence that has been made in our time by philosophical theism against materialism. Yet he began his public career in the interest of literature and art. His first noted work was a "History of Greek Poetic Art" (1835), which was followed in 1839 by his celebrated lectures upon "Shakespeare's Dramatic Art," which have been long familiar to English readers. It is not surprising, therefore, that he now returns to his first love, and that he celebrated his seventieth year by this instructive and interesting series of papers upon the history of art. The volume is divided into five parts, which relate respectively to the Contrast between Ancient and Modern Art; Style, as represented in the five epochs of Modern Architecture, the Byzantine, the Romanesque, the Gothic, the Renaissance, the Barocco; the Development of the Madonna Ideal in its chief Stages; the Characteristics of the Great

Masters of the Flourishing Time of Painting, Fra Angelico and Masaccio, Lionardo, Michel Angelo, Raphael, Titian, Correggio, Dürer; and finally to the Illustration of the Idea of the Drama in Shakespeare, Goethe, and Schiller.

It is enough for us now to give a specimen of the author's way of handling his subject by making an outline of his first essay upon the difference between Ancient and Modern Art, instead of trying to go over all the ground which he has travelled in his five sections. He begins by saying that when we pass from Homer to the Nibelungen, or from Virgil to Dante and Ariosto, or from Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides to Shakespeare, Calderon, Goethe, and Schiller, we have the feeling that another atmosphere moves about us, as if we entered a new world. The Greek and Roman music is quite different from our modern music. It makes little account of harmony; knows nothing of thorough-bass; and its instruments were chiefly various flutes and harps. It would seem at first sight, on the contrary, that in the plastic arts, where the universal laws of statics and mechanism prevail, and the forms of nature and man are essentially the same as in sculpture and painting, the difference between ancient and modern art must almost wholly disappear. Yet what a significant, deep distinction there is between a Greek temple and a Gothic dome, — between the Moses of Michel Angelo, or an Apostle's statue by Andrew Sansovini or Peter Fischer, and the Greek figures of a hero or a god, — between a picture of Raphael and all that we know of ancient painting! If we ask what the difference is, we reply that the ancient art is more plastic, the modern is more picturesque. If we seek the ground of this distinction, we find it not merely in the different forms of sculpture and painting, nor in the different materials — on the one hand, clay, wood, stone, brass, and on the other hand, canvas, the pencil, and color — that are used. The real distinction lies in the sphere of intellect, or in the different conceptions of the idea of beauty.

The mere copy of an external form is not art, but art begins with a feeling or thought which seeks to express itself in some material, and the material is as unsatisfactory without the mind as the mind is unsatisfactory without the material. The main thing is the true relation between subject and form, being and manifestation, soul and body. It is obvious that accordingly as one or the other of these elements dominates in a work of art, the form of the art varies. When the external element or the body prevails, sculpture is the favorite form; when the spiritual element, the soul, is commanding, painting is the best expression. Hence we can justly say that ancient art is plastic, and modern art is picturesque. Plastic art requires physical beauty that is capable

of being put into actual form. It requires such definiteness of subject that it can be presented in the three dimensions of matter; it demands that repose should prevail over movement, and also that the universal type should prevail over individual peculiarity; and the finer traits of personality should be secondary to the general proportion and the necessary laws of form. The picturesque, on the other hand, gives the lead to the ideal factor; puts spirit above nature, soul above body; brings out what is subjective, individual, characteristic, in such way as to make the personal, the individual, the essential object and aim; whilst the universal type appears as the substratum, as means or model. This distinction is seen even in ancient and modern literature; and ancient poetry is regulated by quantity, and modern poetry by accent; and thus the plastic and the picturesque appear.

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13. — *Grimm's Law: A Study, or Hints towards an Explanation of the so-called "Lautverschiebung." To which are added some Remarks on the Primitive Indo-European K, and several Appendices.* By T. Le Marchant Douse. London: Trübner & Co. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner. 1876.

This book is, most of all, an attempt to erect into a law of speech some facts which have generally been thought of as occasional blunders. Cockneys regularly drop their *h*'s, but they sometimes throw in an extraordinary *h*. In the comic journals personages who talk about the *'air* of the *'ead* will also speak of the *hair* of the *hatmosphere*. The stage Yankee regularly drops the nasal of *ing*, but he will bring it in sometimes in the wrong place: "The capting is goin' to Bosting," he says. The same style of New-Yorker regularly drops his *r*'s, but occasionally gives us one where it is not needed. He says *doah* for *door*, but *lor* for *law*. The Cockney and the Charleston gentleman are reputed to use *v* for *w*, and *w* for *v*; they say *winegar* for *vinegar*, but *vagon* for *wagon*. On these facts, as he sees them, Mr. Douse claims to establish laws of dissimilation, which he calls compensation when a single dialect is affected, and differentiation when two or more dialects are affected. When one tribe, or one class of people, in presence of another speaking the same language, gets to dropping their *h*'s, for example, two feelings arise, — one, that they ought to use more *h*'s than they do; the other, that they are different from the other class. The resultant of these two feelings is that they put in *h*'s in places where the others do not. This is compensation. When two tribes or classes are in presence of each other, and one begins to use a new sound, a

similar feeling of dissimilation arises. When the educated Englishman (Anglo-Norman) in presence of the uneducated Englishman (Anglo-Saxon) began to use the Norman *v*, the Saxon at first and regularly used *w* for *v*. Then he began to feel that he ought to use *v*. His attempts to use it are, however, made under the guidance of the thought that his talk must be unlike that of the Anglo-Norman, and so he uses the *v*'s in words where the Anglo-Norman does not use them. This is differentiation. And differentiation, Mr. Douse thinks, is a new *vera causa*, the understanding of which will enable us to solve many of the difficulties which have heretofore embarrassed the study of dialects, and, first and foremost, Grimm's Law.

Grimm's Law, as all students of the science of language know, is to the young philologist what free-will is to the psychologist, or the origin of species to the naturalist. It straddles right across his path. The science of language rests on the laws of phonology. Grimm's Law is the most important and most illustrious of all the facts of phonology. The relations of the languages of the Indo-European family are involved in it. The student uses it continually as an instrument of scientific inquiry. He thinks he ought to understand it. Then the many unsuccessful attempts at its solution make new trials inviting to youth. Success seems to promise fame. Grimm is but the Kepler of philology, the coming man is to be its Newton.

Grimm formulated the discovery that

the sonants *d*, *b*, *g*, change into
the surds *t*, *p*, *k* (*c*), which change into
the aspirates *th*, *ph* (*f*), *ch* (*h*), which change into
the sonants *d*, *b*, *g*.

If the formula be applied to a word in the Parent Speech, and generally to a word in Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and the like, it will give the right letters for the corresponding word in Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, or other Low German speech. If it be applied to a word in a Low German speech, it will give the letters for High German. Grimm thought that he found evidence that the change in the Low German from the original letters of the Parent Speech took place about the middle of the first century of our era, and the change in High German in the seventh century. That the law correctly formulates the great mass of facts to which it applies, as expressed in Roman letters, is plain. All the apparent exceptions to it have been carefully collected. They are easily seen to be produced by the working of other familiar causes in connection with the law, and they only serve to establish it. But when we try to comprehend it, to see it in its necessity, as the result or expression of known causes, it baffles us. It is an accepted law of speech that

all its regular changes are in the direction of easier utterance. No scientific linguist is now satisfied with any exposition of linguistic fact which runs counter to this law, unless some force is positively shown which would produce the apparent contradiction. But Grimm's Law seems necessarily to present such anomalies. Its changes complete a circle. Sonants go to surds, surds to aspirates, aspirates back again to sonants. No hypothesis as to the relative difficulty of uttering these letters can prevent one, at least, of the changes from being against law. Nor does beginning at one place or another save us. Grimm thought the change began with the sonants. In the linguals, for example, *d* was first strengthened to *t*, the old *t*'s thereupon changed to *th*'s, and then the old *th*'s to *d*'s. He did not much mind the law of natural weakening. In his patriotic and poetical way, he sees a certain German "pride and pluck" in this raising sonants to surds and surds to aspirates, — "Liegt nicht ein gewisser muth und stoltz darin?" Bopp begins with the surds. Curtius, and with him most later students, begin with the aspirates, which weaken to sonants, which rise to surds. We must rise to complete the circle. We want to discover some force operating on the Germanic speeches such that when combined with the law of least effort, it will give the resultants which have appeared in history. Curtius finds it in a special German tendency to preserve all distinctions in speech. When the old aspirates sank to sonants in other languages, as they did in Bactrian, Lithuanic, Slavonic, and Celtic, they merged with the old sonants. The Germans alone could not endure the loss of distinctions once gained, and therefore moved the old sonants to surds to preserve it. Other writers have thought that the influence of foreign nations must be called in. And Mr. Douse brings in his laws of dissimilation. In order to apply it, he postulates quite a different history of the systems of sounds in the Indo-European family from that which forms the basis of the views of Grimm, Curtius, and the others just referred to. He supposes the Parent Speech to have but one of the three kinds of letters which the others give it, namely, surds, *t*, *p*, *k*. These are the strongest of consononts, and from them the others are weakenings. Again, the three systems of letters which we find in Sanskrit, etc., Gothic, etc., and High German, are not successive stages of change, but grow up together, each directly from the Parent Speech. One is as old as the other. Take the linguals, for example; *th* and *d* are in each language weakenings of the parent *t*. High German, Gothic, Sanskrit, each preserved the old *t* in a certain number of words, and each for itself changed it to *d* in some other words, and to *th* (*dh*) in still others; *t* is the strongest letter, and the whole movement is in accordance with the law of least effort. So far so good. But how comes

it that the words which retain *t* in Sanskrit are the very same words in which it is changed to *th* in Gothic, and also to *d* in High German, and that those words in which *t* is changed to *d* in Sanskrit are the same which retain the *t* in Gothic, and the same which shift to *th* (*ts*) in High German; and why are the Sanskrit *dh*'s found in the very words which hold on to *t* in High German and have *d* in Gothic? This is what the law of differentiation is to explain, and the manner of it is thus. The Parent Speech had no lingual but *t*. But once upon a time a part of the people, the ancestors of the Goths, began to aspirate their letters in many of their words, i. e. they began to use *th* for *t* in half their words, more or less. At the same time, a second part of the people, the ancestors of the High Germans, began to use sonancy, to say *d* for *t*, and they did in the same words in which the others had come to say *th*. Differentiation now set in between the two dialects, and the rest of the old *t*'s were divided between *t*, *th*, and *d* in such a way as to make the dissimilation between the dialects most perfect. A similar differentiation then set in between these two dialects and that of the people who had heretofore held fast to the old *t*'s, and this must result as before in such division of the *t* with *th*'s and *d*'s as will make the three dialects as unlike as possible. The three systems therefore must be: —

Sanskrit, *t*, *d*, *th*.
Gothic, *th*, *t*, *d*.
High German, *d*, *th*, *t*.

And thus Grimm's Law is solved.

In examining this theory, it will be remembered that Professor Max Müller's famous exposition of Grimm's Law also makes the three systems of mutes of equal age. His lecture was published in 1864, but has gained no considerable assent. It may be that Grimm has made the date of these changes too late; but that the separation of Low German from High German is co-ordinate with that from Sanskrit, and of so great antiquity as this would imply, is hardly credible. Mr. Douse suggests that the Low Germans and High Germans were different strata of the same people; that the Low German was the language of the kings, nobles, priests, and warriors, the High German the *patois* of the humbler classes. This is ingenious as an answer to the linguistic difficulties, but needs historical backing. Müller supposes the three sets of sounds, surds, sonants, and aspirates, to have existed in the Parent Speech, but to have been unnoticed varieties of the same letter, like the different sounds which Americans make for *a* in *ask*: whether it is like *a* in *father* or in *fat*, or an intermediate sound, makes no no difference. Mr. Douse makes the aspirates and sonants spring from the surds, carrying significance with them. The two views might be

thought to look at the same series of facts at different periods, but Mr. Douse makes a point of their unlikeness. Müller's seems less objectionable. Mr. Douse's is a paradoxical combination of assimilation and dissimilation. Assimilation brings in the sounds, dissimilation puts them in the wrong place. But by Müller's hypothesis the tribes already have all the sounds, and the dissimilation is straightforward and comparatively simple. The application of it is thought out in a paper on Grimm's Law in the "Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1873." This Mr. Douse has apparently never seen. He has taken his hint from Mr. Henry Sweet, who was led by observations on the early Anglo-Saxon manuscripts to reject the common view of Grimm's Law, and to believe that the changes from the Sanskrit stage to the Anglo-Saxon were made by one of the three letters (*th*) holding fast, while the other two (*t* and *d*) exchanged place after the manner of the Cockney's *h*'s, as he illustrated it. Mr. Sweet's processes seem to be against fact and against law, as Mr. Douse admits. It behooved him, then, in order to establish his laws of dissimilation, to make an induction of facts from modern dialects. The vulgar blunders which he brings forward will poorly serve the turn. Mr. Ellis, who should best of all men be able to give a reliable and scientific account of them, throws doubt on the whole. He has never been fortunate enough to hear *v*, *w*, confused in London, naturally, off the stage and out of story-books, he says. Dr. Beke, and others who have studied the matter, pronounce the fact to be that the Cockney uses *bh* (German *w*), which is misheard as *v* when used for *w*, and as *w* when used for *v*. The facts need further scrutiny before undertaking to found great laws upon them. Mr. Douse tries to found his laws on human nature, to be sure; and anything having a good psychological basis which will fairly explain Grimm's Law, must be admitted to have its own claim to respectful consideration. Mr. Douse's methods are mathematical He uses symbols for his systems and their relations; he sets forth in formula the possible deductions from his postulates, and accepts or rejects in high *priori* fashion. He proves that the Gothic has not passed through a stage like the Sanskrit, from the principle of the sufficient reason. He naturally works chiefly in the primeval ages. It is one of the many advantages of the mathematician that he can manipulate unknown quantities just as well as known; *x*, *y*, and *z* are just as good as *a*, *b*, *c*. This book seems to be the work of a clear-headed and fertile mathematician who has made an incursion into phonetics. He seems to have the knowledge in this department of a great reader and thinker, rather than of a minute observer. He does not thoroughly comprehend the law of least effort, but supposes that the effort of each letter can be taken as a

constant. He seems to have an amateur's or a German's comprehension of sonant letters. He does not refer to the appearances in other dialects which resemble those of Grimm's Law, those in South Africa, for example, and in the Swiss Cantons, of which there are notable studies by Bleek and Tobler. Nevertheless, the book is very able and very suggestive. Not being embarrassed with microscopic observation, it presents with great clearness and force the consequences to which the supposed laws of language lead, and the difficulties of the current hypothesis. Other philologists who have lately worked on this subject have directed their studies to a microscopic scrutiny of the sounds involved, working out minute variations undistinguished by the Roman alphabet, and trying to find a solution in these. So much the more welcome is a man with the telescope and calculus.

Besides Grimm's Law, the book contains a discussion of the relations of *k*, *kw*, and *ky* in the Indo-European languages, in the light of the laws of dissimilation; and there are seven appendices, and a good index.

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14. — *Nouvelles Asiatiques.* Par LE COMTE DE GOBINEAU. Paris: Didier & C^ie^. 1876.

M. DE GOBINEAU has earned a high place as a writer of fiction by his excellent book, "Les Pléiades," which is one of the wisest novels of late years, and in this new volume it is shown once more how good a novelist has been nearly lost in the scholar and diplomatist. M. de Gobineau, now minister to Sweden, once held the same position at the Persian court, and these sketches are the fruit of his observation of Oriental life and manners. In his Introduction he makes a brief statement of the immense difference, not only between different men, but also between men of different races, and calls attention to various traits of the Orientals, the bravery of the men, their kindness, their patriotism, and the habit they all have of yielding always to the first impulse of the moment. These qualities, especially when combined with an aversion to telling the truth, are, he says, in no way deserving to be set forth by a stern moralist who will feel obliged to praise or condemn them; they are the property of the man who will put them down as they are, without regard to their accord with our conventional notions, as studies of Oriental life. Consequently, he appears here, not as an advocate or as a judge, but merely as a witness who, by means of wide experience and generous sympathy, is able to paint the Asiatic as he appears to himself or to an observer who is not over-hasty to point out how unlike and consequently inferior he is to Europeans.

The sketches this volume contains are six in number. The first, *La Danseuse de Shamakha*, is doubtless the one that most completely meets the reader's notion of what a short story should be with its wholly surprising plot, and, among other things, its excellent representation of what is always seen when a higher civilization meets a lower one, namely, craft on the side of the more civilized contending with the strength of the inferior race. In this tale it is the collection of vices in Assanoff in conflict with the heroine. Every character here is well drawn, and only a man of real skill could have made Grégoire as distinct as he is. The other sketches are slighter, but they are deserving of praise, not so much as stories, but for the light they throw on Eastern life. The *Histoire de Gambèr-Aly* describes the successful career of a good-looking, cowardly young scamp; *La Guerre des Turcomans* narrates the military career of an Eastern soldier; *Les Amants de Kandahar*, again, is of a more romantic sort. The last sketch is perhaps the slightest of all. The merit of the book does not lie, however, in the plots of the tales, but in the author's wonderful success in setting before us an unknown country, and in confiding to us the way of looking at things which belong to races with which we have almost nothing in common except, as he says, the elementary feeling that we should eat when hungry, and sleep when sleepy. Almost every one of the stories reads as if it were told by an Eastern man, and not by an outsider. Only a few men can so combine knowledge and sympathy as to produce this result, and to a writer who is probably unrivalled in this power our best thanks are due for a delightful volume.

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15. — *Lange's Commentary on the Holy Scriptures: Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical. Volume VII. of the Old Testament, containing Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther.* New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co.

This German commentary, in its excellent English translation, is an invaluable contribution to the right study and interpretation of Holy Scripture. It forms a Biblical thesaurus. Every volume gives evidence of the painstaking and careful study for which German scholarship is so deservedly celebrated. As these volumes have steadily issued from the press, this one serious fault, it has seemed to us, lies in all of them; too much of the mere scaffolding of scholarship has been allowed to remain. What Bible-students are most anxious to get at are results, and not the processes, so often circuitous and involved, by which the results in the end have been reached. These volumes, so invaluable in

many regards, have been unnecessarily encumbered with the details of learning, covering up and keeping out of sight the results, which are of vastly more concern. Commentaries are often profuse where all is plain sailing, and most provokingly scanty and unsatisfactory where a real difficulty is in the way. This may not be urged as an objection against this *Bible-work*. It is not in the habit of German scholarship to slur over any difficulty. Though even here it would be a decided advantage did the German mind study a little more the condensation so essential in these days.

This volume comprises Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther. It is well that these four books are considered together. There is a unity here deeper than the mere matter of being bound together in the same volume. In date they belong to the same general period of Jewish history, — the depression of the post-exile period and the hope of something better struggling into birth and being. This post-exile literature has mainly to do with the fresh, though faint and feeble, revival of the nation's life centring in the grand undertaking, allowed by Cyrus (Ezra i. 2 – 4), of rebuilding the Temple, and so giving an impulse and nucleus to the return of this "peeled" and scattered people to their own land. These Commentaries are an immense help to a right understanding of this national movement, — reaching wider than the nation itself; taking on, in fact, a world-embracing character in the Messianic hope it imbosomed and carried on to full accomplishment.

All historic activity gathers itself about prominent persons. It was so in ancient, as it is even so in modern, times. Ezra and Nehemiah were leaders in the regenerated life of the nation. Old tradition as well as modern criticism accredit these men as the authors mainly of this post-exile literature. Certain it is that they were in the best position for the performance of such work. But withal there is clearly the presence throughout of a retouching hand, — the hand of a later editor, and, in some cases, supplementer.

Taking its *annalistic* character into consideration, the question may be asked, and it is a serious one, Why "Chronicles" at all, — why, in the ordinary economy of Holy Scripture, this seeming duplication of the sacred history? The Rev. Dr. Zöckler, the German author of the Commentary, meets the question in his "Introduction" in a full and able way. He defends it against the charge of being a mere repetition of the other historical books, maintaining for it a supplemental character. "The last book of the Old Testament canon forms a comprehensive history, which recapitulates the progress of the people of God from Paradise to the close of the Babylonish captivity in a peculiar point of view, partly extracting, partly repeating, and partly *supplementing* the con-

tents of the earlier canonical books of history, with the exception of the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, which are later in point of contents." So far from being a repetition of Samuel and Kings, "Chronicles" furnished just such a compendious and continuous history as, under circumstances of great national depression, was needed, in its fresh vitality, to inspire encouragement and hope; "bridging over," as another says, "the gulf which separated the nation after, from the nation before, the captivity." It connects the hopeful present with the historic past, and that in order to carry the whole history of this marvellous people forward, in a legitimate way, towards its own *gracious end* in the Divine "fulness of time." Thus it is, "Chronicles" comes to be something more than what many Bible-readers regard it, — a series of dry genealogical tables. Nothing could well be further from the truth. History is life. It is a movement steadily reaching onward to its purpose and end. This nation had a divine mission, and in its continuous, though compendious record, "Chronicles" joined together the sundered threads of its own national distinctness, looking backward to its Divine starting and forward, through Ezra, Nehemiah, Haggai, and Malachi, to its Divine end, — the fulfilment in Christ of Israel's wondrous history and hope.

It is the highest commendation of this volume that it proceeds upon this inlying burden of all Jewish history. And thus, what would have been nothing other than dry detail, or the mere registry of names, in direct connection with the Divine mission of this people, is lifted up into real historic significance and gracious importance. The translators have done their work well. They have made the volume worthy to take its place along with its fellows. Only three volumes yet remain to complete the whole series. This Commentary of twenty-four volumes, crowded with critical information and Biblical learning, is an invaluable acquisition to the library of every thoughtful student of God's Word.

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16. — *An Introduction to Political Economy.* By Arthur Latham Perry, LL. D. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1877.

Professor Perry has an established reputation as an ardent advocate of free-trade. The goddess of Professor Wilson's worship is Labor, that of Professor Perry's is Exchange. The axioms of the free-traders — that every man has a right to pursue his own interest, that if all are left free to do so the best result will be obtained, and that, as government does everything badly, it had better do as little as possible — are well known. But nothing is more certain than that society is a mass

of artificial restrictions which habit alone prevents from becoming intolerable. Nobody is left free to follow his own ideas of interest. Professor Perry says, "He is an enemy to the human race who, for ends of his own, undertakes, by means of the action of government, to prevent exchanges which would otherwise take place." But then he is obliged to add that government may restrain exchanges in the interest, 1. of public health; 2. of public morals, and 3. of public revenue. But who is to define the limits of these elastic exceptions. Professor Perry might undertake to give a definition very clear and exact, but we doubt whether it would be satisfactory to Mr. Henry C. Carey. A great many instances are given of the absurdity of our tariff, which, and a great deal more, may be all true, but that only shows that our financial administration is bad, an evil to be met with very different weapons from such general propositions as the above. The maxim which affords the free-traders such delight, that protection does not protect, does not prove the badness of the end, but only of the means. In fact, a tariff seems to be a question of expedients and not of principles. It is from the former point that even Great Britain has in practice always approached it, and we believe that some of her soundest writers, as J. S. Mill and W. Bagehot, have been forced to admit that in certain countries and states of society protection may be advisable, if not necessary.

The subject of Money, as far as it goes, and indeed all others in the book, are treated with great clearness, vivacity, and fertility of illustration; but there runs throughout a tone of hostility to government interference, — a sign of the times which, though general, we cannot regard as healthy. Probably the worst government that ever existed was better than no government at all, and political economy would do much better to study how government may be improved than how to get rid of it. Professor Perry states the fact, but not the principle, of the separation of currency from banking in England. Thus, when he says that a depositor can draw either notes or gold from the bank, though this is in one sense true, in another it ignores the whole theory on which the Act of 1844 was based. We regret this the more, believing that in that principle is our hope of escape, that it points the road to specie payments with the minimum of necessary disaster, and, most important of all, a guaranty for a stable basis of currency in the future. In taxation Professor Perry has a theorist's preference for direct impost, overlooking, we think, a cardinal principle of human nature. We know few men who would not rather pay fifty per cent more through their expenditure than face an assessor with a return of property and income. We concur most heartily, however, in denouncing the spirit which, for the sake of private interest, refused to tax tea, sugar, and coffee.

17. — *Viking Tales of the North.* Translated by Rasmus B. Anderson and Jón Bjarnason. With Tegnér's *Fridthjof's Saga*, translated by George Stephens. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1877. 12mo. pp. 370.

Fridthjof's Saga. By Esaias Tegnér. Translated from the Swedish by Thomas A. E. Holcomb and Martha A. Lyon Holcomb. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1877. 12mo. pp. 213.

The substance of Tegnér's poem appears, in these volumes, in three independent forms: first, as a prose translation, by Messrs. Anderson and Bjarnason, of the chief originals upon which the poem was based, the Icelandic Sagas, namely, of Thorstein, son of Viking, and of Fridthjof the Bold; second, in Professor George Stephens's translation of the poem itself into English verse, made in 1839, and forming more than half of the volume in which it is here reproduced; and third, in a new version in the original metres, "the first complete American translation," as its joint authors tell us, of the Swedish bishop's masterpiece, but the nineteenth which has been made into English since the appearance of the original in 1825.

Just forty years ago Professor Longfellow contributed to this Review * a full analysis of that famous poem, now familiar to all students of Northern literature; and we need not return to the story of it here. For Tegnér's "Frithiof's Saga," as in days of a less minatory and exacting orthography than the present we were permitted to write the name, has been translated into all the leading European languages, and has won a secure place among the Swedish classics; and with reason. In substance a story of love and of magical prowess, delineating persons and actions that were judiciously selected from the Sagas, and that in the treatment were not idealized beyond recognition, — in manner full of fancy and of color, overflowing with a certain blithe sweetness like that of the Northern springtime, the Frithiof's Saga deserved both its vogue and its permanent success. As a poem, its fame appears secure; but Messrs. Anderson and Bjarnason have done a service to its better understanding and to the illustration of its origins, by translating the Sagas of Thorstein and of Fridthjof, from which its story mainly comes. These Sagas, ascribed respectively to the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, give us the means of marking the difference between the true Norse mediævalism and the modernizing versions of that mediævalism, as seen in Mr. Morris's poetry; and they enable us, too, to

* North American Review, XLV. 149.

point out a main distinction between the methods of the Swedish and the English poet. Each had the material of the Sagas, abundant, crude, but full of life and action, to deal with; and each wished, to use the words of Tegnér's interesting preface, as given in the "Viking Tales," "to represent a poetical image of the old Northern Hero Age." But Mr. Morris, while profoundly versed in his subject-matter, "steeped in Odinism," as one of his critics phrases it, has yet failed to reproduce Odinism with consistency in the expression. As we pointed out in a recent number of this Review, when he comes to expression it is modern sentiment, rather than Odinism, that he gives us. And, employing so large an amount of the Saga material as he does, a much greater mass of it than Tegnér employed, we may say that he transfers it and transforms it; while Tegnér, on the other hand, selecting his material more carefully, is less in need of transforming it. If, therefore, he sometimes gives an idealizing character to the "Northern hero," it is by a favoring choice of actions rather than by a modernizing treatment of them. Of this latter fault we saw an instance in the lines quoted from "Sigurd"; and we may see the fault, so to call it, which Tegnér avoided committing, by permitting ourselves a glance at the material which he put aside as not admitting of any possible rescue for the purposes of modern poetry. A single glance will suffice. Thorstein, in a death-struggle with Faxe, gets at last the advantage, and rips his enemy open with a stroke of his belt-knife. Faxe, however, being "not dead yet," begins to lament his fall and boast of his old triumphs; whereupon, continues the Saga, quaintly, "Thorstein thought it useless to let him go on prattling any longer if he could do anything to prevent it, and so he tore away from him everything that was loose within him." We will venture to quote no more: in the direction of realism, of the true Norse blood-hunger, that passage leaves nothing to be desired. But Tegnér saw that for his purposes the spirit of this was quite unavailable, unless by falsification; and his nearest approach to that spirit occurs in the scene in which he lets King Ring destroy himself by "carving himself" with the spear-point, — the same King Ring who, as if by a whimsical intimation of an epoch less distant from our own, levied tribute under penalty of harrying the country of the recusants.

It remains to say that of the two poetic translations before us the older one, Professor Stephens's, quite holds its own in comparison with the American version. In neither are there any notable triumphs of translation, the most difficult of the arts: the mechanism of the verse creaks badly in both, especially in the earlier one; but the earlier has the fresher and blither tone of the two. Not a few passages from the American version are really ingeniously blameworthy; here is one, for

instance, describing the sinking of Helge's ships after the utterance of the dragon: —

> "Scarce was it spoke,
> Ere keels of oak
> By unseen power
> Began to lower:
> Then on and on
> Are downward drawn
> To Ran's safe keeping."

But each of the translations contains charming passages; and we conclude by quoting a few lines which give a fair comparative impression of the manner, both as to faults and merits, of the two.

> "No streamlet's waters rushed so swift
> O'er which he would not Ing'borg lift;
> How pleasant feels, when foam-rush 'larms,
> The gentle cling of small white arms!
>
> "The first pale flowers that spring had shed,
> The strawberry sweet that first grew red,
> The corn-ear first in ripe gold clad,
> To her he offered, true and glad."

So Tegnér, of Frithiof's boyhood, in Professor Stephens's version; the American translators render the same passage thus: —

> "However swift, there ran no brook
> But o'er it Ingeborg he took;
> How sweet when roaring torrents frighten
> To feel her soft arms round him tighten!
>
> "The first spring flowers by sunshine fed,
> The earliest berries turning red,
> The first of autumn's golden treasure,
> He proffered her with eager pleasure."

It is sufficiently clear that we need hardly look for perfection of form in these translations; and yet for charm, for attractiveness, they have their value, and will serve a good purpose in directing attention toward the eminent beauty of the original.

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ers of his party sympathized during the Rebellion? His position as counsel before the Electoral Commission, his Republican hatreds and prior rebellious proclivities, should have inclined him not to question the motives of a majority of that tribunal, although professional propriety might not have absolutely prohibited fair and moderate criticism upon its legal opinions. Such criticism he has not been content to make, but whilst declaring that "a question is raised which demands fair, full, and free discussion, so that truth may prevail and justice be done," he has charged eight of its fifteen members with conspiring to violate their oaths and duty for the purpose of upholding the fraudulent action of Returning Boards, and with accomplishing this by a wilful disregard of law and evidence, that the people of this nation might be defrauded of the President of their choice. Stated in the hideous language he employs, "All that once ennobled the nation seemed to be buried in this deep grave dug by the Returning Board and filled by the Electoral Commission." This general mode of libelling a majority of its members did not, however, satisfy the taste or temper of that gentleman. He yearned for more specific methods of presenting his estimate of their motives and conduct, and these he found and employed by means of language distinguished for both strength and coarseness, and, it may be added, not losing in vigor or brutality for lack of perversion or misrepresentation.

Thus he says:—

"The Eight Commissioners did not stop there. . . . . They practically sustained and justified all the infinite rascality of the Returning Boards. They not only refused to take voluntary notice of the atrocious frauds perpetrated by them, but they excluded the proofs of their corruption which the Democratic counsel held in their hands, and offered to exhibit. These Commissioners choked off the evidence and smothered it as remorselessly as Wells and his associates suppressed Democratic returns. And this they put on the express ground that to them it was all one whether the action of these Boards was fraudulent or not. They would suffer no proof of corruption to invalidate the right claimed by a Hayes man to put in the vote of a State for his candidate.

"This monstrous and unendurable outrage was resisted to the utmost. All of the *Seven* implored and protested against it. . . . . But the Eight were as deaf as adders to the voice of reason and justice. They would not permit the fraud to be assaulted, much less to be destroyed.

They stood over it to protect it and save it, — interposing the broad ægis of their authority to cover it against every attack."

And again: —

"In all the discussions of the subject the men disposed to favor the conspiracy professed a most profound veneration for the "forms of law." This was the keynote struck at New Orleans by the visiting committee, and it is heard in every subsequent argument of counsel and commissioner on that side. It seemed to be understood among them that a formal cheat was perfectly safe from exposure."

These are but a few of the many bitter and groundless charges with which this article abounds, showing its author's hostility to that majority of the Commission which ventured to decide the great questions before it contrary to his views. After alluding to the circumstances which led to its creation, he says: —

"The Democrats consented to this in the belief that no seven Republicans could be taken from the Court or from Congress who would swear to decide the truth and then uphold a known fraud; if mistaken in that opinion of their adversaries' honesty, they felt sure, at all events, that the umpire would be a fair-minded man. They were bitterly disappointed; the Commission went eight to seven for the Great Fraud and all its branches; for fraud in the detail and in the aggregate; for every item of fraud that was necessary to make the sum total big enough, — eight to seven all the time."

In closing this series of assaults upon members of a Commission earnestly favored by his own party as a means of ascertaining and counting the electoral vote, he says: —

"If the majority of that Commission could but have realized their responsibility to God and man, if they could only have understood that in a free country liberty and law are inseparable, they would have been enrolled among our greatest benefactors, for they would have added strength and grandeur to our institutions. But they could not come up to the height of the great subject. Party passion so benumbed their faculties that a fundamental right seemed nothing to them when it came in conflict with some argument supported by artificial reasoning, and drawn from the supposed analogies of technical procedure. The Constitution was, in their judgment, outweighed by a void statute, and the action of a corrupt Returning Board.

"Let these things be remembered by our children's children, and, if

the friends of free government shall ever again have such a contest, let them take care how they leave the decision of it to a tribunal like that which betrayed the nation by enthroning the Great Fraud of 1876."

Amazement that charges so grave and wicked, against Judges, Senators, and Representatives so able and pure, should have been deliberately written and published by a distinguished member of the American bar, is only equalled by astonishment that they could have been printed and circulated without encountering the indignation, if not disgust, of the respectable representative men and press of the entire Democratic party. Instead of this, however, responsive echoes have been heard along its front and from its thronging masses, until, coupled with prior and somewhat similar charges made by its leaders, we are led to conclude that the political war-cry of that party is hereafter, and until the next Presidential election, to be that signalled by the article in question, "*The Great Fraud of 1876.*"

A late convert to the Democratic party, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, was, it is believed, the first to congratulate Mr. Tilden that he had been defeated by a fraudulent count of the electoral vote. Mr. Tilden, Mr. Hendricks, Senator Beck of Kentucky, and many others of that party, have not hesitated to repeat this charge, for the purpose of discrediting the title of Mr. Hayes to the great office he holds.

The cunning and the baseness which have inspired this plan of attack upon the President of the United States, upon the party he leads, and upon the majority of the tribunal which, in an unprecedented and trying emergency, was created to aid, by its learning and its ability, in counting the electoral vote, will be apparent when the causes which led to its organization are referred to. The whole country remembers the result of the last Presidential election. The Republican party was unanimous in the belief that its candidates were entitled to a majority of one vote in the Electoral College. A Democratic committee of the House of Representatives had reported that Republican electors had been appointed in South Carolina. Canvassing Boards, having for that purpose exclusive power, duly appointed by the Legislatures of Florida and Louisiana, had returned Hayes electors; and the Secretary of State for Oregon, its only canvassing officer, had declared their appointment for that State. For a brief period there was seen in its political firmament, whilst Cronin seemed in the as-

cendant, a gleam of hope for the Democratic party; but it was well known that the vote of that State was Republican by a clear and considerable majority, and but little confidence was felt that an ill-planned conspiracy to pervert the count of its electoral vote by fraud and purchase would succeed. This led Democratic managers, determined to insure the election of Tilden and Hendricks, to resort to other means of attaining their purpose. It was the general opinion of the Republican party that the President of the Senate had the power, and that under the Constitution it was his duty, to count and declare the electoral vote. This opinion was shared by several eminent and able Democrats. A majority of that party, however, believed that such power was vested in the two Houses; and a few believed, or affected to believe, that it resided in the House of Representatives alone. No Republican entertained such a doctrine, but many were willing to concede that electoral votes could only be counted and declared by the concurrent action of both Houses.

Consider now the position of the country in reference to this question. The Senate was Republican by a considerable majority; the House Democratic by a large majority. The President of the Senate was an earnest Republican, entertaining the opinion that he had the power to count and declare the vote, as was done in the case of General Washington and of several succeeding Presidents. A large majority of the Democrats believed that if permitted to perform that duty he would declare Messrs. Hayes and Wheeler elected. They resolved to prevent this. Eminent Republican members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, who concurred in the opinion that the power to count the electoral vote was vested in the two Houses, were willing to aid in devising some scheme by which a President and Vice-President could be declared elected; for it was not hoped, much less expected, that both Houses would concur in counting or rejecting the vote of either of the contested States, — the rejection of even one being sure to result in the election of Tilden and Hendricks, whilst to count all as returned would as certainly elect their opponents. It was a critical period in the history of the country. The political advantage was, however, in favor of the Republicans. A majority of the electors regularly returned in pursuance of the laws of the several States were Republican. The vast majority of that party

firmly believed it to be the duty of the President of the Senate to count and declare the electoral votes as returned. They therefore naturally opposed any other method as unconstitutional, and as involving a possible, if not probable, surrender of the advantages gained in a canvass of almost unprecedented severity. The two parties were thus at a dead lock. Neither would yield to the other, and many good citizens, many leading statesmen and politicians of both parties, foresaw, as they thought, in the crisis impending great danger to the peace and security of the nation, if provision were not speedily made for counting the contested electoral vote. To attain this some of the ablest intellects on both sides in the Senate and House were employed, and at length the scheme which finally ripened into the Electoral Bill was devised. It encountered the decided opposition of some of the most eminent Republican members of the two Houses. The chosen confidential friends, the appointed henchmen of the Democratic candidates for President and Vice-President, were earnestly engaged in framing and amending the bill until it attained the form in which, by a Democratic vote almost unanimous, it finally passed, — but one Democratic Senator opposing it, whilst in the House it received in its favor one hundred and ninety-one votes to eighty-six against it. It is, indeed, undeniable that the Electoral Commission was in a large degree the creation and offspring of the Democratic party, its leading members uniting for that purpose with patriotic Republicans willing to surrender a political advantage to secure the peace and tranquillity of the country, seriously imperilled, as they believed, by threats of Democratic leaders, who asserted that if the Republican candidates should be declared elected by the President of the Senate, the House of Representatives would proceed to elect and forcibly install Tilden as President.

The terms of the Electoral Bill provided that each House should appoint five of its members, who, with five associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, should constitute a commission to determine which was the true and lawful electoral vote of those States from which more than one paper purporting to be a return of electoral votes had been received, — each member being required solemnly to swear, or affirm, that he would impartially examine and consider all questions submitted to the Commission, and a true judgment give thereon agreeably to the Constitution

and the laws. The members of the Supreme Court of the United States appointed by the act were four, — Justices Clifford, Miller, Field, and Strong, — and they, or a majority of them, were to select another of the associate Justices of the court. They unanimously selected Mr. Justice Bradley. The duty imposed upon these five Justices was delicate, and to them painful. It was not sought by either, and those to whom they are personally known can never doubt that each and all would gladly have avoided its burden and responsibility. They occupied that position by the deliberate choice of the representatives of a vast majority of the Democratic party, and were entitled to the respect and protection of all its honorable members.

And here, we ask, What is the "Electoral Conspiracy" which Mr. Black flaunts at the head of his article? Did it consist in the conception and organization of the Electoral Commission? If it did, who were the conspirators? If he shall venture to say it consisted of something else, will he tell us of what? He intended, we regret to say, to convey to his readers the false impression that the formation of the Commission was the result of a Republican conspiracy to fraudulently elect a President and Vice-President of the United States, carefully concealing the fact that it was not only the result of a compromise, but of one urged upon Republicans as the only means of averting dangers to the country threatened by their political opponents. These and not Republicans were the conspirators, if conspiracy there was. The lamentations, complaints, and denunciations of Judge Black are not, under the circumstances, to be commended. Men, after being worsted in fair encounter, especially if they have had the choice of weapons, rarely whine or call names. We cannot speak for the bulk of the Democratic party, but some of its leaders might be named who would scorn the kind of championship offered by Mr. Black, and spurn with contempt the suggestion that a Republican conspiracy contrived the Electoral Commission, or that its adverse decision authorizes the slander of a majority of its members. Honorable men bow respectfully to the award of the tribunal they have chosen. And here it seems appropriate to comment briefly upon the course adopted by Judge Black towards a majority of the Commission. He was one of the most distinguished Democratic counsel who appeared before it. He was assisted, among others, by

Mr. Carpenter of Wisconsin, and Mr. David Dudley Field of New York, to whom he refers as the great lawyers of the Republican party, who could not endure the Great Fraud, as he calls it, but "assaulted the foul conspiracy with the whole force of their eloquence."

It may, we think, be assumed that the assault of Mr. Carpenter was the product of ample compensation, towards which neither his sense of violated right nor of threatened public wrong made more than a feeble, if any, contribution. The motives which induced Mr. Field to espouse a cause as well suited to his remnant of political principles as any other, were so mysterious and mixed that a respectful silence concerning them should be quite as grateful to him as the mischievous compliment paid by Judge Black. If these two gentlemen were, as he suggests, "the great lawyers of the Republican party," the pain of their professional defeat is doubtless softened by the consciousness that "the whole force of their logic and eloquence" was as abortive to defeat the honest expression of its will at the polls, as the most loyal Republican could have wished; and they may possibly derive additional satisfaction from learning that their joint effort before the Commission was a not inefficient aid in preparing the minds of their auditors for the judicial result which followed.

We have said that Judge Black was a leading and distinguished counsel for the Democratic candidates before the Commission. He failed in his cause. His clients were defeated. The public is not yet prepared to applaud the counsel who, under such circumstances, charges the court with partiality and corruption.

He should remember that he is quite unfit to judge the Judge; for whilst the latter, separated from the interests involved, sits serenely above all prejudice and passion, the counsel, — smarting, as Judge Black evidently did, — under the pain and mortification of defeat, is sometimes not unwilling to relieve himself from the consequences of unwise advice, or profitless professional service, by denouncing the decision and questioning the motives of the court.

When the bar neglects to protect the reputation of courts of justice; when its members forget that the splendor of their order can be maintained, and its independence and usefulness preserved, only so long as the honor and glory of the judiciary are objects

of jealous care; and especially when they shall falsely condemn as impure those who minister to Justice in her temples, then it will come to pass that all reverence for judges, all respect for their decisions, for the law and its administration, will fade away from the public mind, to be succeeded by that sense of insecurity to life, liberty, and property destructive of social order and appalling to mankind.

Judge Black has studiously misrepresented the powers and duties of the Electoral Commission, and the questions it was authorized to decide, and has thus manufactured a pretext for denouncing, as the result of corrupt partisanship, the conclusions of a majority of its members. He insists that they were bound by their duty and their oath to disregard the findings of the Returning Boards of Florida and Louisiana, and that in adopting them a great infamy was accomplished and vile frauds covered up. To cast odium and reproach upon the majority, he asserts that these Boards, and especially that of Louisiana, reached results by wicked and corrupt means, and that in adopting them, with knowledge of this, and of their duty to ascertain the votes for electors by other and independent proof, the Eight were participants in the guilt of those tribunals. A brief examination of the powers and jurisdiction of the Commission will show that, had the course he suggests been adopted, the Constitution of the United States and the independence of States would have been violated; whilst, as will hereafter clearly appear, his assaults upon the Returning Boards and their authors are without foundation.

What, then, was the jurisdiction, what the duty, of the Commission? It is provided in the Constitution of the United States that

"Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors of President and Vice-President, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress."

And there is also the further provision that

"The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States."

We thus have the powers of the State and of Congress clearly distributed and defined. The State *shall* appoint electors in such

manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, and the Congress *may* determine the time of appointing them, and fix the day on which they shall give their votes, which day *shall* be the same throughout the nation. The object of this last requirement is apparent. If the electors in the different States could cast their votes on different days, an opportunity would be afforded for bribery and corruption. This the framers of the Constitution intended to prevent, and this was made more effectual by another provision, requiring the electors to transmit their votes sealed, directed to the President of the Senate, whose duty it was to retain the same until opened in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, when such votes were to be counted.

The power of the State to appoint electors being vested exclusively in the Legislature, and not in the people of the several States, and the only constitutional power of Congress over the subject being to fix the day of their appointment and of giving their votes, it follows that no matter by what mode, or subject to what conditions the State Legislature shall direct their appointment, its determination is absolutely final. Thus, if the Legislature of Massachusetts should — as has been done, we believe, in South Carolina — choose electors by the votes of its own members, or authorize the Justices of its Supreme Court to appoint them, or should direct that a body consisting of three or more canvassing officers should examine votes cast for electors, and certify which were lawful and who were elected, such certificate, or that of the Supreme Court, or of the proper certifying officer of the Legislature in the cases supposed, would be decisive evidence of the appointment of electors in the manner directed by the Legislature; and would be final and conclusive upon Congress, or any other tribunal empowered to count and declare the electoral vote. Nor would the effect of this be changed, if by the law of a State the canvassing officers were authorized, in counting the votes, to reject such as in their judgment had been fraudulently cast, or those cast in a town or district where, by reason of fraud, violence, intimidation, or murder, a fair election had not been held. The power of a legislature to confer such authority cannot be doubted; and the choice of electors, uninfluenced by fraud, violence, intimidation, or murder, seems an appropriate and just method of

securing their appointment. It was, however, offensive to Judge Black, for, although he says "all men will agree that when violence, fraud, intimidation, etc., occur at an election, some action ought to be taken to bring the offenders to justice," he insists the punishment should not extend to disfranchisement, but that the vote should stand. The purpose of the guilty authors would thus be accomplished, leaving their punishment to the very men advanced to office by means so atrocious. Few will concur with him in these views. The morality of the common law denounces them, and has for generations. Again and again courts of justice have pronounced elections so carried to be utterly void.

Such decisions are familiar to bar and bench, and no lawyer of character and learning will dispute their existence or question their authority. If these were wanting, the common sense and common justice of mankind would point to the same conclusion; for what official, what magistrate elevated to office by fraud or violence, would, if fit for the place, consent to occupy it? What man willing to hold office so obtained could usefully administer it? But if it be, as Judge Black suggests, unjust or unwise to exclude violence, murder, intimidation, and fraud as useful factors in the game of politics, a State may nevertheless be excused, if, in the exercise of its supreme and exclusive power to appoint electors, it prohibits the counting of votes cast in polling districts so dominated; and Congress or the Commission had no more power to violate the will of the State thus expressed, than to revise the canvass of votes for its Governor or other officers. Bearing in mind these general propositions, let us consider the powers and duties of the Electoral Commission, as defined by the law creating it. Attention has already been called to the diverse opinions entertained upon the subject of the power to count the electoral vote. In devolving this power upon the Commission, no limitations could be agreed upon. The Act provided that it should proceed to consider the certificates, votes, and papers submitted, "with the same powers, *if any*, now possessed for that purpose by the two Houses acting separately or together, and by a majority of votes decide whether any and what votes from such State are the votes provided for by the Constitution of the United States, and how many and what persons were duly appointed electors in such State; and may therein take into view such petitions, depositions, and other papers,

if any, as shall by the Constitution and now existing law be competent and pertinent in such consideration." No specified jurisdiction was, by the terms of the Act, conferred upon the Commission. It was empowered to count the electoral vote in the cases and subject to the conditions specified, if power so to do was possessed by either or both Houses of Congress; but unless one or both might lawfully exercise it, the Commission could not.

Of what could it take jurisdiction? What could it do? Only this. Where more than one return or paper purporting to be the certificate of electoral votes had been received by the President of the Senate, the Commission was to determine which contained the true and lawful electoral vote of the State from which such returns or certificates had been received. It could exercise no authority in violation of the Constitution, and hence could not interrupt or change the manner of appointing electors by the State. It could only ascertain and declare who had been chosen in the manner prescribed by its Legislature.

Take, by way of illustration, the case of Louisiana. Its Legislature had directed that five persons should be the Returning Officers for all elections in the State, a majority of whom should constitute a quorum, and have that power. They were to meet in New Orleans, receive from the Commissioners of Election the statements by them made of the votes cast at the various polls throughout the State, canvass and compile the same in duplicate, one copy of which they were to file with the Secretary of State, and of the other to make public proclamation by printing in the official journal and other newspapers, in which they were to declare the names of all persons and officers voted for, the number of votes for each person, and the names of persons duly and lawfully elected. The returns of elections thus made and promulgated were declared to be evidence in all courts of justice and before all civil officers *of the right of any person named therein to hold and exercise the office to which by such return he was declared elected.*

The power of the Legislature to pass such a law cannot be doubted. Its validity and the conclusive effect due to the action of the Returning Board thus constituted have been passed upon by the Supreme Court of Louisiana, the highest judicial tribunal of that State, in the following terms: —

"No statute conferring upon the courts the power to try causes of contested elections or title to office authorizes them to revise the action of the Returning Board. If we were to assume that prerogative, we should have to go still further, and revise the returns of supervisors of elections, examine the rights of voters to vote; and, in short, the courts would become in regard to such cases mere officers for counting, compiling, and reporting election returns. *The Legislature has seen proper to lodge the power to decide who has or who has not been elected in the Returning Board.*"

Here a mode is provided of appointing and declaring the appointment of electors, adjudged conclusive and binding. Congress is by the Constitution prohibited from interfering with or questioning the validity of such appointment, the State being vested with exclusive power to do this in such manner as its Legislature may direct. That of Louisiana had expressly confided to the Returning Board authority to canvass the votes and declare who were elected. Had the power of appointment of electors been delegated absolutely to the Board itself, or to the Supreme Court, or to any State officials, without the intervention of voters, its exercise would have been valid as against Congress and the whole world. The Legislature, however, directed that electors should be appointed by a majority of the lawful votes of the State, to be ascertained and declared by the Returning Board. All other means of ascertaining this were, by the supreme will of the State, thereby excluded. The members were bound by the very terms of the statute, if convinced by proof that riot, tumult, acts of violence, intimidation, armed disturbance, bribery, or corrupt influences had materially interfered with the purity and freedom of the election at any poll or voting place, or prevented a sufficient number of qualified voters from voting to materially change the result of the election, not to canvass or compile the statement of votes of such poll or voting place, but to exclude it from their returns. The necessity and justice of this legislation will be shown hereafter. It is enough here to say that it was within the power of the State to pass it.

Hence the palpable error of Judge Black, who says, "It is not denied that the sole power of appointing electors for the States of Louisiana and Florida is in the people," and he adds, "The Seven reminded the Eight, but reminded them in vain, that the due appointment which nobody in the world except the people had the

least right to make, was the very thing which they were there to find out." And near the close of his article he states, "After all, there was but one question before the Commission. Had the American people a right to elect their own Chief Magistrate? They had the right. Their ancestors struggled for it long, fought for it often, and now, it fairly being imbedded in the Constitution, it cannot be destroyed except by a force strong enough to overthrow the organic structure of the government itself." Who should know better than the author of these high-sounding phrases that all are utterly destitute of foundation? They were, however, essential to point his libels against the majority of the Commission; for, unless it was the duty of its members to violate the law of the State, disregard the finding of the Returning Boards, scrutinize the polls and count the vote given for electors, his argument fails and his denunciations degenerate into low and vulgar abuse. Hence his unfounded assertion that the people alone had power to appoint the electors, and his rash declaration that the one question before the Commission was, Had the American people a right to elect their own chief magistrate? No such question was before it. They have no such right imbedded in their Constitution or elsewhere; nor have the people of Louisiana or Florida the power to appoint electors, that being, by the supreme law of the land, vested in each State, to be exercised in such a manner as the Legislature thereof may direct.

Indeed, those who framed and adopted the Constitution of the United States were careful to exclude from the American people the right to elect their Chief Magistrate. After providing for the appointment of electors, that instrument declares that, should they fail to elect a President, the President shall be chosen by the House of Representatives, each State — small or large — having but one vote. By this method a President may, as Senator Morton has in the last number of this Review demonstrated, be elected, not by the American people, but by forty-six members of the House of Representatives, against the wishes and the vote of the other two hundred and forty-seven. It is a waste of time and space to expose misrepresentations like those we encounter in almost every sentence of Judge Black's fiery article. Expunge them, and but a poor skeleton remains.

The question before the Commission was not, had the Ameri-

can people a right to elect their chief magistrate, not what was the vote for electors at the polls either of Florida or Louisiana, — for in both States substantially the same Returning Boards existed, — but who were appointed electors by those States and by the State of Oregon in such manner as their Legislatures had directed. A State acts and speaks through its officers duly constituted; and the canvass and declaration by the Returning Boards of Louisiana and Florida and by the Secretary of State of Oregon were the acts and declarations of those States. They could thus, and only thus, manifest their will to appoint electors; and those declared to be such, by Returning Boards or Officers having exclusive power so to do, were appointed by those States in the manner directed by their Legislatures.

Consider the consequences which must follow a contrary conclusion. Imagine a disregard of the finding and declaration of the Returning Officers of a State, and an attempt by Congress or an Electoral Commission to scan the polls and ascertain who had received the highest number of lawful votes. The Returning Officers, we will suppose, have canvassed the votes cast, and upon proof satisfactory to them have decided that at certain polls and voting places such riots, armed disturbances, fraud, and intimidation occurred as to prevent a fair election, by reason whereof, in pursuance of State laws, they excluded the votes cast thereat for either candidate. The Congress or its Commission, acting independent of State authority, proceeds to revise and reverse the decision of the State tribunals, and decides that other persons than those by them declared elected had been duly appointed electors. Would this be an appointment of electors by the State in such manner as its Legislature directs, or a usurpation of power in violation of the Constitution of the United States? And if Congress may arbitrarily exercise such jurisdiction, may it not at pleasure wrest from the States the right vested in them to appoint electors and thus control the election of President of the United States?

A majority of the Commission declined to exercise a jurisdiction so fatal to State independence, and so hostile to the purpose of the framers of the Constitution, and for this they have been denounced as parties to a conspiracy to cheat the nation of its lawfully elected Chief Magistrate.

Judge Black admits that "it is undoubtedly true that the State has the right to speak on this subject through her own organs, and when she does so speak her voice should be regarded as true," and he then proceeds to declare that the Governor is her proper organ for that purpose, and that as the Hayes electors had the executive certificate of Florida and Louisiana, it would not have been unreasonable to hold it conclusive unless tainted with fraud; and this, he says, gave the Eight a great legal advantage which, he adds, they threw away as worthless because they were "hedging for Oregon." This statement contains a gross perversion of the truth, and of the purpose of a majority of the Commission. The Governor of the State was not the organ of either Louisiana, Florida, or Oregon to declare or certify who were electors. He had no power to canvass the votes cast, or to declare the result, or to state who had been appointed electors. He was as powerless in these respects as the meanest private citizen, and for the reason that the Legislatures of those States had conferred upon a Secretary of State and upon Returning Boards, of which he was not a member, the exclusive jurisdiction before mentioned. Hence, although by act of Congress certified copies of the list of electors are to be furnished to them by direction of the executive of the State, which, with their votes for President and Vice-President, are to be transmitted to the President of the Senate, the list so certified is founded wholly upon the final action of canvassing and returning officers, who, in the language of Judge Black, are the organs of the State speaking her voice, which should be regarded as true. The Commission therefore held that whilst the final determination of Oregon, Louisiana, and Florida thus expressed must be obeyed, it might descend beneath mere executive certificates of what those organs had done and declared, and from their own records read the will and hear the voice of the State. In so doing there was no "hedging for Oregon," but submission to the law and Constitution the Commissioners had sworn to obey. There was dissimilarity between the case of Oregon and the cases of Louisiana and Florida. The only canvassing and returning officer in the State of Oregon was its Secretary of State, who, in the presence of, but not in conjunction with, the Governor, was to canvass and count the votes cast for electors, and to file in his office a statement of the result, — the law of that State declaring that "in all

elections the person having the highest number of votes cast for any office shall be deemed to have been elected."

On the 4th of December, 1876, the Secretary of State, in presence of the Governor, performed that duty; and, as appears from his statement, duly filed as required by law, the Hayes electors received a majority over those for Tilden and Hendricks of nearly one thousand votes. All the votes cast throughout the State were counted, the Secretary having no power to reject any; nor was it ever pretended that the actual lawful vote for electors was otherwise than thus stated. The vote having been thus counted, the law in terms declared that the persons having the highest number of votes should be deemed elected, and these were the Hayes electors. Why, then, "hedge for Oregon"? And yet, by means of a loathsome fraud, contrived in New York, and sought to be effectuated by money there furnished, grave apprehensions were for a time excited that one or more of the electoral votes of Oregon might be counted for Tilden and Hendricks, or suppressed altogether, which would have been equally serviceable to the conspirators. The scheme failed. It was bunglingly contrived, and so infamous that it had but a poor following even in the Democratic party. The statute of that State required that the Secretary of State should prepare two lists of the names of electors elected, and affix the seal of the State to the same, such lists to be signed by the Governor and Secretary, and delivered to the College of Electors at the hour of their meeting on the first Wednesday of December. These lists were of course to be based upon the canvass and statement of votes cast, made by the Secretary of State, and then on file in his office, and the scheme was to induce the Governor, a Democrat of the Tilden and Tweed school, to refuse to sign such a certificate, and thus defeat the expressed will of the State. He was a willing, if not paid, accomplice in this fraud, and, refusing to sign a certificate that the three Hayes electors had been appointed, he caused one to be prepared, which he signed, certifying the appointment of two of them, with a person named Cronin as the third, — one of the defeated Democratic candidates for electors, — for the Governor knew that one additional vote was all that would be needed in Washington, and imagined that a fraud garnished by two Hayes electors would be less offensive than one furnished throughout with those of his own party. A difficulty occurred,

quite unexpected to the poor instruments who were playing a game dictated from the Atlantic coast. The Hayes electors declined to act or vote with the nauseous manufacture thus thrust upon them; and then, to make the matter still worse, Cronin was instructed to choose two other persons as electors, which being done, the Governor of Oregon, having thus furnished his State with electors of President and Vice-President, watched the result. It came in a form which satisfied the honest men of both parties, with the exception of Judge Black. The Commission decided that the Secretary of State, the only canvassing officer of Oregon having made the canvass, recorded and filed it in his office, the result of the election had been declared by the organ of the State in her own voice; that this record could not be tampered with by the Governor, or by any other State officer; and that his attempt so to do was unlawful, utterly void, and to be disregarded by the Commission, which must appeal for guidance to the final voice and will of the State, as uttered from her unsullied archives. Under the circumstances, perhaps Judge Black will feel disposed to withdraw his offensive charge that the Commission was "hedging for Oregon," and apply it to those who sought by a trick to get at least such a fragment of its electoral vote as would insure the election of Mr. Tilden. The decision of the majority of the Commission was throughout harmonious, consistent, and based upon the constitutional requirement — never for a moment overlooked or disregarded — of ascertaining who by each State had been appointed its electors in such manner as the Legislature thereof had directed. This could be attained only by learning to whom such Legislature had confided the power and the duty of making and declaring their appointment. Neither in Louisiana nor in Florida could this be determined but by the action of the Returning Boards, nor in Oregon but by the action of the Secretary of State. The duty of ascertaining, counting, and declaring the electoral vote had been confided to the Commission, but not the power or duty of revising or reversing the action of State tribunals. These were supreme, acting under and bound to obey the laws of the States creating them, to which neither the Commission nor Congress was in any manner subject. If either of those bodies had felt disposed to violate its constitutional duty, by entering upon the inquiry whether the Returning Boards had acted wisely or otherwise in rejecting or

admitting votes at various polls within the respective States, a labor would have been undertaken which, besides occupying many months, would have inflicted a severe blow upon that State independence, especially prized by members of the Democratic party, the mere apprehension of which led one of the ablest and most distinguished — the present Chief Justice of the State of New York — publicly to declare: "I have always expressed the opinion that the authentication of the election of Presidential electors, according to the laws of each State, is final and conclusive, and that there exists no power to go behind them."

With his usual positiveness Judge Black asserts that in Florida the statute creating the Returning Board gave it only ministerial powers, and no authority to reject votes actually cast for any cause whatever; and that the Supreme Court of that State had so decided. He also averred with equal assurance that the Returning Board of Louisiana acted under a void statute, and without the least authority to do what it performed; and this in the face of a decision of the highest court of that State. Party passion and professional zeal, coupled with professional defeat, inspire reckless statements. That of Judge Black that the Florida statute gave only ministerial powers to the Returning Board, by which he means authority only to count and not to reject votes, is answered from the statute itself, which declares: —

"They shall proceed to canvass the returns of said election, and determine and declare who shall have been elected to any office," and "if any such return shall be shown or shall appear to be so irregular, false, or fraudulent that the Board shall be unable to determine the true vote for any such officer or member, they shall so certify, *and shall not include such return in their determination and declaration.*"

In the language of Mr. Justice Bradley, in the singularly clear and able opinion by him delivered in the Florida case, this statute clearly required *quasi* judicial action; and he adds that to controvert the finding of the Board would be, not to correct a mere statement of fact, but to reverse the decision and determination of a tribunal.

The powers of the Board were not, therefore, as stated by Judge Black, ministerial merely, but judicial. Its duty was to canvass the returns, and to determine and finally declare who had been elected

to office; and if any return of votes was so irregular, false, or fraudulent that the Board should be unable to determine the true vote of the polling district, such return was to be rejected and excluded in the final determination. Guided by this law, — the supreme will of the State of Florida, — the result reached and declared was, that the Hayes electors and a Democratic Governor had been duly elected, and in so deciding no existing decision of the Supreme Court of that State was disregarded.

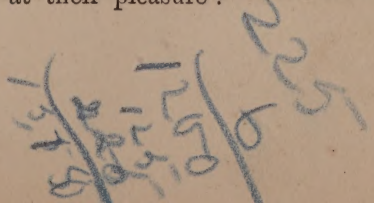
The most patient finally grow weary of exposing absurdities and correcting misrepresentations, but it seems necessary to proceed still further in this distasteful work. It is unfortunate that captivating misstatements clad in blistering words, with which the vocabulary of Judge Black abounds, are not in the esteem of men always disposed of by a mere denial. This will be apparent by an illustration not applicable to that gentleman. Some notorious liar or man of base character attacks an estimable citizen, charging him with having been guilty of grave frauds, inventing such particulars as are calculated to make the charge seem probable. The person thus assailed had as a rule better remain quiet than attempt justification by a simple denial. He must go into detail, submit proofs, and clear his skirts by an appeal to all the circumstances within reach; and then the chances are that his slanderer will have raised such doubts concerning his integrity as to taint him in the estimation of some persons during the remainder of his life; and should he have been prominent enough to make it for the interest of scribblers to write an account of his career, the slander will be quite likely to furnish the most readable portion of it.

So, too, the value of a slander to its author depends much upon the medium of its communication. If, for instance, those written by Judge Black against the Eight had been posted by handbills in the public streets of a large city, they would have been denounced as the utterances of a malicious libeller, published by means too vile for repetition; and if they had appeared in a partisan paper of low or even respectable character, they would never have crept beyond the sheet in which they were first published; but, appearing in the solid columns of a solemn Review of high character, published at comparatively long intervals, mere libels become literature from which the history of nations and of individuals is finally written. The numbers are carefully bound and preserved,

subject only to such lending as good-nature or a disposition to circulate the libels may suggest, until at length they become household words, shrouding the memory of their object with an infamy which posterity cannot remove.

Judge Black complains bitterly because the Commission refused to hold a decision obtained by writ of *quo warranto* before a single judge of Florida, conclusive in favor of the Tilden electors, — he asserting that "by all reason and all authority the Commission was bound to respect this as conclusive evidence." He then says: "They did not do it; they allowed the judgment to have no effect at all. They but looked to see what it was, and immediately swept it out of sight. They put it far from them, and then proceeded to pronounce a different judgment, which suited the Hayes men better."

Now, what was this proceeding, and how and for what purpose was it instituted? The Hayes electors had been declared duly appointed by the only State authority having that power. The day arrived on which, by the law of Congress, they must cast the electoral vote of the State, or it would be lost, and the election of Tilden made certain. They had assembled for the purpose of performing that duty, when they were served with a writ of *quo warranto*, which, in substance, commanded them to show cause, at a future day, before a single judge, by what warrant or title they claimed the right to act as electors. This proceeding was instigated by persons claiming office as Tilden electors, who averred, in substance, that the Hayes electors were in possession of the office, claiming the right to perform its duties. It was a litigation which might be continued by appeal and otherwise for years, and was quite sure to last for many months, — long after the fourth of March. What were the Hayes electors to do? Were they to refrain from casting their votes until the proceeding should end? Were they to delay this even for a day? If they did, they could not cast the electoral vote of the State at all, for, by the Constitution, the day of giving such votes "shall be the same throughout the United States." Was the State to lose its electoral vote because disappointed and mischievous politicians saw fit to obtain from the Judge of their choice a writ, the purpose of which was to defeat the expressed will of the nation, by a litigation which could be terminated or continued at their pleasure?



The Hayes electors cast and certified their vote, as duty demanded, and with that ended all their functions. The litigation proceeded, and, true to the work expected of him, the Judge, a few days before the vote of Florida was counted, decided that the Hayes electors were not duly appointed. Let us suppose the same decision made — as it might have been — after his inauguration as President. What effect would Judge Black, to be consistent with himself, give in such case to the decision of the Florida Judge? The President should, upon his theory, descend from his great office and give place to Mr. Tilden, should he not? And then, supposing this to be done, let us imagine the decision reversed at the end of a year by the Appellate Court of Florida, and what then should be done with Mr. Tilden? Should he, too, in imitation of his predecessor, depart in peace, that the latter might also enjoy the fruits of Florida justice? This game at shuttle-cock would not quite suit the majesty of the great office in question, nor the temper of the American people; and, although many will be amused at the smartness to be found on this subject in Judge Black's article, only those who reflect will entertain for its reasoning the contempt it deserves.

A few lines will forever dispose of the miserable effort made to foist these *quo warranto* proceedings upon the Commission as a reason why the vote of Florida should not be counted for Hayes. First, it has long been judicially settled, and the peace and security of society repose upon the doctrine, that all acts of officers *de facto* are valid and binding until they are ousted and dispossessed by the judgment of a competent court. Hence, if a person exercising the duties of judge should, pending proceedings to oust him, make and enter decrees by which men should be hanged or imprisoned or their property be taken away, all such decrees made before judgment of ouster would stand as firmly as though his judicial title were unquestioned. In this case it should be remembered that the first and only official act of the Hayes electors was performed on the very day proceedings against them were instituted.

And second, if the rule were not as stated, the title of a President of the United States could at all times be made to depend upon the judgment of a State court, for it would be easy in many States, after the result of an election should be known, to take proceedings

against electors before a judge not likely to sympathize with the successful political party; and if these could be ousted the defeated Presidential candidate could succeed, not by "votes of electors, appointed by each State in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct," but by some convenient judge, elected, perhaps, for one, two, or four years, and ready to do a political service upon the promise of a future nomination.

And, finally, we suggest that it would be extremely dangerous to permit any interference whatever by Federal or State courts with the office or functions of Presidential electors upon the pretext that they were not duly appointed, — a pretext easily manufactured, and one which in the hands of a partisan judge might result in great and permanent mischief. We commend these views to Judge Black in the hope that in his calmer moments a little reflection may lead him to a change of mind concerning the effect of *quo warranto* proceedings, and to a milder mode of expression towards those who differ with him on that subject.

It seems unnecessary to expose more fully than has been done his grave offence in charging wilful and palpable violations of law upon the majority of the Commission. Their course is vindicated throughout by great principles of constitutional law, administered by them with distinguished ability and entire impartiality from the moment they became members of the Electoral Tribunal. He has done them great injustice; he has denounced them falsely; he has uttered false and malicious clamors against his political opponents, and in so doing is condemned out of his own mouth, when he declares: —

"If the organs and representatives of the Democracy have merely raised a false and malicious clamor against their opponents, they deserve the severest reprehension that the censure of the world can visit upon them; they should be deprived of all political influence, and no share in public business, local or national, should ever again be trusted to their control."

Is this the deliberate opinion of Judge Black, or has he mistaken his symptoms, and is this noble utterance but a mere form of words? Consider what he has said: that if the Republicans have been by their political adversaries falsely and maliciously accused of having, by means of the Electoral Commission or otherwise, been guilty of fraud in electing a President, a deprivation of all political in-

fluence, and of all share in public business, should forever follow as its punishment. From this it appears that in his esteem the crime of treason, as compared with a false political clamor, is but a venial offence; for Mr. Tilden was but the nominee and instrument of the men who organized and fought the Great Rebellion against their country, and whilst Judge Black was zealously employed as counsel before the Commission, the dominant leaders of his party in the House of Representatives, numbering some fifty or sixty, had but lately been engaged in leading rebel armies in the field. For this, the highest of crimes, should they not be forever deprived of all political influence and of all share in public business, local or national? Or is his moral sense so nice, and his political sense so diseased, that in his opinion falsehoods uttered in the heat of a political canvass or at its close should be thus punished, whilst the reward of traitors should be a speedy resumption of political influence and an early control of the public business?

In view of the unfounded statements and false clamor with which Judge Black has stuffed his article, has he not denounced his own offence, and prescribed his own punishment? The pride of the stern Roman was that he could judge his son as if he were a stranger. For a still nobler virtue may not the future historian point to a son of Pennsylvania?

Men familiar with the career of Judge Black, whilst doubting his sincerity in prescribing the punishment due to false and malicious clamor, can nevertheless believe him capable of regarding with favor the treason of his political allies. And, indeed, it is possible for him to sincerely denounce the one and approve the other. Man is a marvellously compounded animal, and in this respect Judge Black is not an exception. Whole tribes and peoples could be mentioned where treachery and murder are tolerated, and even encouraged, whilst a non-observance of the least of their religious forms and ceremonies would be regarded as highly criminal. Early training and associations inspire men with strange, grotesque, and inconsistent views; and sometimes even in middle life impressible and inflammable natures adopt opinions painful to their friends and shocking to all good citizens. This it was which befell Judge Black in the latter days of President Buchanan's accursed administration; for he then first made public profession of devotion to treason against his government. In proof of this his own

official opinion when Attorney-General of the United States will be invoked, and that of his political chief Buchanan, by whom the opinion was adopted and followed.

The end of his Presidential term was near. That portion of his Cabinet by whom he was most influenced were Southern men, who for years had been plotting treason and preparing for rebellion against their government, that a great and independent slave confederacy might cover the South.

Mr. Black, though not an original conspirator with these men, was proud to share their confidence, and not slow to adopt their views. Their plan being to secure, at an early day, recognition of the Confederacy by foreign nations, it was thought this could be readily accomplished if the highest law officer of the government, to be followed by its executive head, could be induced officially to declare that the United States was not a consolidated nation, but a union of independent States, bound together by compact merely, each having the right to separate from the Union at pleasure. There was in this a devilish cunning, and a vital question to these arch plotters was, Could the executive head of the government of the United States be induced officially to utter this doctrine, coupled with the declaration that it had no constitutional or rightful power to crush rebellion by force of arms? If it could, opportunity would be given to organize rebellion; and should foreign governments recognize the new confederacy, no just cause of complaint could be made against them for so doing.

It would indeed be as justifiable as if our government should recognize as independent one established in Canada, after the Queen by her proclamation, sustained by the opinion of her attorney-general, had declared that she had no power to compel obedience there by force. We perceive, therefore, that the treason organized under Buchanan, and to which Mr. Black became a party, was double-headed and revolting. It organized rebellion in force throughout the South; it paralyzed the arm of the government to suppress it whilst forming; and it invited and justified recognition of the new confederacy by foreign nations, as soon as it could raise its head and assume a name. In the history of man treason so revolting had never been planned, and when its purpose to perpetuate slavery is considered, its entire hideousness stands revealed. We suppose the man to whom a false political

clamor appears so criminal could not have entertained this view of the work his masters had set him to do. The Rebellion was organized, and then was heard the rumbling of its artillery, the roar of its music, the shouts of its adherents. By concert of action, State after State, trampling upon the old flag, raised the new, and marched out of the Union, carrying ordinances of secession as their excuse for establishing a new confederacy, to be founded, as the conspirators openly declared, upon African slavery as its corner-stone. South Carolina seceded on the 6th of November, 1860, and Georgia on the 8th. The whole North stood aghast with horror as they saw the nation crumbling to pieces, with no hand raised in Washington to save it. The conspirators there were not idle. The crowning infamy of their work was in progress, — the work of many minds though of a single pen. The Congress was to meet on the first Monday of December, when the President must explain and if possible justify his complicity with treason. The armies and the navies of the Union were scattered far and wide, commanded in part by those ready at the nod of traitors to join the rebellion. Then on the 20th of November came the opinion of the Attorney-General of the United States, preparing the ground for the message of his chief, telling the nation that armies and navies were needless, for that it had been, by its Constitution, denied the power of self-preservation, although its personal and real property scattered throughout the rebellious States, and useful only for the maintenance there of its national power, might be preserved by force, if force should for that purpose become necessary; in other words, that its arsenals, its dockyards, its post-offices, and court-houses it might retain, but that it had no power to enforce obedience to national laws, unless, indeed, those who held the States in rebellion should ask it, which was not probable. After stating that the troops of the United States can only be employed in a State to assist the courts in enforcing their process, and that "on such occasions the military power must be kept in strict subordination to the civil authority," he adds: —

"But what if the feeling in any State against the United States should become so universal that the Federal officers themselves, including judges, district attorneys, and marshals, should be reached by the same influences, and resign their places? We are therefore obliged to

consider what can be done in case we have no courts to issue judicial process, and no ministerial officers to execute it. In that event troops would certainly be out of place and their use wholly illegal. Under such circumstances, to send a military force into any State with orders to act against the people would be simply making war upon them."

Much more, similar in kind and justifying the treason then prevailing, is contained in this opinion, from which we pass to the message of the President founded upon it. In that it is declared

"That the power to make war against a State is at variance with the whole spirit and intent of the Constitution. Suppose such a war should result in the conquest of a State, how are we to govern it afterwards? Shall we hold it as a province, and govern it by despotic power? But if we possessed this power, would it be wise to exercise it under existing circumstances? The object would doubtless be to preserve the Union. War would not only present the most effectual means of destroying it, but would banish all hope of its peaceable reconstruction. The fact is, that our Union rests upon public opinion, and can never be cemented by the blood of its citizens shed in civil war. Congress possesses many means of preserving it by conciliation, but the sword was not placed in their hand to preserve it by force."

These were the sentiments which Mr. Black and his chief had been inspired by their treasonable allies to utter in aid of that great Rebellion which finally filled the soil of the nation with the blood and graves of her sons. How far it would have advanced if, at the outset, it had encountered the resistance of brave and patriotic men, cannot with certainty be told; but we may confidently assert that, if such had filled the great places occupied by Buchanan and his Attorney-General, tens of thousands of lives and hundreds of millions of treasure would have been saved to our country. And yet to-day, after years of opportunity for reflection and repentance, Mr. Black doubtless says, in his heart, that he believes the Rebellion was a righteous uprising against the Abolitionists of the North, and was put down by the wicked exercise of an overwhelming force, not to assist in the service of judicial process, nor for the protection of government property, but for the unconstitutional purpose of preserving the Union by the sword. How can such a man judge fairly or speak moderately of a political party to which he attributes such past wickedness? By what warrant does he stand up before the American

people to denounce and condemn those to whom they owe all of country, of institutions, of nationality, dear to men? Clad in sackcloth and ashes, he and the traitors he abetted should await in penitential silence forgiveness of their great wrong, and then, with a modest but just estimate of themselves, refrain from provoking censure of their past conduct, by such decent utterances only as become offenders who, by the mercy of society, are again permitted to enjoy its blessings.

These observations have seemed appropriate in view of the statement of Judge Black that, to make his "simple narration," as he calls it, "more intelligible, it is necessary to remind the reader of certain points in our political history which have, within the last twenty years, divided the two parties and defined their antagonism," and especially in view of his perversions of that history. After stating that the Democracy, during the Civil War, were placed in the most difficult attitude that can be conceived, and that, "at the same time, the best convictions of their hearts impelled them to defend their individual rights of life, liberty, and property, which were most wantonly and unjustly assailed by the Abolitionists," he adds that, although President Lincoln and Congress solemnly declared that the war was purely in defence of the United States, and had no revolutionary purpose whatever, but should be conducted solely to enforce the laws and maintain the supremacy of the Federal Constitution, with all the rights of the States unimpaired, — nevertheless, all these pledges were perfidiously broken, and the Constitution, instead of being defended, was regarded as shot to death on the battle-field. He denounces the Reconstruction Acts of 1867, declares that the Republican party asserted the divine right of the negro to govern the white man, and secured his ascendency by the Fifteenth Amendment, in the confident hope that his ballot would be a more effectual instrument of tyranny than the soldier's bullet. He descends fiercely upon the carpet-baggers, as he calls them, who went South after the war, and asserts that "the best of them were those who went down after the peace, ready for any deed of shame that was safe and profitable"; and after stating, in his usual vivid style of misrepresentation, the methods they adopted, especially in Louisiana, to acquire political supremacy, and mortgage the future of her people by the issue of bonds, sneers at the thousands of

murders perpetrated by the white Democrats upon the negroes of that State, and after referring to the invention, as he calls it, of the Returning Board, denounces the action of its members with a violence and force limited only by his capacity to use the English language.

Those most charitably inclined towards Judge Black must have observed with some pain, that, whilst he is ever ready to condemn and denounce those who preserved the nation from destruction, and to charge them with having, by means of the Reconstruction Acts and the Fifteenth Amendment, violated the constitutional rights of the South, he utters no censure against those who, by organizing rebellion to destroy the Constitution, made these Acts and this Amendment necessary. It was natural that he should feel deeply the defeat of his treasonable allies by the abolitionists, as he calls them, of the North. A long and desperate war followed the careful preparation for which, with his assistance, time and opportunity had been given to the South. Four years of struggle — four long and weary and bloody years — were the fruit of that treason which had been ripening at the South for more than a quarter of a century. When the contest closed their slaves were free, and whatever of privilege traitors could claim was not of right, but of the mercy of their conquerors. Every man engaged in the Rebellion had forfeited his life to his offended country, and many of its leaders had magnified their crime by plotting and organizing it, whilst in the service and pay of the government they betrayed. Does Judge Black venture to suggest that such men were, on the suppression of the Rebellion, entitled to seats in the national councils, or that the people who had engaged in it were then entitled to representation of their States in Congress? The Reconstruction Acts were a temporary necessity, and to the South a most merciful and humane one. They organized State governments and prepared the way for the establishment of republican institutions. But the old spirit of hatred towards the North and a determination to hold the black race in subjection still prevailed, and it was evident that its substantial enslavement in some form was sure to occur, unless the rights of citizenship were conferred upon its members, and this was done by the Fifteenth Amendment, so violently denounced by Judge Black. That, however, has not protected them. They are but numbered among the citizens of the South, and

used as a basis of representation, by means of which the ruling whites there have secured an increase in numbers and influence in Congress largely exceeding what was enjoyed before the war.

Having made these general observations, it seems appropriate to correct some of Judge Black's statements concerning the carpet-baggers who emigrated to the South soon after the war, who, as described by him, "were the meanest of camp-followers, fugitives from Northern justice, the best of whom were ready for any deed of shame that was safe and profitable." And then a picture is drawn of their doings with a vividness and malignity only surpassed by its untruth.

It is well known that when the war ended the South was greatly impoverished, — destitute of capital, unable for want of that and labor to cultivate the lands, which had become wasted and almost worthless. Northern capital was needed and earnestly asked for, and much was taken South and employed there, — some by its owners and some as loans. Those who went there were in the main imbued with Northern principles, and with Northern habits of thrift, industry, and economy, and these were in striking contrast with the customary idleness and contempt for labor which distinguished the whites of Southern birth. Nevertheless, great numbers of worthy, industrious men — many of moderate means and some of considerable wealth — went from the North to the Southern States, with their wives and children, intending permanently to remain. The vast majority went to settle, to work, and to live honestly. They purchased and leased plantations, they opened stores, they built mills, they bought and worked mines, they engaged in teaching and entered upon all branches of protective industry. Statistics carefully gathered show that in South Carolina alone, between January, 1866, and January, 1869, not less than two thousand able-bodied men from the Northern States, with their families, settled, carrying with them and actually investing in active business pursuits over thirteen millions of dollars; and in addition to this, not less than one thousand more settled there from the North, and were engaged in teaching, or in the practice of professions not requiring capital. And it is a fair and probable estimate, that from 1866 to 1868 there settled from the North, in the States of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi,

Louisiana, Texas, Tennessee, and Arkansas not less than sixty thousand men, mostly with families, carrying and investing in active industries there not less than the enormous sum of one hundred and eighty millions of dollars.

This great body of settlers were free men, accustomed to the ways of free society. They went South, not as politicians, but as citizens. Civil government was, however, a necessity to them, and when the era of reconstruction came, and the native whites withheld their aid from the mass of colored voters, as they sullenly and for a long time did in every State, the Northern settlers had no alternative but to take an active part in political affairs. Upon them, then, fell the hate and vengeance of the white Democrats, and the name of carpet-baggers was applied to them. All the milder forms of coercion were exhausted upon them, — social ostracism in all its forms. Then came active persecution, — warnings to leave the State, accompanied with demonstrations calculated to destroy the peace and sense of security of the families of Republican settlers; shooting at night around and into their houses; and, these failing, assassination and murder, — and when at length Northern men, by means like these, were driven from the South, they were able to carry but little property away with them.

Many Northern men could be named who, since the war, have settled in Louisiana, where they have invested large means in many of the finest, most productive, and best-worked sugar and cotton plantations of that State. Enough, however, has been said in reply to the vague and violent statements of Mr. Black on this subject, unsupported as they are by a single authority. It is now time briefly to notice his assertions concerning the taxation and debt of that State, and of the city of New Orleans, which he charges to have been created by carpet-baggers. Unfortunately for him, such statements are capable of verification and of contradiction, and as he has seen fit not to attempt the former, he must not complain if the latter shall be clearly supported by recorded facts.

The debt of the State of Louisiana before the war was between seven and eight millions of dollars. It increased under Democratic native white rule until 1867, — at the time Warmouth became governor, — when it amounted to about fourteen millions of bonded, and about two millions of floating debt, with a large contingent debt of many millions, authorized by Democratic Legisla-

tures to aid in building railroads and for other purposes of internal improvement. Governor Kellogg was inaugurated in January, 1873, for the term of four years. He found a bonded debt, increased during Governor Warmouth's administration from fourteen to about twenty-two millions of dollars. This, during that of Governor Kellogg, has been reduced, by compromise and otherwise, to a bonded debt of but $11,855,922, subject to be increased to between thirteen and fourteen millions at the utmost, should certain doubtful claims subject to adjudication be allowed; so that in January last the entire debt of the State, bonded and floating, was less than at the close of Democratic rule in 1867. Under his administration laws long before passed, authorizing the issue of State bonds or obligations for contingent liabilities to the amount of some twenty-one million dollars have, on Governor Kellogg's recommendation, been wholly repealed. Constitutional amendments by him urged have been adopted, prohibiting the Legislature from hereafter increasing the State debt, or the rate of taxation, beyond a very moderate sum particularly specified, and expressly declaring that no expenditure beyond revenue shall ever be authorized.

In answer to the reckless and wholly unfounded statement of Judge Black, that the carpet-bag government "put their fraudulent bonds on the market, and sold them for what they would fetch," it may be said, that during the entire administration of Governor Kellogg but $576,000 of bonds were sold, and these were issued before he took office, under an act passed in aid of the North Louisiana Railroad Company.

But it is said the city of New Orleans has been plundered by the carpet-baggers, and its property so taxed as to be worthless. A few facts will dispose of this misstatement. With the exception of a part of the year 1870, and from the time of the election in that year until November, 1872, that city has been for a generation or more, and still is, under native white Democratic rule of mayor and aldermen and council. In 1870 Governor Flanders — an estimable man, as we are assured, and a Republican — was appointed mayor by Governor Warmouth, to hold office as such in conjunction with a council — part white and part colored — until the election in November of that year, when they were by election continued in office until November, 1872, and then were super-

seded by a Democratic mayor and council, which have ever since been continued. No Republican Legislature of Louisiana ever imposed a debt or charge upon the city except for its due proportion of State taxation, nor did such Legislature ever authorize the city to increase its debt for any purpose. It now owes about twenty-three million dollars, all of which accrued under Democratic rule, except an apparent increase of less than four million dollars due to the funding, under the administration of Mayor Flanders, of a floating debt incurred by his Democratic predecessors. These facts, being matters of record, Judge Black could easily have ascertained, had his purpose been to write what history could adopt without shame. It was not, however, and hence he states that the burdens imposed by the carpet-baggers upon this devoted city within the last ten years had been such that its debt was more than the estimated value of all the property within its limits. Its total bonded and floating debt at the close of the Republican administration in January last was less than twenty-four millions of dollars, and the estimated taxable value of its property upwards of one hundred and twenty-four millions,— a discrepancy between truth and falsehood of more than one hundred millions of dollars. To restrain the wasteful expenditure which had so disgraced the administration of affairs in that city by the white Democracy, an amendment of the Constitution was strongly urged by Governor Kellogg, prohibiting any subsequent increase of the city debt; and it is worthy of remark that this, and also those by him recommended limiting the power of the Legislature to increase the State debt, or its rate of taxation beyond the sum specified, or the appropriation of moneys in excess of the actual revenue, were persistently opposed by the Democratic press and party throughout the State, and were only adopted by a strict Republican party vote. We leave Judge Black to ponder over these statements, and possibly to regret that he should have permitted his inventive faculties to become his master.

We now approach that portion of his article devoted to a justification of the murders, assassinations, outrages, and nameless horrors perpetrated in Louisiana by the white Democrats upon colored and white Republicans. By a strange and horrid perversion, these crimes are charged upon what Judge Black calls the carpet-bag government. To make this seem plausible, he says:

"If an officer whose duty it is to bring a felon to justice connives at his escape, he becomes an accessory after the fact, and his offence is as great as that of the principal. The carpet-baggers professed to be the special friends and protectors of the African race; yet they permitted them to be slaughtered by thousands with quiet unconcern, not lifting a finger to stay the wholesale destruction of their lives. Some of their advocates say they were too weak to maintain public order. This will not do. A magistrate who says he cannot punish or prevent continued murder is himself a murderer, unless he gives place to somebody who can."

In other words, if armed ruffians and organized murderers and assassins are too strong to be resisted, suppressed, and punished by the regular government and the officers of justice, the latter should retire, and the ruffians, murderers, and assassins take their places. The late strikes and riots in Judge Black's native State of Pennsylvania furnish an illustration in point. There its officials were for a time powerless to prevent robbery, murder, and destruction of property, and were compelled to call for external military aid. Were they accessories after the fact, and therefore guilty of these grave offences? And yet the capacity for mischief and crime of the wretches who committed these outrages was trifling when compared with that of the Regulators, who, as Judge Black says, traversed the State of Louisiana. These were permanent armed organizations; not like the rioters of Pennsylvania, denounced and hunted down by respectable citizens, but protected and encouraged by every white Democrat within the State. They lived in open hostility to a government which, although lawfully established, was nevertheless the offspring of negro suffrage, to which they had sworn never to submit. The feeble and timid race upon whom perhaps unwisely had been conferred the rights of citizenship were equal to the whites before the law, but they and their officers of justice feared the terrible strength of their former masters, and therefore failed to execute justice upon them, even for murder. And so says Mr. Black, these magistrates became, because of their weakness, guilty accomplices.

Whilst admitting that thousands of murders were thus perpetrated, he does not attempt to justify them except by the suggestion that the government was not strong enough to prevent them, and hence should have been replaced by one administered by the Regulators themselves. Literally, therefore, his argument is, that when

an armed mob, insurrection, or banditti becomes so strong that it cannot be subdued by the government of a State, its leaders should be allowed to assume control of the State, and under the forms of law exercise absolute sway over its citizens and resources. Our Constitution has carefully guarded against such a result, and the events of the last few weeks have illustrated with what facility and effectiveness its provisions for suppressing insurrection and domestic violence can be put in operation by an able and earnest national executive, even with a feeble and utterly inadequate military force. This mode of enforcing submission to the laws will never, we trust, be abandoned, and with a few more lessons on the subject, our people will be led to the conclusion that the solid battalions of the Federal army, as they are called by Judge Black, are the best police possible for the attainment of that end. The extent of these late violent and destructive demonstrations, thus speedily quelled, should inspire our people and foreign nations with increased confidence in the stability and permanence of our Republican institutions; for besides the ready submission of the rioters to the power of the national government, the voluntary organizations of armed citizens which suddenly appeared in its aid well illustrated the respect and affection entertained for it by our people.

The wretched attempt by Judge Black to excuse the murders and outrages committed in Louisiana, and his assault on the Returning Board of that State, invite a simple narration of the causes which demanded and led to its creation.

The legal colored voters of Louisiana, from the time they were made citizens until now, have considerably outnumbered the whites, and with few exceptions the blacks have uniformly voted the Republican ticket. Thus, in November, 1876, on the day of election, there were in that State, as the official returns show, 92,996 white registered voters and 115,310 colored, — a majority of the latter of 22,314, — and such has been substantially the relative majority from the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment. This gave the colored race numerically the political ascendency, the advantages of which the white Democrats soon resolved they should not be permitted to enjoy. As early as 1866 about two hundred colored men were murdered in New Orleans, and some one hundred and sixty wounded, for venturing to meet as members

of a convention to amend the Constitution of the State, and to this must be added the massacres of Grant Parish, Coushatta, St. Laudry, and Feliciana. These acts of blood struck the colored race with terror. Like atrocities were not, for political causes, repeated to any considerable extent until the summer and fall of 1868, just preceding and as a preparation for the Presidential election.

In the spring of that year the entire registered vote of the city of New Orleans was 29,910, of which 15,020 was colored Republican, and at the city election then held there were 13,973 Republican votes cast. All this was utterly changed prior to the Presidential election in November following.

Governor Seymour had been nominated for the Presidency by the Democratic party, and General Grant by the Republican. The former was known to have sympathized warmly with the South during the war, and to have been strongly opposed to it from the beginning; and it was believed that under his administration the South might still be able to regain a part at least of what had been lost by the Rebellion. The most active and unscrupulous efforts were therefore made by the Democratic party throughout the Union to attain success. In the State of New York its managers fairly distanced all competitors, especially in the open and shameless perpetration of fraud. Mr. Tilden was chairman of the Democratic State Committee. Tweed and Sweeny, his subordinates, held the fortress of the party in the city of New York, where, as is now known of all men, twenty-five thousand Democratic votes were manufactured to offset the fifteen thousand majority actually cast for General Grant, and to give, in addition, an apparent majority of ten thousand for Governor Seymour. It is a striking and singular coincidence, that, whilst the frauds thus committed in New York in 1868 led the Congress of the United States, for the purpose of preventing their recurrence at elections for members thereof, to pass laws which were violently denounced by the Democrats, the outrages and murders committed during that year in Louisiana made the Returning Board a necessity, as will hereafter be demonstrated.

The Democratic party in New York could boast of managers more adroit than any who controlled it in Louisiana; but those in the latter State would have scorned the vulgar and cowardly method of carrying an election by the manufacture of votes. Their

plan, though not less effective, demanded a certain amount of courage for its execution. They organized, as political allies, violence, intimidation, outrage, and murder, and, advancing these to the front, felt assured of victory. Secret armed political clubs were formed in almost every parish of the State, and these soon spread wide and almost universal terror among the colored people. A more gentle, but very efficient influence was exerted upon them and their white leaders by planters and merchants who bound themselves, by resolutions and in clubs, to proscribe in business and in employment persons who opposed, by vote or otherwise, the purposes of the Democratic party. Extracts from its press show that portions of it advocated bloodshed and violence for political ends; others secretly encouraged this, and by none was it openly condemned. A reference to the files of the newspapers of Louisiana for 1868 will give abundant and astonishing proof of the extent to which they went in that direction. These preparations bore terrible fruit, and from September until November at least five horrible massacres of colored people were perpetrated. On the 28th of September one was commenced in the parish of St. Laudry, which lasted several days, during which two or three hundred were killed. For several days between the 20th and 30th of that month a similar massacre occurred in the parish of Bossier, in which more than two hundred colored people were destroyed; and others, perpetrated in October for like causes, occurred in the parishes of Caddo, Jefferson, and St. Bernard; and in that of St. Mary its sheriff and parish judge, both Republicans, were publicly assassinated in their own houses by armed men. In New Orleans riots prevailed for weeks, filling the city with scenes of blood, and Ku-Klux notices were posted throughout it, warning the colored men not to vote. The effect of these outrages, only a few of which have been mentioned, did not disappoint the expectations of their perpetrators. The parish of Orleans, which in the spring had, as before stated, given a Republican vote of 13,973, in the autumn gave for General Grant but 1,178. In the parish of St. Laudry not a vote was cast for him, though the Republicans had a registered majority of 1,070 voters, and had in the spring carried the parish by a majority of 678. In the parish of Caddo, where the Republicans had 2,987 Republican votes, but one was cast for General Grant, and, to generalize, where by the official

registration of that year the Republicans had in twenty-four parishes 47,923 votes, he received but 5,360. The Fifteenth Amendment was thus in Louisiana extinguished in blood. The right of the colored man to vote was blotted out. Murder and outrage effaced in 1868 what the armies of the North had written in the Constitution of the nation. What was to be done to prevent by law these great wrongs? The essential element of an election is freedom of choice. One of Judge Black's favorite propositions is, that fraud vitiates all proceedings. It will annul an election. It would have annulled that held in New York in 1868. Does he regard the terrorism and murder which prevailed in Louisiana at that time as less reprehensible? Take, for instance, the parish of Orleans. There, by a preconcerted political plan, intimidation and violence reduced the Republican vote in 1860 from 13,973 in the spring, to 1,178 in the fall. This well illustrates the condition of the vote in other parishes. Does Judge Black think men elected by such means should take and hold office? He would, he says, punish the guilty, but would not disfranchize the voters. The law, however, favors and guarantees a fair and free election, where all who are entitled may vote; and it also provides that a majority of the voters may elect. Let us suppose that in Louisiana a parish has a majority of five thousand Republican voters, and that this is entirely suppressed by fraud or violence. If neither had been employed, that majority would have been added to the Republican vote of the State, and have turned the scale. It is, however, blotted out, and the State is lost. Strict justice would demand that the political party succeeding by such means should fail, and that the vote thus suppressed should be given to its opponent.

The Legislature of Louisiana was called upon, in view of the outrages of 1868, to devise some means of preventing their repetition. It dealt temperately with the subject, and with great fairness towards the Democrats. It provided, not for adding to the Republican votes cast those suppressed by violence and intimidation, but declared that where these causes prevented a fair and free election, a tribunal upon competent proof of the fact, both sides having an opportunity to be heard, might altogether reject the vote of the poll thus dominated. This was an inadequate remedy for the mischief; but it was to apply this remedy, and not for the

purposes mentioned by Judge Black, that the Returning Board of Louisiana was organized. Intimidation, fraud, violence, armed disturbance, preventing a fair and peaceful election at any poll, proved by sufficient testimony, both sides having opportunity to be heard, made it the sworn duty of the Board to reject that poll. If a Republican majority of thousands were suppressed by such means, not a vote could be added. The poll must be rejected. This led, as will be seen, to the cunning selection by Democratic managers, in 1876, of parishes for the practice of their outrages where Republican majorities were large, and ability to suppress them, without interruption, ample.

Are the causes which led to the creation of the Returning Board those stated by Judge Black; or are they to be found in the wicked attempts of the party to which he belongs to attain its ascendency by violence, intimidation, outrage, and murder, and the utter extinction of those privileges of citizenship intended to be secured by the Fifteenth Constitutional Amendment? Was that Amendment, as he states, an assertion of the divine right of the negro to govern the white man; or an effort to relieve the colored race from that subjection to the whites which the divine law condemns? Whatever may be the authority for the Amendment, every honest and law-abiding citizen is bound to aid in its enforcement. A nation which fails to put forth all its strength to protect its citizens, white or black, from foreign aggression and outrage, stands degraded before the world. When a thousand of them are shot down within its own borders for attempting to exercise the right to vote, what shall we say of the government which fails to vindicate its laws thus violated? The State of Louisiana attempted, by the legislation in question, to make it unprofitable for a political party to practise outrage or intimidation. It in part succeeded; and yet grave crimes were committed in that State, during the last Presidential election, that it might be carried for the Democratic candidates. That this was so is a conclusion forced upon us by a few general but very impressive facts, independent of the conclusive proofs taken by the Returning Board and by the Congressional Committees. The registered colored vote of Louisiana on the day of the election in November last was, as before stated, 115,310 to 92,996 white. In forty of the fifty-seven parishes of the State, where no serious

intimidation prevailed, including that of Orleans, which was largely Democratic, the majority of Republican votes actually cast was 6,097. The remaining seventeen parishes contained 20,323 registered colored voters and 16,253 white, — the former, like those in the forty parishes, being almost exclusively Republican. Judge Black says the majority of votes actually polled by the Democratic party within the State is admitted to have been 7,639. Assuming this to have been so, the Democrats must have succeeded, with 16,253 white voters, in getting a majority, over 20,323 colored, of 13,736. Does he believe this to have been possible, in face of the Republican majority of 6,097 in forty parishes? What, in his opinion, led to such a remarkable conversion to the Democratic faith of the negroes in seventeen parishes? Was it weariness and discontent of carpet-bag rule, or was the result secured by that violence and crime so successfully employed in 1868? But this is not all. Five of these seventeen parishes were especially selected for the employment of these modes of conversion, first, because of their favorable location on and near the borders of Mississippi and Arkansas, and, second, because of the large majority of colored Republicans which they contained. There were within them but 5,134 white registered voters to 13,244 colored, and yet so effective were the intimidation, violence, and murder there employed, that a Democratic majority was secured of 4,495, — equal within 639 of the entire registered Democratic vote. Does not this raise a suspicion, even in the mind of Judge Black, that other causes than disgust of carpet-bag rule produced this result? Does it not look like the fruit of a policy organized for violence, cropping out here and there in murder, until it had filled the land with terror?

If he shall resist presumptions like these, then would he refuse to believe though one should rise from the dead. He is, however, commended to the testimony taken in volumes before the Returning Board and the two Committees. He has said there was no proof of violence in the parish of East Feliciana, which contained a registered colored vote of 2,127, and a registered white vote of 1,737, and where not a Republican vote was cast. Let him, in refutation of this, look at the testimony of many witnesses who, before the Returning Board, swore to scenes of terrible violence, creating general intimidation at the polls throughout that parish on the day of election.

Judge Black has certainly omitted nothing of slander, nothing of reprobation, nothing of denunciation, of all those who in any manner aided in securing the elevation of Mr. Hayes to the Presidency, which the most violent and reckless of his party can desire. He has constructed with malicious ingenuity a well-compacted series of misstatements, each reposing upon assertions positively made, and all as a rule destitute of any solid foundation. In so doing truths have been so perverted as to become falsehoods, and falsehoods so interwoven with these as to appear like truths. He has even assailed those who at the request of the President went to New Orleans to witness the count of the electoral vote by the Returning Board, after it was known that, at the request of Mr. Tilden, several distinguished Democrats were to attend there for that purpose. Of the Republicans who went there Judge Black with unblushing effrontery declares: "They might have caused a true count of the vote if they had wished it; one word of reprobation from them would have paralyzed the rascality of the Returning Board." And he adds, they "encouraged, aided, and abetted by every means in their power the perpetration of the Great Fraud, and after it was done held it up as a righteous act."

Perhaps after the many exposures already made of the misrepresentations which jostle and crowd each other from the beginning to the end of Judge Black's article, a presumption arises against him such as the common law invokes against one who swears falsely with knowledge. If so, this unfounded charge deliberately made against men who undertook without compensation, at great personal sacrifice, to perform what they and others of both parties deemed a public service, is already answered. They met in presence of the Returning Board, and at its request, eminent Democrats who were present upon a like invitation, and attended daily before it, nothing whatever being done by its members except in presence of the representatives of both political parties, and of their stenographic reporters, from the time the Board organized until its labors closed and its members had retired to deliberate upon the testimony before them. To have interfered with their duties, to have proffered them advice for the purpose of influencing the result of their deliberations, and especially to have reprobated them, as suggested by Judge Black, would have been a gross outrage upon them personally, an insult to their office, and most disrespect-

ful to the State whose supreme organs they were. There is no reason to suppose they failed to exercise a wise and just discretion, and it is quite certain the conclusions they reached have not been in the least shaken or disturbed by the unsupported assertions of Judge Black. When he shall venture beyond the domain of denunciation, and, entering the fair field of inquiry and of argument, shall candidly explore the proofs on which the Board acted, and especially when he shall honestly endeavor to realize that the Electoral Commission was powerless under the Constitution and law to disregard the final will of the States of Louisiana, Florida, and Oregon, he will engage in a task which may open his mind to the truth, leading him to the conclusion that the nation has not been betrayed, and that the Great Fraud of 1876 was but the figment of a disordered imagination.

E. W. Stoughton.

Art. II. — The Decline of the Drama.

(An Epistle to C*****s R***e from Dion Boucicault.)

When you ask me, dear R——, to afford some reason for the decline of the drama which we have witnessed during our time, I feel inclined to reply in the words of the Trojan exile: —

> "Quanquam animus meminisse horret luctuque refugit,
> Incipiam."

It is comforting to reflect that the fine arts, together with every form of literature, — in truth, all the staple products of the brain, — have suffered a decline during the last half-century. There is a certain satisfaction in reflecting that the drama has been steadily declining for two thousand years, since Cæsar, deploring the falling off in the Roman stage of his time, when compared with the Greek, stigmatized Terence as a half-bred (*demidiatus*) Menander. We, dramatists of this age, can therefore hope there is a still lower depth in years to come, when we shall be regarded as men of stature by a pygmy posterity.

The "Spectator," writing in the time of Queen Anne, deplores the degradation of the stage of that period. While criticising the rage for introducing real objects on the scene, whereby the attention of the audience was diverted from serious consideration to silly entertainment, Addison says (I quote in brief): —

"Common-sense requires that there shall be nothing in the scenes and machinery which may appear childish or absurd. A little skill in criticism would inform us that shadows and realities ought not to be mixed together in the same piece, and that the scenes which are designed as the representation of nature should be filled with the resemblance and not with the things themselves. If one would represent a wide champaign country filled with herds and flocks, it would be ridiculous to draw the country only upon the scenes and to crowd the several parts of the stage with sheep and oxen. This is joining together inconsistencies, and making the decoration partly real and partly imaginary. As I was walking in the street about a fortnight ago, I saw a fellow carrying a cage full of little birds. Upon asking what he had

upon his shoulder, he told me that he had been buying sparrows for the theatre. 'Sparrows for the theatre! What! are they to be roasted?' 'No, no,' says the other, 'they are to enter towards the end of the first act, and to fly about the stage.' The sparrows were to act the part of singing birds in a grove, but though they flew in sight their music proceeded from a concert of flageolets and bird-calls, which were planted behind the scenes. At the same time it had been proposed to break down a part of the wall of the theatre and surprise the audience with a party of a hundred horse, and there was actually a project of bringing the New River into the house to be employed in waterworks. This project, I have since heard, is postponed till the summer season, when it is thought the coolness that proceeds from fountains and cascades will be more agreeable and refreshing to people of quality. In the mean time, to find out a more agreeable entertainment for the winter season, there will be introduced thunder and lightning, illuminations and fireworks, which the audience may look upon without catching cold, and indeed without danger of being burned, for there are several engines supplied with water and ready to play at a minute's warning in case any such accident should happen."

If this paper were printed in the press of yesterday, not a word would need alteration to render Addison's remarks applicable to the dramatic entertainments of last week in London or in New York.

Goldsmith, writing fifty years later, mourned over the departed greatness of the drama of 1770 as compared with the grandeur of the previous age of Addison.

It may be that these critics failed to reflect that the drama is the necessary product of the age in which it lives, and of which it is the moral, social, and physical expression. It is divided into two classes. The first may be called the *contemporaneous* or *realistic* drama, which is a reflex of the features of the period, where the personages are life-size, the language partakes of their reality, and the incidents are natural. The object of this drama is to produce in the mind of the spectator sympathy with human suffering by effecting a perfect illusion that he is witnessing a destiny towards which the *dramatis personæ* are progressing. The other is the *transcendental* or *unreal* drama, where the personages are larger than life-size, their ideas and language more exalted than human conversation, and the incidents more important than we meet with in ordinary life. The object of this drama is to lift the

spectator into a high atmosphere, and to expand his moral stature by association with *dramatis personæ* of gigantic proportions. In this region the drama cannot produce perfectly the theatrical illusion, because we cannot sympathize with beings more noble than ourselves. The contemporaneous drama possesses an archæological value. It is the only faithful record of its age. In it the features, expression, manners, thoughts, and passions of its period are reflected and retained. In the plays of this kind written during the sixteenth century by Marlowe, Ford, Shakespeare, Decker, Jonson, Beaumont, Fletcher, and Massinger we are enabled to live and move amongst the society of the period. They recall to life the romantic characters, stately manners, and robust thought of the Elizabethan age. These heroic manners and aristocratic habits of expression were effaced by the Puritan incursion of the following century, when the Commonwealth depoetized the English people, and its rigidity and asceticism prepared them to welcome, as a relief, the licentious manners and exotic morals imported from France by the court of Charles II. The prose comedies of Wycherley and Congreve faithfully reflect the dissolute scenes and worthless characters of these times when sharpness of wit was preferred to breadth or depth of thought. As the sword had replaced the battle-axe, so skill was preferred to strength. This prose comedy was the natural and living drama of that age; but the depravity of Wycherley was not the fault of the writer, but merely the reflex of the blemishes on the face of the society he portrayed, and the greatness of Shakespeare belonged in a very great degree to the grandeur of the period which gave him a score of competitors like Jonson, Massinger, Beaumont, and Fletcher, whose presence alone provoked an almighty ardor and lashed his poetic soul into its supremest effort.

During the ensuing period, which reached to the end of the last century, a faint protest was made against the wanton stage of the Stuarts, in the shape of the *Sentimental Drama.* It will be remembered that society, immediately preceding the great political upheaval that commenced with the American revolution in 1776 and terminated with the consulate for life of Napoleon, exhibited the constitutional weakness that precedes dissolution. The sentimental drama was the expression of this moribund state. It was not the robust muse of the Elizabethan nor the sprightly Aspasia

of the later period, but a lymphatic nymph, weak and decrepid as the social system she reflected, full of sampler virtue, — a well-bred muse

> "Who never did a naughty thing,
> Nor ever said a wise one."

This kind of comedy fell piecemeal into the tomb about the same time that the feudal system, or what remained of it, was buried by the Revolution.

The Shakespearian age was meditative, aspiring, and romantic. Its literature was composed for the highly educated few. The ideal drama was to these times and manners born. This earth then afforded a home to fancy. In its untrodden forests and in its wildernesses it expanded a field for romantic adventure. The island of Prospero with its fantastic inhabitants was within the scope of imagination. The sylvan life in the forest of Ardennes was within the region of probability. The popular belief in witchcraft and ghosts being in full force, the scenes in "Macbeth," in the "Midsummer Night's Dream," and in "Richard III." appeared neither grotesque nor impossible. The known world was small, and man by comparison seemed more important and of larger stature. His acts appeared more godlike, and he assumed a higher and nobler attitude. In that atmosphere the unreal drama breathed its native element, and was surrounded with all the means of existence. As discovery enlarged our knowledge, man was belittled, until the hero became impossible. The unknown was explored and the ideal died a natural death. Wherefore our poets of this day appear to us rather an emanation of a bygone age into which their minds are translated; and, clothed in its costume, they sing of bygone heroes in bygone language and with bygone turns of thought. A line may be drawn across the middle of the seventeenth century to separate the grand old era of aspiring thought, when mankind turned their faces upward in meditation, from the modern active era of discovery when men turn their faces earthward in investigation.

The love of letters, which for many centuries had been almost exclusively an ecclesiastical monopoly, suddenly seized upon the nobility of Europe. Even the fair sex caught the educational infection. Few classical scholars of the present could have held their own in a contest with the Princess Marguerite of Valois or

with the modest Lady Jane Grey. At this time the masses had little share in this intellectual estate, which was held, as the land of England is now held, by the aristocratic few. The intellectual gymnasium became the courtly fashion, the school taking the place of the tilt-yard. Hence the number and power of the poets and philosophers that age encouraged and therefore produced.

The period of Dryden, Otway, Pope, and Addison may be distinguished as the age of fine gentlemen; wit had descended from the presence-chamber to the coffee-houses, and had not only lost its dignity but its decency. (About this time was invented the machine which first undertook to replace the action of the human mind and produce thought. I mean the newspaper press. The destructive action of this invention on literature will be referred to further on.)

During the last hundred years the mind of mankind has been eagerly devoted to the application of scientific discoveries to useful purposes, and particularly to the unification of political and commercial interests. Information has become a drug; investigation has set bounds to romance and rendered fancy ridiculous. The whole world is plotted out and turned into real estate. The island of Prospero is a thriving settlement, and if Rosalind should trespass into the forest of Ardennes, a sturdy keeper would take her into custody. Even the spiritual world has been staked out into claims. The ghosts that visited the couch of Richard were spirits in which the Shakespearian public devoutly believed. Ghosts are now secured by patent and produced by machinery by Professor Pepper. Such is the positive generation that calls its drama into existence, requiring the mind of the dramatist to be practical, utilitarian, to be in sympathetic accord with the minds of the people. He must not consider anything too deeply; his audience cannot follow him. He must not soar; their prosaic minds, heavy with facts, cannot rise. He cannot roam; their exact information turns him back at every step. I earnestly believe the human mind always maintains the same average level. There is always a Homer, a Virgil, a Dante, and a Shakespeare in existence, but mankind is pleased not to call them forth. A great artistic passion prevailed three hundred years ago. The world, setting all other things aside, called forth painters and sculptors to beautify the temples of God and the palaces of princes, and immediately the great classic band

appeared, headed by Rubens, Titian, Michael Angelo, Raphael, and Murillo. Such crops of great artists or great poets are not freaks of Nature, but the necessary results of human demand. If we have no such poets, painters, sculptors, or philosophers now, it is simply because the mind of the nineteenth century has other aspirations. So our Milton has been directed to dismount Pegasus and bestride the lightning which science has bridled, Shakespeare is occupied in editing a morning newspaper, Dante is exploring the Isthmus of Panama to locate an interoceanic canal, Bacon is trying to reach the North Pole, while Michael Angelo is inventing a sewing-machine. Great intellect, no longer meditative, is active. It has been diverted by command of the world to other objects and has accepted other functions.

These, my dear R——, seem to me the main cause for the decline of the drama, and why Hercules is a spinster. If it has descended below the level at which it ought to have rested, it owes its further decline to the destructive influence of the newspaper press.

This literary machine was invented about a century ago. In the language of the turf, it was sired by Essay out of Flying Post. At first its object was simply to circulate news. Then it began to manufacture opinion. As mankind became more and more busy in commercial affairs they had less time for meditation, and it was very convenient to buy opinions ready made, and to have their minds made up for them without the trouble of consideration. So this machine soon came into universal use, and the slow craftsman of literature, the old-fashioned thinker, the weaver of sound, strong argument, finding no market for his laboriously fashioned brain-produce, became a press man. The inexorable machine now calls upon him for so much composition, not for thought. He writes by the yard. It matters not whether his faculties are ill at ease or well-disposed, in vein or out of gear; *copy* must be had. This daily milking of his brain, this eternal diarrhœa of thought, has debilitated his mental system. He is under instructions to write for commonplace intellects, — that is, to treat his subjects in a shallow or showy manner, as "the impression" is only intended to live for one day. He is appreciated not for the truth of what he writes (that is a secondary matter), he is urged to be racy, and so learns to cover with pertness of style his baldness of treatment, and to put a satin face upon a shoddy argument.

I speak of the newspaper press as a literary man, and as it affects the constitution of literature. It is needless here to allude to its power and services as a cohesive agent in civilization. But to effect its purpose and to consolidate its dynasty, it was obliged to absorb our power as essayists and degrade our independence. We became subject to a training in which, it may be said, the march of intellect was regulated by the editorial goose step. By this means it raised a disciplined force, but by the process the race of literary heroes was extinguished.

As the newspaper press has prospered, so in proportion have the poet, the novelist, and the dramatist disappeared. In the commencement of this century the list of authors, headed by Byron, Shelley, Moore, Scott, Sheridan, Colman, Bulwer, and Knowles formed but a few of the phalanx. Where are their compeers of this period? They are private soldiers in the ranks of the press. Have you ever examined meditatively the counter of a bookseller? Have you not found nine out of ten new works of fiction, displayed there for sale, to be the product of female brains? Why do women almost monopolize this branch of literature? The answer is that men are recruited for the ranks of the press. That is wherefore we see women doing their work in the fields of literature.

But it may be remarked that surely some sturdy brain would rebel against this conscription and resolutely preserve its freedom. Such there are; but the press has, by depreciating the products of literature, cultivated millions of readers with no intelligence above or beyond the scope of a newspaper article. This multitudinous fry inhabit the shoals of thought, overwhelming the select few who still have stomach for works of greater reach and power.

In the drama the mischievous influence of the press is still more fatal in its effects. It has superseded and displaced the band of critics that used to stand upon guard over the production of a new play or the appearance of a new actor. This self-elected troop of exercised and experienced folk, priding itself in its power and its office, was cheerfully recognized by the rest of the public as a leader in taste. It was the body-guard of the drama. Its functions have been of late years usurped by the newspaper press, and the old critical band has been dissolved. Unfortunately the

newspaper critic is, and always has been, incapable of discharging these functions. I speak from a personal acquaintance with the most distinguished of these gentlemen that have misguided London, Paris, and New York during the last thirty years.

The dramatic critic should be thoroughly acquainted with the principles and craft of dramatic composition, the art of acting, a student in dramatic literature, and an experienced spectator of performances. If he has not this storage in his mind he is no more than one of the audience, perverted by a little knowledge. In a theatrical performance there is a perfect fusion of the author and actor. It is a nice appreciation only that can detect whether the merit of the author or the craft of the actor creates the effect, or how much applause is due to the one or the other. Again it requires a fine perception to follow a scene and discover through the misconception of the actor what the author really meant. Again, actors will from mere wantonness or idleness fail to deliver the words of their parts, and substitute their own; dramatic critics should be able at once to detect this impertinent chatter, distinguished by its flippancy from the more careful composition of the author's work. Yet I have known many instances where eminent newspaper critics have failed conspicuously in their judgment of plays at a first performance, attributing merit to the dramatist that properly belonged to the actor, and praising the performer for effects that really belonged to the author; sometimes eulogizing gross artistic vices, thereby encouraging the actor in his worst faults, and striking, as it were, his vices into his constitution.

It has happened to me to address an eminent artist on the morning after a first performance with the complaint that not only had he misrepresented the character confided to him, but that he had altered it and had interpolated language of his own to the detriment of the play. He answered this reproach by directing my attention to the columns of the London "Times," where his performance was eulogized, and the success of the play attributed largely to his buffoonery.

The editor of a newspaper regards the drama as a popular and trivial resort, and issues directions to his subordinate who "does the theatre" to be kind and say everything pleasant. This kindness is fatal to the best interests of the drama. The critic "must

be cruel only to be kind." Again, the theatres occupy a large space in the advertising columns of the press, and the newspaper is a commercial, not a literary enterprise. So the proprietor must take care of his customers, and the hired scribe writes as he is bid.

As a low state of health is liable to let in a score of maladies, so a low state of the drama has developed the *commercial manager*. This person in most instances received his education in a bar-room, possibly on the far side of the counter. The more respectable may have been gamblers. Few of them could compose a bill of the play where the spelling and grammar would not disgrace an urchin under ten years of age. These men have obtained possession of first-class theatres, and assume to exercise the artistic and literary functions required to select the actors, to read and determine the merit of dramatic works, and preside generally over the highest and noblest efforts of the human mind. The great theatres of London are filled by men of this class who have thus succeeded to the curule chairs of John Philip Kemble, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Macready, George Colman, and Charles Kean. To the commercial manager we owe the introduction of the burlesque, opera bouffe, and the reign of buffoonery. We owe him also the deluge of French plays that set in with 1842, and swamped the English drama of that period.

For example: the usual price received by Sheridan, Knowles, Bulwer, and Talfourd at that time for their plays was £500. I was a beginner in 1841, and received for my comedy, "London Assurance," £300. For that amount the manager bought the privilege of playing the work for his season. Three years later I offered a new play to a principal London theatre. The manager offered me £100 for it. In reply to my objection to the smallness of the sum he remarked, "I can go to Paris and select a first-class comedy; having seen it performed, I feel certain of its effect. To get this comedy translated will cost me £25. Why should I give you £300 or £500 for your comedy of the success of which I cannot feel so assured?" The argument was unanswerable and the result inevitable. I sold a work for £100 that took me six months' hard work to compose, and accepted a commission to translate three French plays at £50 apiece. This work afforded me child's play for a fortnight. Thus the English dramatist was obliged either to relinquish the stage altogether or to become a French copyist.

But the most irreparable loss inflicted on the stage by this management was the loss of *tradition.* From the earliest days there existed in the leading theatres of London groups of actors inhabiting Drury Lane, Covent Garden, and Haymarket Theatres, these being especially entitled to perform the highest class of drama, for which they had the monopoly, and consequently companies of artists were selected for the object of cultivating legitimate comedy and tragedy. These actors were the lineal artistic descendants of the great tragedians and comedians who preceded them on the same stages. The prompt-books were heirlooms of the art. From hand to hand, from mouth to mouth, the movement and gestures of every scene and every play were transmitted from generation to generation. The way in which Garrick or Betterton acted a certain part was compared with the manner and treatment of their predecessors in it, and the best parts of each performance were retained and employed by John Philip Kemble. He in turn was studied by Cooke and Young, who transmitted their traditions to Kean and Macready. The grouping of the actors on the stage, their relations to each other, their movements and gestures, all the product of the careful study of two or three centuries, formed this artistic treasure which we call tradition; and all this is utterly lost. The commercial manager having disbanded these leading companies of artists, all the wealth of the past has been dispersed.

Some thirty-five years ago I saw "Twelfth Night" played at Covent Garden Theatre in London. Miss Ellen Tree played *Viola;* Farren was the *Malvolio;* Keeley, Harley, Bartley, and Mrs. Humby filled the comic parts. I forget the cast, however, but I remember perfectly the action and movement of the play. A few weeks ago the same comedy was performed in New York. Miss Neilson was the *Viola.* It was sadly misrepresented from beginning to end. The actors knew their parts, but did not understand their characters. The movement presented a confusion not unlike an amateur performance, where each person betrays an awkward circumspective doubt that there is something wrong somewhere. There had been, in truth, no skilled interpreter of the play to regulate the movement, no stage manager to instruct the performer how his or her part should be played. It was a muddle, where both audience and actors were equally in helpless ignorance of

the author. The following day the New York press dilated on the perfection of the performance, being the most ignorant of the three.

These, my dear R——, appear to be some of the reasons for the decline and fall of the drama of late years. There are three constituent factors in the drama: the author who writes, the actor who performs, and the public that receives. Of these three the public is the most important, for it calls into existence the other two as infallibly as demand creates supply. When our people shall demand the highest class of dramatic entertainment, a Shakespeare and a Garrick will appear. Until then, my dear friend, the world will rest contented with such poor things as you and me.

DION BOUCICAULT.

Art. III. — The War in the East.

PART II.

We stated in a preceding paper * that the permanent army of the Caucasus, including the Cossacks of the Kuban, has long been understood to amount to nearly 170,000 men of all arms, and, with the supports available, it was reasonable to assume the capacity of the Russians to operate in Armenia with as many troops as the supplies and communications permitted, and that they would at every important point be superior in force to their antagonist. The result has not supported this assumption, but has shown either that the available Russian strength in the Caucasus has been vastly overrated, or that a very large portion of it was retained within their own territory to oppose the Turkish expeditions to Sugkhum-Kalé and other points on the coast, and to put down the insurrection of the native tribes, or that it has been unskilfully applied. On the 23d of April columns crossed the frontier from Poti, moving upon Batoum, from Alexandropol upon Kars, and from Erivan upon Bayazeth. The attempt to cut the communication from Batoum into the interior was immediately successful, and the subsequent attacks by the Russians at that point were probably intended to drive the Turks as close in upon the town as possible, so that their own position might be shortened and more men made available for other operations. On the left, Bayazeth was occupied on the 26th, and the Erivan column moved by Dijadin and Kara-Killissa, in the direction of Toprakh-Kalé and Deli-Baba. The central column moved on Kars. Early in May another column moved from Akhaltzik upon Ardahan, and on the 17th of that month breached the works and carried the place by assault. The headquarters of the central column were now at Mazra, near Kars, which was invested, and a cavalry force thrown towards the Saganlugh. About the same time the left column reached Utsch-Kilissa, in the valley of the Murad Euphrates, with its advanced guard at Jeranos and Chamur, where a mountain road from Kagysman

* North American Review, July–August, 1877, p. 35.

TURKEY IN EUROPE

WALLACHIA
BULGARIA
ROUMELIA
BLACK SEA
Danube R.
Mouths of the Danube
Kenani
Karnabad
Kochja
Rimnik Vultchea
Kurtbunar
Kimpolung
Rukar
Kimpulung
Rimnik
Galatz
Ibraila
Isakdja
Matchin
Tultcha
Babadagh
Tismana
Targochiu
Slatina
Craiova
Bucharest
Giurgevo
Rustchuk
Silistria
Kustendji
Mangalia
Varna
Baltschik
Kavarna
Cape Eminek
Missivri
Burgas
Sizebolu
Widin
Kalafat
Celati
Karakal
Turna
Nikopoli
Sistova
Plevna
Lovatz
Tirnova
Sophia
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Midiah
Sarai
Eregli
Constantinople
Radowitz
Strumnitza
Nevrekop
Melnik
Demirhissar
Doirana
Drama
Tchaglank
Gumurdjina
Ipsata
Airobol
Tchorlu
Tchataldcha
Buiuk Kilissia
Karaburun
Papaskoi
Kirdchaly
Usun Kopru
Dimotika
Ainada
Visa
Tchiftlik
Tchiflik
Kasan
Eski Djuma
Eski Stambol
Osmanbasar
Karnabat
Jeni Sagra
Janboli
Ienidjeli
Omur Fakhi
Rumilikoi
Kavakmar
Tchirpan
Samakow
Ichtiman
Dubnitza
Ghiustendil
Radomir
Stadtia
Orchanie
Edrobal
Trojan
Pirot
Chalkaly
Sirghnik
Wratza
Berkowatz
Ichtiprowatz
Mikrowatz
Driquowatz
Tschirprowatz
Nissa
Arzer Palanka
Arnat R.
Tschibol
Kalarash
Rahowa
Gulschen
Ischelo
Ischtip
Kamenopol
Senovia
Bjela
Rasgrad
Shumla
Prawadi
Kosludchy
Kayarna B.
C. Kalagria
Baldjik
Basardchyk
Ismilvar
Kasanlyk
Selvi
Kopnikoi
Debsrat
Karnabat
Rumilikoi
Slatina
Wischina
Ploiesti
Targovist
Tergova
Urzicheni
Slobozia
Hirchova
Babadagh
Likoresti
Kustendji
Rassowa
Kisgun
Faleshti
Jalomnitza R.
Ardjisch R.
Wedeni
Kimpulung
Buseo
Rimnik
Kikineta
Lutchu
Dojan
Jmpelnitza
Tismana
Targochiu
Slatina
Craiova
Gladowa
Zinzeren
Motru
Berza Planka
Celati
Widin
Kalafat
Danube R.
Arzer Palanka
Arnat R.
Tschibol
Kalarash
Rahowa
Gulschen
Ischelo
Ischtip
Turna
Nikopoli
Sistova
Giurgevo
Rustchuk
Bucharest
Wischina
Slatina
Craiova
Karakal
Olt R.
Aluta R.
Jalomnitza R.
Ardjisch R.
Dambovitza R.
Sereth R.
Buseo
Rimnik
Galatz
Ibraila
Isakdja
Matchin
Tultcha
Babadagh
Mouths of the Danube
Black Sea
Mangalia
Varna
Baltschik
Kavarna
Cape Eminek
Missivri
Burgas
Sizebolu
Widin
Kalafat
Danube R.
Celati
Karakal
Turna
Nikopoli
Sistova
Plevna
Lovatz
Tirnova
Sophia
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Midiah
Sarai
Eregli
Constantinople
Radowitz
Strumnitza
Nevrekop
Melnik
Demirhissar
Doirana
Drama
Tchaglank
Gumurdjina
Ipsata
Airobol
Tchorlu
Tchataldcha
Buiuk Kilissia
Karaburun
Papaskoi
Kirdchaly
Usun Kopru
Dimotika
Ainada
Visa
Tchiftlik
Tchiflik
Kasan
Eski Djuma
Eski Stambol
Osmanbasar
Karnabat
Jeni Sagra
Janboli
Ienidjeli
Omur Fakhi
Rumilikoi
Kavakmar
Tchirpan
Samakow
Ichtiman
Dubnitza
Ghiustendil
Radomir
Stadtia
Orchanie
Edrobal
Trojan
Pirot
Chalkaly
Sirghnik
Wratza
Berkowatz
Ichtiprowatz
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Arzer Palanka
Arnat R.
Tschibol
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Faleshti

enters the valley, and nearly half-way from Bayazeth to Erzeroum. A detachment from this column had reached Arnis, on Lake Van, and hostile Kurds were collecting at Bitlis and Diarbekir.

The Turks still held Getchevan and Deli-Mussa. About the 26th, or a little earlier, Kars was being bombarded, and the Russian scouts had appeared near Olti, where the Turkish left was collecting. At the end of May the extreme right of the Russians was still in front of Batoum, while the right wing of the active army was in small force at Olti; the cavalry patrols of the centre had advanced to Vezinvaisin; the left was still at Utsch-Kilissa, with its advanced guard near Toprakh-Kalé.

The Turkish left was then in rear of Olti; the centre in the Saganlugh in a strong position near Zevin; the right in front of Deli-Baba, with its advanced guard at Toprakh-Kalé.

Early in June the advance of the Russian left induced Muktar Pasha to establish his headquarters at Kopri-Koi, on the Araxes, where the roads from Bayazeth and Kars unite; he left a strong force at Zevin to oppose any advance of the Russian centre; his right remained at Deli-Baba, and his left in rear of Nariman. About this time he received reinforcements stated to amount to twenty-four battalions.

Up to this time everything had gone well with the Russians, in spite of the delays resulting from bad weather, and snow in the passes and on the high plateaus, and it was generally announced that the Turkish commander was so much impressed with the folly of attempting to resist the concentric advance of his antagonist upon Erzeroum that he had determined to abandon the Saganlugh, Karatschli, and Kosch passes, and fall back upon Erzeroum as the only method of extricating his army and its material. But this announcement was premature; the Turk not only held his ground, but assumed the offensive, and the Russian, with success supposed to be fully within his grasp, soon lost most of what he had gained.

Muktar had learned that the Russian wings at Olti and in the valley of the Murad Euphrates were very weak, and as there was no appearance of an immediate attack by their centre, he determined to push forward both his wings. He therefore first reinforced his left, so that it consisted of eleven battalions, three regiments of cavalry, and six mountain guns, and ordered its advance upon Olti. The Russians, who do not seem to have had more than

three battalions and a small force of cavalry and artillery, which, it would now appear, were sent out merely as a reconnoissance, fell back without fighting beyond Nessipennek to the Kanly Mountains, where they do not appear to have been further molested. The Turks reoccupied Olti on the 7th of June.

On the 9th of June the Russian left occupied Zaidikhan, at the foot of the Kosch passes. Still more reassured by the retreat of the Russian right from Olti, Muktar now reinforced his own right at Deli-Baba to seventeen battalions, two field and one mountain battery, and some eight hundred cavalry, and ordered its advance upon the Russians at Zaidikhan. The Russians, who were decidedly inferior in the number of infantry, but superior in cavalry and artillery, did not await the attack, but on the 14th moved out of Zaidikhan to meet the Turks; the 15th was spent in manœuvring for position, and on the 16th the Russians attacked the Turks at Taghir, and completely routed them. The result was the occupation of the passes by the victors; but their numbers were too small to permit them to follow up their success. A few more battalions — certainly another division — would have enabled them to seize Kopri-Koi, and co-operate with the attack made upon Zevin by the centre a few days later.

Meanwhile serious events had taken place in rear of the Russian left column. A force coming from Lake Van had reoccupied the town of Bayazeth, and shut up the small Russian garrison in the citadel.

We have as yet no information in regard to the reasons which prevented the relief of Bayazeth by a fresh column from Erivan, nor can we yet form an opinion whether the victors of Taghir had commenced their preparations for marching to the relief of their besieged comrades before the occurrence we are about to relate. Upon receiving intelligence of the rout at Taghir, Muktar quickly assembled fresh troops to the amount of fourteen battalions, two field batteries, ten mountain guns, and twenty-five hundred cavalry, and with this force, brought up to nineteen battalions by the remnants from the battle of Taghir, advanced in person to attack the Russian left. The Russians had ten battalions, eight field-guns, some mountain guns and cavalry.

On the 21st the Turks attacked the Russian position with a good deal of persistency, but were repulsed with heavy loss. The

accounts from an English correspondent with the Turkish army make this very clear, and also that during the night the Russians fell back unmolested to Zaidikhan. From this point they continued their retreat, which does not seem to have been seriously interfered with, notwithstanding the Turkish official reports to the contrary.

Before proceeding to Bayazeth the retreating Russian left moved to Igdyr, a point within their own territory about thirty miles southwest of Erivan, and about eighteen miles northwest of Mount Ararat, where they promptly replenished their supplies, and at once moved towards Bayazeth. On the 12th of July the Turkish investing force, some thirteen thousand strong, was attacked and routed, so that the gallant little garrison was at once relieved. The Russians now retired undisturbed to Igdyr, where they have since remained, and it is now stated that they have been considerably reinforced. While these operations were in progress on the left, a division of the Russian centre, under Mellikoff, attacked the Turkish centre at Zevin-Dooz, on the 25th of June, four days after the final attack upon the left.

The position of Zevin-Dooz was very strong on the right and front, being covered in those directions by a very difficult ravine, which was swept by artillery fire, and whose sides were almost impassable by troops. The left flank was much more open, and afforded good cover for attacking troops. This was the weakest part of the position in regard to its natural condition, and the defensive arrangements of the Turks. The position is said to have been held by twenty-one battalions, with a small cavalry force and twelve guns. The Russians attacked with fifteen battalions and twenty-four guns. They appeared in front of the position during the morning of the 25th, and, without waiting to rest the men or reconnoitre the position, at once attacked the right, or strongest part. From the nature of the ground, the Russian artillery could produce very little effect, firing from a position below the Turkish guns. For the same reason their infantry fire did little harm, while they were fully exposed to the fire of the Turkish artillery and infantry, and, in addition, the ground over which they were to advance was so precipitous as to be almost impassable. Time after time the Russians renewed their fruitless assaults with the utmost gallantry, until about half past eight at night, when they

were withdrawn, after losing nearly a fourth of those engaged. They were not pursued, and gradually retreated to the vicinity of Kars, where they united with the besieging force. Muktar Pasha followed at a respectful distance, and opened his communication with the garrison of the besieged city on the 8th of July. Before his arrival the besieging army gradually drew back to their intrenched camp at Zaim, about eight miles northeast of Kars, where they remained long enough to cover the withdrawal of their siege material, and finally fell back, unpursued, to the heights of Kurukdere, about half-way to Alexandropol, where they awaited reinforcements.

On the 24th of June the Russians in front of Batoum were attacked. The Turks claim a victory. The Russians state that they completely repulsed the attack, but that, in consequence of the large reinforcements received by the Turks, they subsequently abandoned the position they had so long occupied. Whichever statement is true, the result was that the Russians withdrew from Batoum, and took up positions along the frontier between Fort St. Nicholas and Ozurgeti.

The net material results of this first series of operations in Armenia were the capture of Ardahan and the occupation of a strong position, within Turkish territory, in front of Alexandropol. It remains to be seen why a campaign commenced with such high hopes and brilliant prospects terminated in failure.

In the first place, it must be said that the Russian regimental officers and men of all arms evinced the greatest devotion, endurance, courage, and skill; so the fault does not lie with them. The first great error appears to have been that the plan of operations was too extended for the force employed.

We cannot as yet ascertain with absolute certainty the Russian strength in Armenia; but the best information available indicates that the infantry force in front of Batoum consisted of eight or ten battalions, probably nine; the Ardahan column seems to have had only nine battalions; the central or Kars column, from forty to forty-five; the left column, twelve battalions, of which two were left in garrison at Bayazeth, — making in all seventy-five battalions at most.

It is stated that the Turks had from thirty-four to thirty-six battalions in Batoum, twenty-nine in garrison in Kars, thirty

brought up by Muktar after the battle of Zevin-Dooz, seventeen who fought at Taghir, fourteen fresh battalions who took part in the affair of Zaidikhan on the 21st of June, at least four left near Olti, perhaps ten at Bayazeth; these would make one hundred and thirty-nine battalions, and with the reserves at Erzeroum, guarding communications, it would amount to at least one hundred and fifty battalions, or double the number of the Russian battalions. Omitting the large number practically useless at Batoum, the preponderance was still largely against the Russians, as one hundred and fifteen to sixty-five. The Turkish battalions may have been weaker, but the Russians were at every point outnumbered by troops in intrenched positions, except at Kars, and there, also, when the detachment under Mellikoff had moved to Zevin.

With the force actually at the disposal of the Russians the only chance of success, under the plan of operations adopted, was to leave the smallest possible number of troops to invest Kars, and push all their columns forward with the greatest rapidity, but with entire co-ordination, upon Erzeroum before the Turks could receive reinforcements and complete their preparations for defence. Under such circumstances it is probable that success might have crowned their efforts.

But to carry out the actual plan so as to insure success under all probable contingencies, it would appear that at least one hundred and twenty battalions would be necessary. This would have given a full division of twelve battalions in front of Batoum; a full division for the active column from Ardahan to Olti; a brigade for the garrison of Bayazeth, and three brigades for Tergukassoff's active column on the left, and an active column of from two and a half to three divisions in the centre. With such forces the campaign ought to have been entirely successful, especially if the active columns had advanced promptly and made the attack on Olti, Zevin, and Deli-Baba simultaneously. With the troops actually in hand, the probabilities are that they would have accomplished more satisfactory results by remaining entirely on the defensive in the direction from Erivan to Bayazeth, and concentrating the greatest possible force around Kars to push and cover the siege. It was well to mask Batoum and capture Ardahan in any event. A substantial repetition of Paskévitch's campaign of

1828 would have been well suited to the actual condition of affairs.

We are as yet entirely ignorant of so many circumstances which influenced the Russian commanders that it is very difficult to pass judgment upon their actions, but from what we now know certain general conclusions may be reached, subject to revision when fuller information reaches us. Considering the disparity of forces represented as existing at Batoum, the Russian commander in front of that place did his work admirably, and neutralized nearly four times his own strength. The commander of the Ardahan column evinced great energy and skill in the prompt capture of that place, and there is no reason to believe that he could have accomplished more than he afterwards did with the small force at his disposal.

General Tergukassoff, on the left, displayed very high qualities; he fought the battle of Taghir with great skill and energy, and there seems to be nothing to criticise in his movements. His force was too small to enable him to follow up his victory, and his retreat after the affair of the 21st was no doubt rendered necessary by the threatening attitude of the Turks at Bayazeth, who held his communications, and by the absence of any hope of effective co-operation by the central column. It remains to be explained why those charged with the supreme direction of the campaign left so important a point as Bayazeth so weakly guarded, and why a fresh column was not immediately sent to its relief from Erivan, thus enabling Tergukassoff to hold his own at Deli-Baba.

General Melikoff's attack upon Zevin seems to have been ill-timed and very badly conducted; it was too late to aid Tergukassoff, but would probably have succeeded if well managed.

The probability is that the advance of this column was delayed by the necessity of fortifying positions around Kars to enable a small force to oppose sorties of the garrison and keep them hemmed in. If Melikoff's attack had been successfully made a few days earlier, the result of the campaign would have been very different; but under all the circumstances, as now known to us, the advance of this column was ill-advised as committing too much to chance. It would have been better to hold it intact for covering the siege.

We cannot close this branch of our subject without calling attention to the immense advantage the Turks enjoyed in the

TURKEY IN ASIA

J. Bien. Photo Lith.

naval control of the Black Sea. This enabled them to land troops at Sugkhum-Kalé, to stir up insurrections in the Caucasus, to hold Batoum, and to send supplies and reinforcements into Armenia by way of Trebizond. On the other hand, the Russians were obliged to divert large forces to act against the insurgents, to watch Sugkhum-Kalé and other points on the coast, and to mask Batoum; it also obliged them to use a long land-route for supplies.

Had the Russians possessed the naval control of the Black Sea, their successes in Armenia would have been prompt and complete.

Many months ago, while negotiations were pending for the solution of the vexed question of the East, Russia, in order to be prepared for any eventuality, quietly commenced the concentration of troops and supplies in Bessarabia, the province adjacent to the Danubian Principalities. The point chosen for the headquarters was Kischenev, on the railroad leading from Jassy in Moldavia to the Odessa Railway, and thus connected with the entire system of Russian railroads. Here the work of concentration and preparation was unremittingly urged, until the fruitlessness of negotiations was universally admitted, and the season for operations approached. War was formally declared on the 24th of April, and on the preceding day the advanced guards crossed the frontier into Roumania.

By a rapid and well-conducted march of about forty miles in thirty-six hours, the advanced guard of the fourteenth corps occupied Galatz and Brailov, and secured possession of the very important railroad bridge over the Sereth at Barboschi, between the last-named cities, while the rest of the army proceeded to the occupation of the Principalities.

To form an idea of the magnitude of this work, it must be remembered that the distance from the point of crossing the frontier near Kischeney to Bucharest is more than three hundred and thirty miles by the circuitous railway, and more than two hundred and fifty by the common roads. From Bucharest to Sistova is about sixty-five miles, and to Kalafat nearly two hundred miles; while, following the roads along the northern bank of the Danube, it is more than four hundred miles from Kalafat to Isatchki, where the Russians first crossed in 1828. The first task of the Russians was the solid occupation of the Principalities and the left bank of the Danube, the accumulation of men, material, and supplies,

the isolation or destruction of the Turkish gunboats in the river, by means of batteries and torpedoes, and the preparation of means for crossing the river. In the campaigns of Wittgenstein and Diebitsch, and at the commencement of the Crimean War, before the Allies intervened, the Russians enjoyed the great advantage of the control of the Black Sea, which simplified the question of reinforcement and supplies, and made it advantageous to rest their left on the Black Sea during the advance to and beyond the Balkans.

At present the Turkish fleet commands the Euxine, which forces the Russians to adopt an interior line of communication. As there is only one railway from Bessarabia into the Principalities, and because for many weeks after the first advance the rains and floods rendered the common roads wellnigh impassable, the work of accumulation and preparation was difficult in the extreme, and required much time. On the other hand, the waters of the Danube were long so high that a crossing could not be effected, so that the time spent in waiting for the supplies required for an advance in force was by no means wasted.

Thus far the Russians have succeeded admirably in concealing their strength. Eight army corps have been mentioned by their distinguishing numbers as being on the Danube, and statements have been made that there are eleven corps on and near the Danube, with others *en route*. The number of the troops have been variously given as from 270,000 to more than 400,000 men.

It appears that the organization of the army corps in the field is two divisions of infantry and one of cavalry, with the corresponding artillery; some corps, as, for example, the sixth, have three divisions of infantry. The rifle brigades, of which there are eight in the whole army, each of four battalions, are probably not permanently assigned to any corps, but act with those having most need of their services; for example, in the recent movement of General Gourkha across the Balkans, he was accompanied by at least one of these rifle brigades, and it may prove to be the case that his force consisted chiefly of these troops and cavalry.

It is clear, from all the accounts that reach us, that the Russian force in the field is large; the nature and extent of their movements would prove this to be the case, were it not that the insufficiency of the forces with which the Armenian campaign was

undertaken would justify us in suggesting the possibility, but not the probability, of a similar mistake on the Danube.

We shall probably be safe in estimating the Russian force in the European field of war at eleven army corps, which, with the rifle brigades, reserve artillery and cavalry, engineer troops, etc., would give something like 325,000 effective combatants, in addition to the Roumanian army, and such troops as may be procured for police duty, etc., from among the inhabitants of Bulgaria. To what extent these troops can be reinforced depends upon questions of communication and supplies, — really the most difficult part of the Russian task.

About the middle of June the waters of the Danube had fallen so much as to indicate that the crossing would soon be practicable, while the preparations for an advance were nearly complete. On the 20th of June the crossing commenced at Galatz, where ten companies of infantry crossed in boats, and gallantly attacked the heights in rear, held by troops of all arms; they carried the position, and held it until reinforced on the return of the boats.

As soon as the crossing at Galatz was successfully accomplished, a bridge was built at Brailov, and the troops poured rapidly into the Dobrudscha. On the 25th some 18,000 crossed at Hirsova, and effected their junction with those who had crossed below. As far as can be ascertained the sixth and fourteenth corps, five divisions of infantry, were engaged in the movement, and numbered at least 60,000 men. Matchin and the other fortified towns of the Upper Dobrudscha promptly fell into their hands, and it is to be assumed that steps were taken at once to perfect and secure the means of crossing the river, to bring up ample supplies for further movements, and to clear the banks of the Danube as far up as Silistria, and the shores of the Euxine north of Varna.

The foothold in the Dobrudscha, the cannonading of Rustchuk, Nikopoli, and other fortresses, and feints at various points so completely distracted the attention of the Turks that the passage of the Danube was forced at Simnitza early in the morning of the 27th of June.

A day or two previously four pontoon trains, of fifty-two boats each, were quietly collected in Simnitza. The eighth corps, under General Ravetsky, had the honor of leading the way in this very

delicate and dangerous undertaking. General Dragomiroff's division, the fourteenth, was the first to cross. During the night of the 25th Dragomiroff's division reached Simnitza, and remained concealed therein, while bridges were built over two narrow arms of the river separating the northern shore from a wide mud-flat which borders the main stream.

At dark on the evening of the 26th the pontoons and troops moved out of Simnitza; the guns were placed in position among the willows lining the river-bank, and the preparations completed as rapidly as possible. At one o'clock on the morning of the 27th the whole of the fifty-third regiment, twelve companies, with eight mountain guns, entered the boats and started for the Bulgarian shore. If our memory serves us, the fifty-third is the regiment of Volkynia, which in the Crimean War so acquitted itself in the memorable defence of Sebastopol as to gain a reputation akin to that of the fifty-seventh French regiment in the army of the First Empire, which was known as "Le Terrible," and bore upon its colors the proud motto, "Un contre dix." If we are correct in this, the fifty-third was well selected to lead the main army of Russia in its advance across the Danube, and, knowing how much of the glory of the past, success in the present, and hope for the future rested upon its valor, it nobly performed the momentous duty devolved upon it.

When the boats were about half-way over the Turks discovered the movement, and at once opened a heavy fire, which did not for a moment check the advance of the fifty-third. From the force of the current the line of boats became somewhat disarranged, and reached the shore at unequal intervals.

The river-bank at this point is very steep and difficult to climb, and the ground rises in a succession of terraces, each offering a strong position for defence. Any of our readers who participated in the landing of Worth's division at Vera Cruz will well remember how officers and men, without waiting for the boats to touch the shore, eagerly leaped into the water and rushed to the first line of sand-hills, behind which they expected to find the enemy. So in this case the Russians sprang from the boats, climbed the first bluff with great difficulty, and at once came into action; for the Turks, supine as they are, were more on the alert than the Mexicans. The boats returned at once for more troops, and continued constantly

plying across the river. As more men landed, the Russians continually gained ground, and steadily advanced, gradually enlarging the area in their possession. Up to eight o'clock they fought in groups, as they happened to come together; about that hour companies and battalions were formed, and after that all went on regularly. It is stated that the Turks had at least 6,000 infantry at hand soon after the crossing commenced, and at least one battery and a half. About one o'clock in the afternoon the Russian field-guns began to cross, and by two o'clock the Turks were driven out of Sistova and beyond the commanding heights, so that the crossing was fully secured. The boats steadily continued their work, and so successfully that when evening came all the infantry of the eighth corps and the fourth rifle brigade were firmly established on the Bulgarian bank, and the thirty-fifth division of the thirteenth corps was in the act of crossing.

The Russian arrangements were admirable, for the Turks were completely deceived, and this most delicate operation was accomplished with a loss of less than a thousand officers and men in killed, drowned, and wounded. While the passage of troops in boats continued, the construction of a bridge was begun on the 28th, and, notwithstanding the interruption caused by a storm, was completed on the 2d of July, when the cavalry, artillery, and trains commenced pouring over. By the 3d of July the Russian outposts extended some eighteen or twenty miles from the river, with cavalry patrols pushed still farther south. The time had thus passed when the Turks could hope to prevent the further crossing of the Russians; their only chance was on the 27th and 28th, when, if their troops had been properly posted, they might have crushed those who first crossed before artillery and reinforcements could be brought over to support them. The attempt to prevent a large army from passing a long river by posting a weak cordon of troops along its course must almost necessarily fail. All that can be done is to watch carefully, so that the first attempt to cross may be promptly discovered, and, having already posted the troops intended for the defence in strong bodies at convenient points in rear, march them rapidly to the crossing-place, and at once attack those already over before they can be fully supported. The chief danger and difficulty in crossing a large river is in the fact that all reinforcements and supplies must come by one or

two narrow bridges, which may at any time give way, and over which progress is slow at best; so that there always is in such cases the contingency that a portion of the crossing army may be completely separated from the rest and exposed, without the possibility of retreat, to the attack of the whole of the hostile army.

The Russians had thus carried out the second great object of the campaign; their left being over the Danube in the Dobrudscha, their right interposed between Widdin and Rustchuk. Between the right and left was the Quadrilateral; between both and Constantinople lay the Balkans. The preliminaries thus accomplished with marked success, the real and decisive work lay before them. So much has been said about "Quadrilaterals," that the term appears to be invested in the minds of many with some mysterious power, so that it may be well to devote a little space to this particular Quadrilateral, that our readers may be able to form some opinion as to what it will do for the Turks.

It is an irregular figure, at whose angles are the fortresses of Rustchuk, Silistria, Varna, and Shumla. The northern side is formed by the Danube, whose course from Rustchuk to Silistria is about seventy miles; the eastern side is an imaginary line, about fifty miles long, from Silistria to Varna; the river Devna may be taken as the south side, and it is about fifty miles from Varna to Shumla; the railway from near Shumla to Rustchuk may be considered as the western side, and is about sixty-two miles long. The ordinary and natural line of supply of these fortresses is through Varna and by the Black Sea. A railway extends from Varna to Rustchuk, passing through Pravadi and Rasgrad, and near Jenibasar; from the vicinity of the latter place a short branch of about twelve miles leads to Shumla.

At the present juncture it may be of interest to give a little more detailed information in relation to the four fortresses.

Rustchuk has some sixty thousand inhabitants, and is the seat of a very considerable commerce; it is dirty, and badly built. It is in the obtuse angle formed by the Lom and the Danube, and is commanded by high ground in the rear; but this difficulty has been met by the construction of a line of advanced earth redoubts, which must be carried before the town can be assaulted. Unless very great changes have been made quite recently, the most advanced and important of these, from its situation, is the Dajdsler Fort, which is on the left bank of the Lom, about four

thousand yards from the town, and takes in reverse the approaches to the other redoubts. This would naturally be the first point of attack in a regular siege, unless the attack were confined altogether to the extreme eastern portion of the line. To what extent the advanced works have been strengthened and increased of late we have no means of ascertaining; ample time has certainly been allowed to prepare for an obstinate defence, and the railway has afforded the means of supplying the place abundantly. As is the case with the other works of the Quadrilateral, the strength of the defence consists altogether in the advanced redoubts; their line once broken, the places will be at the mercy of the Russian artillery.

Silistria has some twenty thousand inhabitants, and is on the Danube, about eight miles above the mouth of the Tuban. It is on rather low ground, commanded by the heights in rear, which here also are occupied by advanced redoubts. The northern bank of the Danube is low and marshy, and just below the town are three marshy islands, — Salgan, Hoppo, and Prival, — which towards the close of the impending siege may be used by the Russians with advantage. Unless very great changes have been made during the last few months, the advanced redoubt known as the Arab Fort would naturally be the first point of attack.

Varna is a place of twenty-five thousand inhabitants, on a shallow open bay at the mouth of the Devna; the harbor is not very good. The permanent fortifications are not strong, and could be breached from a distance, were it not for the line of advanced redoubts.

Shumla has been sufficiently described in a preceding article; it has thirty thousand inhabitants. From the fact that the crossing at Simnitza and the subsequent advance to Tirnova were not seriously interfered with, and that the army of the Dobrudscha has been permitted to move upon Silistria without interference, it is to be inferred that the garrisons of Rustchuk and Silistria are only large enough to defend the works, and do not attain the magnitude of armies. The probabilities are that the mass of the Turkish forces in Bulgaria are at or near Plevna, Shumla, and Varna.

The fortresses at the angles of the Quadrilateral are of use as affording secure depots of supply for the active army, and points of support and retreat for it in the event of disaster. It is only in this regard, as facilitating and covering the movements of a large

active army in its vicinity, that such a Quadrilateral is of any especial importance. So far as the fortresses themselves are concerned, if left to themselves with merely the garrisons required for defence, they are of no especial value, and influence the ground only a little beyond the range of their guns.

For example, in this case, Rustchuk and Silistria would merely make a crossing of the river under their guns impossible, and compel the selection of other points less favorable so far as the ground is concerned. But a fortress near an enemy's line of march and communication must be watched, no matter how small the garrison; and the besieging or observing force should as a rule be superior in strength to the garrison, so that when the contending armies are nearly equal the necessity for besieging or watching several fortresses will reduce the available force of the party thus engaged below that of its antagonist.

When the attacking party is so superior in numbers that it can furnish the requisite beseiging armies without losing its superiority in the field, the fortresses have lost much of their value, which to a great extent consists in neutralizing forces much superior to the garrisons.

Now, to prevent the garrisons of Rustchuk and Silistria from interfering with their communication across the Danube, the Russians must hem in and neutralize these garrisons; and the best and most effectual method of doing it is to blockade or besiege them.

If the forces of the combatants are so nearly equal that when the Russians are weakened by the necessary detachments, the Turks can attack them on the line of Jantra near Tirnova, with well-grounded hopes of success, then Shumla will be of great service to them as affording supplies for the movement, and a place of refuge in the event of disaster.

Varna would play the same part in relation to an attack upon Zimmerman's army in the Dobrudscha. If the Turks lost a battle near Silistria or Rustchuk, these fortresses would afford them places of shelter, but they would be hemmed in without the hope of relief unless from the successful advance of an entirely new army, while at Shumla or Varna they might be reinforced and refitted for another attempt.

Before the completion of the bridge at Simnitza on the 2d of July, considerable parties of cavalry must have crossed in boats, for on the 1st they appeared at Biela and on the 2d at Tirnova,

nearly forty miles south of the Danube. The first occupation of these places was only temporary, but on the 5th Biela was occupied by the head of General Gourkha's column, which was at once relieved by other troops, while the general moved on to Tirnova, which he occupied with dragoons, on the 7th driving out a considerable force of Turkish infantry and artillery; he was reinforced by infantry and artillery within a day or two. Meanwhile troops and supplies were constantly passing over the river, and massing in readiness for an advance. On the 2d July the army in the Dobrudscha had come in contact with the Turks along the line of the Kostendgi and Tschernavoda railway.

Kostendgi appears to have been occupied by the Russians on the 15th.

While Gourkha undertook the movements which will presently be described, a column moved from Sistova upon Nikopoli, and at once attacked it from the south, assisted by the batteries at Turna on the north bank. The result was, that after some hard fighting the place and the remains of its garrison,— some two thousand regulars and forty guns, — together with two gunboats, surrendered on the morning of the 16th. This success was of very great importance to the Russians, as giving them a second and excellent crossing of the middle Danube, and greatly facilitating their operation against the force moving down upon their right from the direction of Widdin and Plevna. Soon after the occupation of Tirnova the movement upon the Balkans commenced. The ninth division marched through Dranova upon Gabrova at the foot of the Shipka Pass, while General Gourkha, covered by this advance, turned off at Tirnova and moved to Elena, whence he made a reconnoissance to Osmanbasar in order to satisfy himself whether the Turkish left extended beyond that point, and covered the portion of the Balkans he intended to cross. After some fighting he ascertained that his projected route was clear, and drew off, leaving the Turks under the impression that they had repulsed a serious attack, for they did not suspect his real motive. Conducted by Bulgarian guides, he now moved rapidly towards the Hanskoi Pass, about midway between Slivno and the Shipka Pass. The Hanskoi seems to be one of the unused passes, known to few beyond the Bulgarian Christian refugees who for generations have made their homes in the midst of the fastnesses of the Balkans. No full and satisfactory accounts of the composition of Gourkha's force have reached us, but

it is known to have comprised one rifle brigade, probably the fourth, some Cossack infantry and cavalry, a Bulgarian legion, regular cavalry, and some artillery,—probably mountain guns. This force, which appears to have done all the fighting, may have been only the advanced guard of the command, but it probably constituted the whole column. On the 14th Gourkha seized the pass, and on the 15th his advanced guard was attacked near Kanaro, but repulsed the enemy and occupied the place. On the same day the Cossack cavalry moved down the Tundscha Valley, and at Jeni Saghra cut the railway and telegraph connecting Jamboli with the Adrianople Railway. On the 16th Gourkha marched towards Kassanlik, but on his way encountered Turkish troops of all arms in a strong position at Uplami. He promptly attacked and completely routed this force, inflicting heavy losses upon them. On the 17th he continued his march on Kassanlik, skirmishing all day, and occupied the place late in the afternoon, thus closing the southern outlet of the Shipka Pass, which was still held by the Turks. On the same day detachments from the ninth division attacked the pass from the north, and after very severe fighting carried the outer line of intrenchments, where they remained during the night. On the 18th Gourkha advanced into the pass from Kassanlik. The Turks now offered to surrender, but availed themselves of the time occupied in negotiating to escape during the night in a thoroughly disorganized condition. The Russians captured all their guns and material. Gourkha's movements were characterized by very great energy and skill, and he fully deserved the success which crowned his efforts. While these occurrences were in progress, a brigade of the ninth corps was sent against Plevna, held by a Turkish force, from the direction of Widdin. This brigade sustained a severe defeat, explained by the Russians as caused by lack of skill and caution on the part of the commander.

It would appear that when Baron Krudener, in command of the ninth corps, advanced upon Nikopoli, he neglected to occupy, with his cavalry, Plevna, which controls the important line of the river Wid, and which ought to have been promptly secured. In order to retrieve this error he despatched three regiments of infantry, which, after severe fighting, gained possession of the town; thinking that their work was done, the men were permitted to throw aside their accoutrements for rest, when suddenly a very heavy fire was opened upon them from all sides, and before they could recover

their formation they were driven out with heavy loss. A strong Turkish column from Widdin, which had arrived too late to throw itself into Nikopoli, had taken possession of Plevna, and inflicted this disaster upon the Russians. Smarting under this check, and aware of the importance of preventing the accumulation of a heavy force in a strong position on his right flank, the Russian commander-in-chief took steps to gain possession of Plevna; but, underrating the strength of the enemy, his preparations were not in accordance with the magnitude of the task, and consequently failed entirely.

The vital necessity of driving the Turks from Plevna was apparent, and the opportunity of striking a heavy blow should have been welcomed by the Russian; but he should have concentrated every available man for the operation, so as to make the result certain and complete, that he might dispose of the force on his right flank once and forever. By drawing in his left temporarily to the line of the Lom, or even that of the Jantra, it would seem to have been in his power to concentrate at least four corps upon Plevna, while the possession of Nikopoli rendered it possible to turn the line of the Wid.

Instead of doing this, and not even bringing up the Roumanian troops to aid in the attack, the Grand Duke assigned to the task the ninth corps, much weakened by the affairs of Nikopoli and Plevna, aided by the thirtieth division and one brigade of the thirty-second division; a force of six brigades in all. The conduct of the operation was assigned to General Krudener. The Turkish position extended over the hills around Plevna, was strongly intrenched, and held by about 50,000 men with ample artillery. The attacking force numbered not more than 32,000 infantry, three brigades of cavalry, and some 160 guns. The attack was made on the 31st.

On the Russian right was General Krudener with the thirty-first division, supported by three regiments of the fifth division. On the left General Schackoskoy, with a brigade of the thirtieth division and one of the thirty-second, supported by a brigade of the thirtieth division in reserve. A brigade of cavalry and a battalion of infantry belonging to one of the three brigades covered Schackoskoy's left, and a similar force covered Krudener's right.

Krudener seems to have maintained an artillery combat all day, which made no impression on the Turkish line, and made no attack with his infantry. Schackoskoy moved from his bivouac about six in the morning and soon became engaged. Under cover of a hot

artillery fire his infantry carried a village in front of the first line of Turkish intrenchments. The Russian guns soon silenced and drove off the Turkish batteries on a ridge in rear of this village, and then crossed the valley and occupied the vacated ridge; the infantry in support behind the hill. Krudener having made no progress, Schackoskoy now determined to bring his infantry into action. At half past ten he ordered the advance, which was covered by the artillery; under a very severe fire the gallant infantry advanced, and finally entered the first line of the intrenchments, where the Turks as gallantly met them, but were pretty thoroughly exterminated in the hand-to-hand conflict which ensued. Without pausing the Russians advanced against the second and much stronger line; the fire was very heavy until they made their last rush, which the Turks did not wait to meet, but fled in disorder. So far all had gone well, and had the Russian general been content to hold what he had gained the subsequent disaster would have been avoided; for with his reserve brigade, which had not yet been brought into action, he might have held this position until reinforcements reached him. But, dazzled by the success which had thus far attended his bold movements, he now became rash, and ordered an advance upon the last and still stronger position of the Turks, held by largely superior numbers. The attack was made, but before reaching the goal the overtasked and exhausted troops hesitated, whereupon he threw his reserve into action and carried the works. But his men were now thoroughly worn out, and had suffered most severely; moreover, he had not a fresh man in reserve.

The Turks, finding that Krudener's infantry did not attack, now advanced large masses of fresh troops from their left, who drove out the exhausted Russians, and by nightfall they were in full retreat, a disorganized mass. A fresh division, perhaps even a fresh brigade, would have saved the day, but it was not at hand, for Krudener did nothing to support Schackoskoy. The remnants of Schackoskoy's command fell back upon the Osma, on which Krudener also took position. If the accounts which have reached us be correct, nothing could exceed the courage and devotion of the Russian troops; the disastrous result was due entirely to the fact that the attack was made with entirely insufficient forces, and the responsibility rests partly with Schackoskoy, who should have halted when he carried the second line of defence, partly upon

Krudener, who did nothing to support him, but chiefly with the commander-in-chief, who failed to provide means adequate to the end to be achieved. This battle, then, reflects great glory upon the troops, but discredit upon those responsible for the general movements of the campaign.

The Turks fought well, and should receive much praise for their conduct in the affair. The Russian loss at Plevna is officially stated as less than five thousand; that of the Turks was also heavy. Unless, as proved to be the case in Armenia, the Russian force is much less than is generally believed, the battle of Plevna cannot be regarded as a fatal disaster; it is doubtless a serious check, but should be repaired in a few days if the Russians have anything like the available force represented to be on the European field of war. They can still do what was in their power before the last battle, that is, draw in their left to the Lom or the Jantra, hold the southern outlets of the Shipka and Hanskoi passes, and throw all their available troops upon the front of the Turkish army at Plevna, while their reserves move from Nikopoli and turn the line of the Wid. There seems to be no good reason why the disaster of Plevna should not be more than compensated by the complete destruction of Osman Pasha's army.

According to the last advices, Osman Pasha had occupied Selvi, Suleiman Pasha was in front of or in possession of Kissanlik, Mehemet Ali was advancing from Shumla towards Tirnova, reinforcements were being pushed up from Constantinople to Adrianople, and considerable bodies were being brought from Batoum and its vicinity to Varna. On the other hand, we hear that the Russian Imperial Guard has been ordered to the Danube, and a division ordered up from each corps not yet mobilized,—the latter partly to the Caucasus and partly to the Danube. The two corps which were charged with the siege of Rustchuk under the Czarowitch, have been drawn in. Gourkha is strongly intrenched in the Shipka Pass. It is also stated that Krudener and Schackoskoy remain within six miles of Plevna, and are so strongly reinforced as to defy attack. If, as we suppose, the first object of the Russians is to concentrate upon and crush Osman Pasha, the advance of a portion of his force to Selvi will facilitate their purpose, and we may soon expect to hear that Osman Pasha has at least been driven from the chess-board. We have no news from Zimmerman in the Dobrudscha; if affairs are very grave near Tirnova he can be

brought by the north bank of the Danube to that point; if his presence is not needed there, he will hold in check the reinforcements sent to Varna until a decision is reached on the right, and can, from his present position, seriously interfere with the movements of Mehemet Ali towards Tirnova.

From Armenia it is stated that the last Turkish troops had been withdrawn from the shores of the Caucasus, and a large part of the garrison of Batoum removed, while we learn that the Russian Ardahan column has been strongly reinforced, so that it has advanced its outposts to Nessipennek, less than twenty miles from Olti; that a division has moved to Ardanusch, destined for the valley of the Tscorokh near Artwin, thus cutting the road from Batoum to Olti; that another column has appeared in the valley of the Adjara south of Batoum; that the centre has been reinforced up to sixty-eight battalions, sixteen batteries, and eight thousand cavalry; and that Tergukassoff has been reinforced to eighteen battalions, seven regiments of cavalry, and seven batteries. It is also stated that the Russian centre has resumed the offensive in front of Kars, and that Tergukassoff, having abandoned his old line of the Murad Euphrates, has moved from Igdyr into the valley of the Araxes south of Kars, although the latter statement is contradicted. If this information is founded upon fact, and is not greatly exaggerated, there is yet time for the Russians to redeem their errors before the close of the season. Their new combinations are much better than the old, and should result in forcing Muktar back to the Saganlugh in great haste. If the Ardanusch and Pennek columns are of respectable strength, he cannot hold his ground in the Saganlugh, with both flanks and his front threatened, but will be fortunate if he reaches Erzeroum in safety, leaving Kars to its fate.

GEO. B. MCCLELLAN.

AUGUST 7.

P. S. — Since the preceding pages went to press there has been no marked change in the situation.

In the direction of Plevna no serious attempts have been made on either side; both parties are apparently preparing for a decisive struggle. The area occupied by the Russian army — from Plevna

towards Osmanbazar, from Sistova to Gabrova — is not so large as to require many days for concentration upon any given point. It is now nearly two weeks since the last attack upon Plevna took place, — far more than enough to effect any required concentration of the troops south of the Danube, — so that it is reasonable to suppose that other important considerations have delayed the resumption of the offensive by the Russians, while the quiescent attitude of the Turks indicates that they suffered severely at Plevna, and find the Russians so formidable that they prefer remaining on the defensive, for the present at least. It is probable that the Russians are bringing up all their available reserves, and that they find delay and difficulty in collecting the supplies necessary to enable them to follow up promptly a successful offensive movement. It now seems probable that the Russian force south of the Danube is not so large as was supposed; for if they really had anything like 300,000 men in Bulgaria, it is difficult to understand why they attacked Plevna with so weak a force, and why they have left the repulse so long unavenged.

It is unfortunate for the Russians that they deferred bringing matters to a crisis north of the Balkans before the army of Suleiman Pasha was withdrawn from Montenegro, and reinforcements were brought from Batoum and other points. It was so clearly their interest to do this that we must assume that the difficulties of transportation necessarily retarded their movements, and prevented the concentration of sufficient forces to accomplish promptly the ends in view.

The Russians cannot remain much longer in their present position, but must either fall back ignominiously upon the Danube, or open the way to an advance by crushing the armies on their flanks; every day's delay renders the task more difficult and their losses more severe. There is not yet anything definite from Zimmerman's command, and we cannot determine whether he is producing more useful results in favor of the main army than if operating on the Sistova line. The question of supplying a large army is always difficult, but trebly so where the lines of communication are so long and unsatisfactory as those of the Russians, so that we should be more fully informed in regard to the actual condition of affairs before venturing to attribute lack of ability or energy to the commander of the Russian army. We may, however, at least

surmise that Diebitsch or Paskévitch could ere this have found means to attain more satisfactory results. From Armenia the more recent intelligence does not fully bear out the statements made at the time the body of this article was closed. That the Russians have received reinforcements appears to be true; but their extent remains uncertain, and it is difficult to believe that they can have been as large as at first stated, for in that case they would have assumed the offensive at once, while it now appears that it is the Turks who have attacked, and that unsuccessfully. We have already alluded to the difficulty of bringing up supplies in that region, and it may well be that this accounts for the delay of the Russians in attacking. It is impossible to criticise with justice the operations of a campaign, or to forecast its results, until in possession of certain definite data which are absolutely indispensable for the formation of a correct opinion; for example, it is necessary to know, not only the topography of the seat of war, but the actual strength of the forces of both belligerents, and their condition as to discipline, arms, and moral qualities, also the extent of their available supplies and means of transportation, together with information upon other points which will determine what is possible as well as what is best to be accomplished. Distant as we are from the seat of war, scanty and imperfect as is the information at our command, we are groping very much in the dark, and are obliged to base conjectures upon mere probabilities. So, also, in regard to accomplished facts, we have thus far to go upon the briefest possible official reports, and the statements of newspaper correspondents, who, although often very energetic and intelligent men, cannot possibly know the whole state of the case.

As the more important operations of the war develop themselves, the horizon will clear, and we shall be able not only to form a reasonably correct opinion as to the actual resources of the combatants, but, what is more important, of the capacity and peculiarities of the commanders, so that it will then be comparatively easy to forecast the future in the light of accomplished facts, and be able to divine what a particular commander will be apt to do with known resources and under given circumstances.

With the imperfect light as yet shed upon the subject, it would appear — from the operation relating to the crossing of the Danube and the Balkans — that the Russian commander is cautious in

preparation, but prompt to act when ready. The affair of Plevna shows that he underrated the strength and power of resistance of his enemy. The delay since that battle would indicate that, impressed by the lesson so rudely taught, he is again engaged in careful preparation, and that when he strikes again, the blow will be a hard one, and difficult to parry. The ex-Turkish commander-in-chief showed a lack of energy, foresight, and definite purpose.

Osman Pasha proved that he understood his work, and did it well. The new commanding general of the Turks has not yet given us the means of forming an opinion as to his capacity. After the delay that has occurred, we have no means of judging whether the first blow of the Russians will be delivered on his right or left flank; now that he has in front of Plevna a force intrenched and in sufficient strength to hold Osman Pasha in check, it may well be that the circumstances of the case will induce the Grand Duke to make his first attack in the direction of Shumla, when a decided victory would produce far more decisive results than in the vicinity of Plevna. He will make a mistake if he attacks on both flanks simultaneously, unless his superiority of force is so great as to leave no chance of failure; his proper policy would be to remain strictly on the defensive on the least important flank, while he concentrates every available battalion to insure complete success in his attack on the other, and then, the moment this is disposed of, turn rapidly upon the other, and crush it in turn.

The political aspect of the war remains essentially the same. There is no immediate probability that either Austria or Servia will take part in hostilities; Montenegro for a long time gave full employment to considerable masses of Turkish troops, and when these were withdrawn to meet more pressing demands near the Balkans, emerged from the contest rudely shaken indeed, but still uncrushed, and with the power of giving serious annoyance to the Turks. From Greece the indications are continually more warlike, and the chances are that the natural desire, on the part of the people, for an increase of territory sufficient to include the most purely Greek province adjacent to the little kingdom, so as to give it effective strength, will force the government to declare war, and take part in the contest.

This action may be deferred until an important battle is fought south of the Danube, and may be abandoned should the Russians

encounter disaster, but will almost certainly follow an important Russian victory.

The insurrections in the Caucasus appear to be virtually suppressed, and have produced no other effect of consequence than the temporary withdrawal of troops from the active army to suppress them.

The probability of a general European war appears to be materially diminished, for the present at least, and is likely to increase only in the event of such sweeping successes on the part of the Russians as to place Turkey completely at their mercy, and tempt them to retain permanent possession of Constantinople.

In that event the danger would become serious.

On the whole, the Russians have lost some valuable time, they have gained some brilliant successes, and met with some severe checks; but they have shown admirable fighting qualities, and the chances of ultimate success are still largely in their favor.

August 14.

Art. IV. — Perpetual Forces.

We cannot afford to miss any advantage. Never was any man too strong for his proper work. Art is long, and life short, and he must supply this disproportion by borrowing and applying to his task the energies of Nature. Reinforce his self-respect, show him his means, his arsenal of forces, physical, metaphysical, immortal: —

> "More servants wait on man
> Than he 'll take notice of."

Show him the riches of the poor, show him what mighty allies and helpers he has. And though King David had no good from making his census out of vainglory, yet I find it wholesome and invigorating to enumerate the resources we can command, to look a little into this arsenal, and see how many rounds of ammunition, what muskets, and how many arms better than Springfield muskets we can bring to bear.

The hero in the fairy tales has a servant who can eat granite rocks, another who can hear the grass grow, and a third who can run a hundred leagues in half an hour; so man in nature is surrounded by a gang of friendly giants who can accept harder stints than these, and help him in every kind. Each by itself has a certain omnipotence, but all, like contending kings and emperors, in the presence of each other are antagonized and kept polite, and own the balance of power.

There is no porter like gravitation, who will bring down any weight you cannot carry, and if he wants aid, knows how to find his fellow-laborers. Water works in masses, sets his irresistible shoulder to your mill or to your ships, or transports vast boulders of rock neatly packed in his iceberg a thousand miles. But its far greater power depends on its talent of becoming little, and entering the smallest holes and pores. By this agency, carrying in solution elements needful to every point, the vegetable world exists.

Who are the farmer's servants? Who but geology, chemistry, the quarry of the air, the water of the brook, the lightning of the cloud, the plough of the frost? Before he was born into the field,

the sun of ages soaked it with light and heat, mellowed his land, decomposed the rocks, covered it with vegetable film, then with forests, and accumulated cubic acres of sphagnum whose decays make the peat of his meadow. The rocks crack like glass by inequality of contraction in heat and cold, and flakes fall constantly into the soil. The tree can draw on the whole air, the whole earth, on all the rolling main. The plant, the tree, is all suction-pipe, imbibing from the ground by its roots, from the air by its twigs with all its might. Take up a spadeful or a buck-load of loam; who can guess what it holds? But a gardener knows that it is full of peaches, full of oranges, and he drops in a few seeds by way of keys to unlock and combine its virtues, — lets it lie in sun and rain, and by and by it has lifted into the air its full weight in golden fruit.

What agencies of electricity, gravity, light, affinity, combine to make every plant what it is, and in a manner so quiet that the presence of these tremendous powers is not ordinarily suspected. Faraday said that "a grain of water is known to have electric relations equivalent to a very powerful flash of lightning." The ripe fruit is dropped at last without violence, but the lightning fell and the storm raged, and strata were deposited and uptorn and bent back, and Chaos moved from beneath to create and flavor the fruit on your table to-day.

Go out of doors and get the air. Ah, if you knew what was in the air! See what your robust neighbor, who never feared to live in it, has got from it; strength, cheerfulness, power to convince, heartiness and equality to each event. As the sea is the receptacle of all rivers, so the air is the receptacle from which all things spring, and into which they all return; an immense distillery, a sharp solvent, drinking the oxygen from plants, carbon from animals, the essence and spirit of every solid on the globe; a menstruum which melts the mountains into it. All the earths are burnt metals. One half the avoirdupois of the rocks which compose the solid crust of the globe consists of oxygen. The adamant is always passing into smoke; Nature turns her capital day by day. All things are flowing, even those that seem immovable. The earth burns, the mountains burn, slower but as incessantly as wood in the fire. The marble column, the brazen statue, burn under the daylight, and would soon decompose, if their molec-

ular structure, disturbed by the raging sunlight, were not restored by the darkness of night. Plants and animals burn or perpetually exhale their own bodies into the air and earth again.

Whilst all thus burns, the universe in a blaze, kindled from the torch of the sun, it needs a perpetual tempering, a phlegm, a sleep, atmospheres of azote, deluges of water, to check the fury of the conflagration; a hoarding to check the spending, a centripetence to the centrifugence. And this is uniformly supplied. Nature is as subtle as she is strong, and like a cautious testator ties up her estate so as not to bestow it all on one generation, but has a fore-looking tenderness and equal regard to the next and the next and the fourth and the fortieth. The winds and the rains come back a thousand and a thousand times. The coal on your grate gives out in decomposing to-day exactly the same amount of light and heat which was taken from the sunshine in its formation in the leaves and boughs of the antediluvian tree.

The earliest hymns of the world were hymns to these natural forces. The Vedas of India, which have a date older than Homer, are hymns to the winds, to the clouds, and to fire.

They all have certain properties which adhere to them, such as conservation, persisting to be themselves, impossibility of being warped. The sun has lost no beams, the earth no elements; gravity is as adhesive, heat as expansive, light as joyful, air as virtuous, water as medicinal, as on the first day. There is no loss, only transference. When the heat is less here it is not lost, but more heat is there. When the rain exceeds on the coast, there is drought on the prairie. When the continent sinks, the opposite continent, that is to say, the opposite shore of the ocean, rises. When life is less here, it spawns there.

These forces are in an ascending series, but seem to leave no room for the individual; man or atom, he only shares them; he sails the way these irresistible winds blow. But behind all these are finer elements, the sources of them, and much more rapid and strong; a new style and series, the spiritual. Intellect and morals appear only the material forces on a higher plane. The laws of material nature run up into the invisible world of the mind, and hereby we acquire a key to those sublimities which skulk and hide in the caverns of human consciousness. And in the impenetrable mystery which hides — and hides through absolute trans-

parency — the mental nature, I await the insight which our advancing knowledge of material laws shall furnish.

But the laws of force apply to every form of it. The husbandry learned in the economy of heat or light or steam or muscular fibre applies precisely to the use of wit. What I have said of the inexorable persistence of every elemental force to remain itself, the impossibility of tampering with it or warping it, — the same rule applies again strictly to this force of intellect, — that it is perception, a seeing, not making, thoughts. The man must bend to the law, never the law to him.

The brain of man has methods and arrangements corresponding to these material powers, by which he can use them. See how trivial is the use of the world by any other of its creatures. Whilst these forces act on us from the outside, and we are not in their counsel, we call them Fate. The animal instincts guide the animal as gravity governs the stone; and in man that bias or direction of his constitution is often as tyrannical as gravity. We call it temperament, and it seems to be the remains of wolf, ape, and rattlesnake in him. While the reason is yet dormant, this rules; as the reflective faculties open, this subsides. We come to reason and knowledge; we see the causes of evils and learn to parry them and use them as instruments, — by knowledge being inside of them and dealing with them as the Creator does. It is curious to see how a creature so feeble and vulnerable as a man, who, unarmed, is no match for the wild beasts, tiger, or crocodile, none for the frost, none for the sea, none for a fog, or a damp air, or the feeble fork of a poor worm, — each of a thousand petty accidents put him to death every day, — is yet able to subdue to his will these terrific forces, and more than these. His whole frame is responsive to the world, part for part, every sense, every pore, to a new element, so that he seems to have as many talents as there are qualities in nature.

No force but is his force. He does not possess them; he is a pipe through which their currents flow. If a straw be held still in the direction of the ocean-current, the sea will pour through it as through Gibraltar. If he should measure strength with them, if he should fight the sea and the whirlwind with his ship, he would snap his spars, tear his sails, and swamp his bark; but by cunningly dividing the force, tapping the tempest for a little side-

wind, he uses the monsters, and they carry him where he would go. Look at him; you can give no guess at what power is in him. It never appears directly, but follow him and see his effects, see his productions. He is a planter, a miner, a shipbuilder, a machinist, a musician, a steam-engine, a geometer, an astronomer, a persuader of men, a lawgiver, a builder of towns, — and each of these by dint of a wonderful method or series that resides in him and enables him to work on the material elements.

We are surrounded by human thought and labor. Where are the farmer's days gone? See, they are hid in that stone-wall, in that excavated trench, in the harvest grown on what was shingle and pine-barren. He put his days into carting from the distant swamp the mountain of muck which has been trundled about until it now makes the cover of fruitful soil. Labor hides itself in every mode and form. It is massed and blocked away in that stone house for five hundred years. It is twisted and screwed into fragrant hay which fills the barn. It surprises in the perfect form and condition of trees clean of caterpillars and borers, rightly pruned, and loaded with grafted fruit. It is under the house in the well; it is over the house in slates and copper and water-spout; it grows in the corn; it delights us in the flower-bed; it keeps the cow out of the garden, the rain out of the library, the miasma out of the town. It is in dress, in pictures, in ships, in cannon, in every spectacle, in odors, in flavors, in sweet sounds, in works of safety, of delight, of wrath, of science.

These thoughts no man ever saw, but disorder becomes order where he goes; weakness becomes power; surprising and admirable effects follow him like a creator. All forces are his; as the wise merchant, by truth in his dealings, finds his credit unlimited, — he can use in turn, as he wants it, all the property in the world, and first or last vast amounts pass through his hands, — so a man draws on all the air for his occasions as if there were no other breather, on all the water as if there were no other sailor; he is warmed by the sun, and so of every element; he walks and works by the aid of gravitation; he draws on all knowledge as his province, on all beauty for his innocent delight, and first or last he exhausts by his use all the harvests, all the powers of the world. For man, the receiver of all, and depositary of these volumes of power, I am to say that his ability and performance are according

to his reception of these various streams of force. We define Genius to be a sensibility to all the impressions of the outer world, a sensibility so equal that it receives accurately all impressions, and can truly report them without excess or loss as it received. It must not only receive all, but it must render all. And the health of man is an equality of inlet and outlet, gathering and giving. Any hoarding is tumor and disease.

If we were truly to take account of stock before the last Court of Appeals, that were an inventory! What are my resources? "Our stock in life, our real estate, is that amount of thought which we have had," and which we have applied, and so domesticated. The ground we have thus created is forever a fund for new thoughts. A few moral maxims confirmed by much experience would stand high on the list, constituting a supreme prudence. Then the knowledge unutterable of our private strength, of where it lies, of its accesses and facilitations, and of its obstructions. My conviction of principles, that is great part of my possessions. Certain thoughts, certain observations, long familiar to me in night-watches and daylights, would be my capital if I removed to Spain or China, or, by stranger translation, to the planet Jupiter or Mars, or to new spiritual societies.

Every valuable person who joins in any enterprise, is it a piece of industry, or the founding of a colony or a college, the reform of some public abuse, or some effort of patriotism, — what he chiefly brings, all he brings, is not his land or his money or body's strength, but his thoughts, his ways of classifying and seeing things, his method. And thus with every one a new power. In proportion to the depth of the insight is the power and reach of the kingdom he controls.

It would be easy to awake wonder by sketching the performance of each of these mental forces, as of the diving-bell of the Memory which descends into the deeps of our past and oldest experience, and brings up every lost jewel; or of the Fancy, which sends up its gay balloon aloft into the sky to catch every tint and gleam of romance; of the Imagination, which turns every dull fact into pictures and poetry, by making it an emblem of a thought. What a power, when, combined with the analyzing understanding, it makes Eloquence, the art of compelling belief, the art of making people's hearts dance to his pipe! And not less method, patience,

self-trust, perseverance, love, desire of knowledge, the passion for truth. These are the angels that take us by the hand, these our immortal, invulnerable guardians. By their strength we are strong, and on the signal occasions in our career their inspirations flow to us, and make the simple wise, the weak able, and the timid brave, make the selfish and protected and tenderly bred person strong for his duty, wise in counsel, skilful in action, competent to rule, willing to obey.

I delight in tracing these wonderful powers, the electricity and gravity of the human world. The power of persistence, of enduring defeat, and of gaining victory by defeats, is one of these forces which never loses its charm. The power of a man increases steadily by continuance in one direction. He becomes acquainted with the resistances, and with his own tools; increases his skill and strength, and learns the favorable moments and favorable accidents. He is his own apprentice, and more time gives a great addition of power, just as a falling body acquires momentum with every foot of the fall. How we prize a good continuer! I knew a manufacturer who found his property invested in chemical works, which were depreciating in value. He undertook the charge of them himself, began at the beginning, learned chemistry, and acquainted himself with all the conditions of the manufacture. His friends dissuaded him, advised him to give up the work, which was not suited to the country. Why throw good money after bad? But he persisted, and after many years succeeded in his production of the right article for commerce, brought up the stock of his mills to par, and then sold out his interest, having accomplished the reform that was required.

In each the talent is the perception of an order and series in that department he deals with, — of an order and series which pre-existed in nature, and which this mind sees and conforms to. The geometer shows us the true order in figures; the painter, in laws of color; the dancer, in grace. Bonaparte, with his celerity of combination, mute, unfathomable, reading the geography of Europe as if his eyes were telescopes; his will an immense battery, discharging irresistible volleys of power always at the right point in the right time.

There was a story in the journals of a poor prisoner in a Western police-court who was told he might be released if he would pay

his fine. He had no money, he had no friends, but he took his flute out of his pocket, and began to play, to the surprise and, as it proved, to the delight of all the company; the jurors waked up; the sheriff forgot his duty, the judge himself beat time, and the prisoner was by general consent of court and officers allowed to go his way without any money. And I suppose if he could have played loud enough we here should have beat time, and the whole population of the globe would beat time, and consent that he should go without his fine.

I knew a stupid young farmer, churlish, living only for his gains and with whom the only intercourse you could have was to buy what he had to sell. One day I found his little boy of four years dragging about after him the prettiest little wooden cart, so neatly built, and with decorations too, and learned that Papa had made it; that hidden deep in that thick skull was this gentle art and taste, which the little fingers and caresses of his son had the power to draw out into day; he was no peasant after all. So near to us is the flowering of fine art in the rudest population. See in a circle of school-girls one with no beauty, no special vivacity, but she can so recite her adventures that she is never alone, but at night or at morning, wherever she sits, the inevitable circle gathers round her, willing prisoners of that wonderful memory and fancy and spirit of life. Would you know where to find her? Listen for the laughter, follow the cheerful hum, see where is the rapt attention, and a pretty crowd all bright with one electricity; there in the centre of fellowship and joy is Scheherazade again.

See how rich life is; rich in private talents, each of which charms us in turn and seems the best. If we hear music, we give up all to that; if we fall in with a cricket-club, and see the game masterly played, the best player is the first of men; if we go to the regatta, we forget the bowler for the stroke oar; and when the soldier comes home from the fight, he fills all eyes. But the soldier has the same admiration of the great parliamentary debater. And poetry and literature are disdainful of all these claims beside their own. It seems as if the story were gospel truth, of the boy who thought in turn each one of the four seasons the best, and each of the three hundred and sixty-five days in the year the crowner.

The sensibility is all. Every one knows what are the effects of music to put people in gay or mournful or martial mood. But

these are effects on dull subjects, and only the hint of its power on a keener sense. It is a stroke on a loose or tense cord. The story of Orpheus, of Arion, of the Arabian minstrel, are not fables, but experiments on the same iron at white heat.

By this wondrous susceptibility to all the impressions of Nature the man finds himself the receptacle of celestial thoughts, of happy relations to all men. The imagination enriches him, as if there were no other; the memory opens all her cabinets and archives; Science her length and breadth, Poetry her splendor and joy, and the august circles of eternal Law.

These are means and stairs for new ascensions of the mind. But they are nowise impoverished for any other mind, not tarnished, not breathed upon, for the mighty Intellect did not stoop to him and become property, but he rose to it and followed its circuits. "It is ours while we use it, it is not ours when we do not use it."

And so, one step higher, when he comes into the realm of sentiment and will. He sees the grandeur of justice, the victory of love, the eternity that belongs to all moral nature. He does not then invent his sentiment or his act, but obeys a pre-existing right which he sees. We arrive at virtue by taking its direction instead of imposing ours.

The last revelation of intellect and of sentiment is that in a manner it severs the man from all other men, makes known to him that the spiritual powers are sufficient to him, if no other being existed; that he is to deal absolutely in the world, as if he alone were a system and a state, and though all should perish, could make all anew.

The forces are infinite. Every one has the might of all; for the secret of the world is that its energies are *solidaires;* that they work together on a system of mutual aid, all for each and each for all; that the strain made on one point bears on every arch and foundation of the structure. But if you wish to avail yourself of their might, and in like manner if you wish the force of the intellect and the force of the will, you must take their divine direction, not they yours. Obedience alone gives the right to command. It is like the village operator who taps the telegraph-wire and surprises the secrets of empires as they pass to the capital. So this child of the dust throws himself by obedience into the circuit of the heavenly wisdom, and shares the secret of God.

Thus is the world delivered into your hand, but on two conditions, — not for property, but for use; use according to the noble nature of the gifts, and not for toys, not for self-indulgence. Things work to their ends, not to yours, and will certainly defeat any adventurer who fights against this ordination.

The effort of men is to use them for purely private ends. They wish to pocket land and water and fire and air and all fruits of these for property, and would like to have Aladdin's lamp to compel darkness, and iron-bound doors, and hostile armies, and lions and serpents to serve them like footmen. And they wish the same service from the spiritual faculties. A man has a rare mathematical talent, inviting him to the beautiful secrets of geometry, and wishes to clap a patent on it, or has the fancy and invention of a poet, and says, "I will write a play that shall be repeated in London a hundred nights"; or a military genius, and, instead of using that to defend his country, he says, "I will fight the battle so as to give me place and political consideration"; or Canning or Thurlow has a genius of debate, and says, "I will know how with this weapon to defend the cause that will pay best and make me Chancellor or Foreign Secretary." But this perversion is punished with instant loss of true wisdom and real power.

I find the survey of these cosmical powers a doctrine of consolation in the dark hours of private or public fortune. It shows us the world alive, guided, incorruptible; that its cannon cannot be stolen, nor its virtues misapplied. It shows us the long Providence, the safeguards of rectitude. It animates exertion; it warns us out of that despair into which Saxon men are prone to fall, — out of an idolatry of forms, instead of working to simple ends, in the belief that Heaven always succors us in working for these. This world belongs to the energetical. It is a fagot of laws, and a true analysis of these laws, showing how immortal and how self-protecting they are, would be a wholesome lesson for every time and for this time. That band which ties them together is unity, is universal good, saturating all with one being and aim, so that each translates the other, is only the same spirit applied to new departments. Things are saturated with the moral law. There is no escape from it. Violets and grass preach it; rain and snow, wind and tides, every change, every cause in Nature is nothing but a disguised missionary.

All our political disasters grow as logically out of our attempts in the past to do without justice, as the sinking of some part of your house comes of defect in the foundation. One thing is plain; a certain personal virtue is essential to freedom; and it begins to be doubtful whether our corruption in this country has not gone a little over the mark of safety, so that when canvassed we shall be found to be made up of a majority of reckless self-seekers. The divine knowledge has ebbed out of us, and we do not know enough to be free.

I hope better of the state. Half a man's wisdom goes with his courage. A boy who knows that a bully lives round the corner which he must pass on his daily way to school is apt to take sinister views of streets and of school-education. And a sensitive politician suffers his ideas of the part New York or Pennsylvania or Ohio are to play in the future of the Union to be fashioned by the election of rogues in some counties. But we must not gratify the rogues so deeply. There is a speedy limit to profligate politics.

Fear disenchants life and the world. If I have not my own respect, I am an impostor, not entitled to other men's, and had better creep into my grave. I admire the sentiment of Thoreau, who said, "Nothing is so much to be feared as fear; God himself likes atheism better." For the world is a battle-ground; every principle is a war-note, and the most quiet and protected life is at any moment exposed to incidents which test your firmness. The illusion that strikes me as the masterpiece in that ring of illusions which our life is, is the timidity with which we assert our moral sentiment. We are made of it, the world is built by it, things endure as they share it; all beauty, all health, all intelligence, exist by it; yet we shrink to speak it or to range ourselves by its side. Nay, we presume strength of him or them who deny it. Cities go against it; the college goes against it; the courts snatch at any precedent, at any vicious form of law to rule it out; legislatures listen with appetite to declamations against it and vote it down. Every new asserter of the right surprises us, like a man joining the church, and we hardly dare believe he is in earnest.

But what we do and suffer is in moments; the cause of right for which we labor never dies, works in long periods, can afford many checks, gains by our defeats, and will know how to compensate our

extremest sacrifice. Wrath and petulance may have their short success, but they quickly reach their brief date and decompose, whilst the massive might of ideas is irresistible at last. Whence does this knowledge come? Where is the source of power? The soul of God is poured into the world through the thoughts of men. The world stands on ideas and not on iron or cotton; and the iron of iron, the fire of fire, the ether and source of all the elements is moral force.

As cloud on cloud, as snow on snow, as the bird on the air, and the planet rests on space in its flight, so do nations of men and their institutions rest on thoughts.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

Art. IV. — How shall the Nation regain Prosperity?

PART II.

In a previous article * it was maintained that for the production of a very large class of commodities, which all the world want and must have, the United States enjoys peculiar and exceptional advantages; that, notwithstanding these advantages, there is a lack of demand entirely and abnormally disproportionate to the amount of such commodities which the United States is able, and desires to supply; or, in other words, while under natural circumstances it would be natural for all the world to buy largely of the products of our (manufacturing) industries, as a matter of fact the world does not so buy, but finds it for its interest to trade elsewhere; that in the absence of this demand a large percentage of the labor of the United States is, and from the very necessities of the case must continue to be, without employment, and a large percentage of its fixed capital is, and must continue to be, unproductive; that under such a condition of things poverty has increased, immigration has diminished, emigration has begun, and through temptations, heretofore unexperienced, the manifestations of crime have become alarmingly greater.

The above premises being correct, the conclusion arrived at was, therefore, legitimate; that the most important of all the questions now before the American people and their government are, — How can we create new and greater demands and markets for our national products? How can we open new channels for trade, or enlarge those already existing; thereby creating new, larger, and remunerative employments for our surplus labor and capital, and so bring back the country to its old and normal condition of material prosperity?

In the present article it is proposed to enter into the consideration of, and show, *in part*, by what agencies the demand and market for the products of American labor have been checked and made smaller than they need or ought to be; how the channels of

* North American Review, July – August, 1877.

our trade and commerce have been needlessly obstructed and destroyed; and by what course of policy and specific legislation these checks and obstructions can be removed, and the business of the country be revived, enlarged, and placed on a broader and more healthy basis. These are large words and bold assumptions. He who uses the one and ventures upon the other unwittingly, and is not prepared to make good his positions, is liable to a harsh criticism for vain speaking. Let the reader judge whether the writer has made himself liable to such accusation.

Continuing the line of argument before entered upon, it is desirable to next briefly consider how *wants*, in general (of things essential to a good livelihood), arise, and how, in general, they are satisfied.

Wants have their origin in human nature, and are practically illimitable. No one ever has all he wants, though pretension may be made to that effect. In general, every one satisfies his wants by his own labor; but no man who is not a savage or a Robinson Crusoe ever attempts to obtain all he wants by his own labor *directly*, or from the products of one locality; and nature evidently never intended that it should be otherwise. For there is no nation or country or community, nor probably any one man, that is not, by reason of differences in soil, climate, physical or mental capacities, at advantage or disadvantage as respects some other nation, country, community, or men, in producing or doing something useful. It is only a brute, furthermore, as economists have long recognized, that can find a full satisfaction for its desires in its immediate surroundings; while poor indeed must be the man of civilization that does not lay every quarter of the globe under contribution every morning for his breakfast. Hence, springing out of this diversity in the powers of production and of wants in respect to locations and individuals, the origin of trade. Hence its necessity and advantage; and the man who has not sufficient education to read the letters of any printed book perceives by instinct, more clearly, as a general rule, than the man of civilization, that if he can trade freely, he can better his condition and increase the sum of his happiness; for the first thing the savage, when brought in contact with civilized man, wants to do, is to exchange; and the first effort of every new settlement in any new country, after providing temporary food and shelter, is to open a

road, or other means of communication to some other settlement, in order that they may trade or exchange the commodities which they can produce to advantage, for the products which some others can produce to greater advantage.* And, obeying this same natural instinct, the heart of every man, that has not been filled with prejudice of race or country, or perverted by talk about the necessity of tariffs and custom-houses, experiences a pleasurable emotion when it learns that a new road has been opened, a new railroad constructed, or that the time of crossing the seas has been greatly shortened; and if to-day it could be announced that the problem of aerial navigation had been solved, and that hereafter everybody could go everywhere, with all their goods and chattels, for one tenth of the cost and in one tenth of the time that is now required, one universal shout of jubilation would arise spontaneously from the whole civilized world. And why? Simply because everybody would feel that there would be forthwith a multitude of new wants, an equal multitude of new satisfactions, an increase of business in putting wants and satisfactions into the relations of equations in which one side would balance the other, and an increase of comfort and happiness everywhere.

At the same time this truth, which is in the nature of an economic axiom, ought to be clearly kept in mind, namely, that there is no wealth to be made through trade or exchange of products, beyond the simple economy that results from the producer supplying the consumer cheaper than the consumer can supply himself directly by his own efforts. So much, then, for *why we trade.* A brief word, next, for *how we trade.*

Many, perhaps most, people who have not thought much on the subject, — certainly many legislators, to judge from their talk, —

* There has been much of speculation, in which Henry C. Carey has taken the lead, as to what determines the location of settlements in new countries, and whether a community, if left to itself, will occupy primarily the poor or the rich soils. But the theory or consideration, above all others, that is determinative of this question, is the natural methods or channels available in the first instance for intercommunication with other settlements or centres of population. And hence such new settlements always follow in the first instance the seacoast or the shores of navigable lakes or rivers, and rarely penetrate otherwise into the interior. The rich, easily cultivated fertile lands in the interior of such States as Indiana, Iowa, and Minnesota would, without the ready means of intercommunication afforded by railroads, have remained to the present hour almost as much a wilderness as they were at the commencement of the present century.

regard money as essential for trade. They are in the habit of thinking that when we buy anything, it is necessary to give money, and when we sell, to receive money. Money is not, however, absolutely essential to trade, business, or production. It facilitates trade; it is a most useful and desirable adjunct of trade, and discharges the same function in trade as a ship, a locomotive, a horse and cart, or a wheelbarrow, though in a larger and higher degree than any of these, or all other similar instrumentalities. These statements are all truisms, the A B C's of economic knowledge; yet they are not understood by the mass of the people, or by those whom the people select to represent them in legislative assemblies; and because they are not understood is one great reason why this nation is now in trouble. It is important, therefore, to endeavor to make more clear these truisms by illustration; such, for example, as is afforded by the analysis of what takes place in the purchase and sale of a pair of shoes.

Ask most people what is involved in such a familiar transaction, and they will tell you, "Why, of course we understand. What a frivolous question! We went to the shop; picked out and took what suited us; gave the shoemaker five dollars, more or less, and departed. That's all there was about it." But hold! there was a good deal more than that involved in the transaction; so much more, that he who fully understands it has mastered the fundamental principles of finance, commerce, and political economy, though he may never in his life have read a book or attended a lecture on the subject. What the shoemaker gave was the result of his labor applied to a piece of leather; as the leather was the result of some other man's labor applied to a piece of hide; as the hide was the result of a third man's labor given to the raising of cattle. On the other hand, what was given for the shoes in the first instance was a sum of money; but unless the money was a gift to the purchaser, or he stole it, it was obtained in exchange, and represented some labor or service performed or to be performed in turn by the purchaser. We may therefore eliminate the use of the money from the transaction altogether, as it was simply used as a convenience, as oil is applied to the axles and bearings of an engine, to make the movements work easy with the minimum of friction. And, eliminating the money, the transaction resolves itself into an exchange of the labor or services of the

shoemaker for the labor or services of the man who desires to have and wear shoes. And as every other transaction throughout the world, by which men satisfy their wants and desires by producing and exchanging, or buying or selling, when analyzed, resolves itself into identically the same elements, we are led up to the recognition and acceptance of this broad general principle, namely, that all trade is at the bottom a matter of barter; product being given for product and service for service; that in order to sell we must buy, and in order to buy we must sell; and that he who won't buy can't sell, and he who won't sell can't buy.

Now, to come back to the more immediately practical questions under consideration. Why is there no demand for the multitude of useful things that the United States have the facilities for producing better and cheaper (as can be demonstrated beyond all question) than other countries? Why is there no opportunity for the multitude of our laborers, who ask for nothing else than that they may have the opportunity to support themselves by producing, and are now denied that opportunity? One answer is, that the United States for now a long series of years has, in its fiscal policy, denied or ignored the truth of the above economic, axiomatic principles. It has not, indeed, in so many distinct words said to the American producers and laborers, You shall not sell your products and your labor to the people of other countries; but it has emphatically said to the producers and laborers of other countries, We do not think it desirable that you should sell your products or your labor in this country; and as far as we can interpose legal obstructions, we don't intend that you shall! But in shutting others out, we have at the same time, and necessarily, shut ourselves in. And herein is *trouble No. 1.* The house is too small, measured by the power of producing, for those that live in it. And *remedy No. 1* is to be found in withdrawing the bolts, taking off the locks, opening the doors, and getting out and clear of all restrictions on producing and the disposal of products.

In fact, the country is very much in the condition of a merchant who has a store advantageously situated, and its shelves filled to repletion with a great variety of desirable goods. The roads that lead up to the store are in admirable condition, with good sidewalks and signboards and lamps to make sure that no one goes astray. But when customers come to the store, they find that the

proprietor has taken down the steps, walled up the door, and made it so troublesome to get in that they prefer to journey by longer and worse roads to purchase elsewhere. Even if it is only desired to get into the store, *not* for the sake of trading, but of conversing with the proprietor on the subject, and showing samples of what the outside would like to give for what the inside would like to sell, the outsider (as in the case of the foreign contributors to the late Philadelphia Exhibition) finds to his cost that even this is a very troublesome and vexatious matter.*

One of the most striking illustrations to be found in all history — one that is going to stand and be quoted for all time in treatises on political economy — of the evil effect of commercial restrictions in limiting trade and industry, and consequently national development, is to be found in the history of the commercial relations between the United States and the British North American provinces. Thus, in 1852–53, in the absence of anything like

* The irritation of the Commissioners of every nation to the International Exhibition at Philadelphia in 1876 at the annoyances to which they were subjected by the United States Custom House regulations was very great, and openly manifested; and it was universally agreed that nothing similar had occurred in the case of any former international exhibition. On this subject Mr. Goshorn, General Superintendent, thus expressed himself at the close of the Exhibition: "The administration of the customs laws gave them [the foreign exhibitors] a good deal of annoyance which I could not obviate. The customs officials never comprehended the Exhibition. Instead of regarding it as exceptional and peculiar, they treated it like a retail shop, and tied it up with all the red tape they could apply. Besides, there was a want of harmony between different branches of the customs service, which added to the troubles of exhibitors." The catalogues of the articles contributed by one country (the Netherlands) were abandoned in the New York Custom House "simply because the Commissioners found by experience that the time required and the trouble involved in having them passed would be so great that it was not worth their while to attempt it." Applicants for information were accordingly in great numbers denied, although pages printed for the express purpose of giving the information "were actually on our soil and in charge of the officers of the government on whose invitation that exhibit was sent." Great sense of wrong was also experienced at the close of the Exhibition by the refusal of the Treasury Department to make allowance, in payment of duties, for damage of goods sustained through exposure or lapse of time at the Exhibition, so that if an article, originally costing $20,000, had become so damaged during the exhibition that it would not sell for $1,000, it must needs have paid duties on $20,000, or be sent out of the country. A certain firm of foreign exhibitors, it was reported, made two immense vases to show what they could do. They had to build new kilns large enough to burn them in, and they cost $17,000 before they were finished. Nobody would buy them, even for $1,000, and yet these vases were chargeable with a duty of about $6,500 if they allowed them to remain in the country.

commercial freedom, the aggregate exchanges between the two countries amounted to only $ 20,691,000. The subsequent year a treaty of reciprocity went into effect, whereby the people of the two countries were enabled to trade and exchange their products with little or no obstruction in the form of import duties. The result was that the aggregate of exchanges rose the very first year of the operation of the treaty from $ 20,691,000 to $ 33,494,000, which subsequently increased, year by year, until it reached the figure of $ 55,000,000 in 1862 – 63, and $ 84,000,000 in 1865 – 66.* In this latter year the treaty of reciprocity was repealed, and restrictive duties again became operative. The result was that the annual aggregate of exchanges immediately fell to $ 58,000,000; and in 1875, nine full years after the expiration of the treaty, when both nations had largely increased in wealth and population, the decrease of trade consequent on the abrogation of the treaty had been but little more than made good; the probable aggregate for 1875 having been about $ 86,600,000.

Again, the quantity of freight — meaning thereby commodities — transported on the railroads of the United States, is at present at the rate of about two hundred millions of tons per annum (for the year 1876, a period of great industrial and commercial depression, 197,082,000 tons). If we assume each ton so moved to be worth on an average but $ 50 (a low estimate), then the value of the exchanges at present annually effected in the United States, through the agency of railroads alone, excluding all other instrumentalities of trade — boats, ships, wagons, animals, and the like — from consideration, is, in round numbers, ten thousand millions of dollars; or, to state it differently, if the present population of the United States is forty-four millions, then every 4,400,000 of its people now exchange annually commodities among themselves, through the agency of railroads alone, to the value of *a thousand millions of dollars.* It is true that much of this freight is transported backward and forward under different conditions and forms

* It is not to be concealed that during the last year of the reciprocity treaty, or after a serious movement had been made for its abrogation, importations from the Provinces increased in anticipation of a consequent renewal of the United States tariff. This fact does not, however, affect the general result stated; the exchanges for 1863 – 64 being more than three times greater than those of 1852 – 53, the year before the ratification of the treaty.

over the same routes, and does not all represent a direct movement between the producers and consumers; but it is safe to assume that not one ton is transported a single mile except for the real or supposed advantage of somebody, representing producer, exchanger, or consumer; and that producer, exchanger, and consumer jointly and severally know what they are about, and wherein is their interest, better than any law-makers can tell them.

On the North American continent, north of the United States, there are at present about four millions of people (3,726,319 in 1871) inhabiting the British Provinces. The line which separates these Provinces from the United States is purely artificial and not natural; and except where a lake or river has been accepted and named as the boundary, no one can readily tell where one country begins or the other ends. It stands, therefore, to reason, that were it not for artificial barriers, arbitrarily set up by legislation, men and commodities would pass as freely between the two countries as they now do between different sections of the Provinces, or between the different states of the American Union, and that the methods and amount of trade over the whole territory under the two governments would be uniformly subject to the same influences. But the United States, with a view of promoting national industry and effecting national development, has been mainly instrumental in establishing all manner of arbitrary and burdensome restrictions on trade and commercial intercourse along this artificial or imaginary line separating the two countries. And now will the people of the United States, divesting themselves of prejudice, stop for a brief moment and consider the result? It is very interesting, very instructive, finds few parallels in modern commercial experience, and may all be summed up in the following brief statement. The aggregate value of all the exchanges between the 4,000,000 of people in the Dominion of Canada, and the 44,000,000 of people in the United States, for the year 1875 (the latest year for which we have returns), through every variety of instrumentality, was only $86,600,000; while, as before shown, every 4,400,000 of people on the United States side of the line, under the condition of perfect internal free trade, effected exchanges between themselves, through the agency of railroads alone, to the extent of $1,000,000,000. Suppose, now, these barriers to trade between the United States and Canada had been taken

down. How many wheels, spindles, hammers, cars, boats, engines, and strong human arms would in consequence have been put in motion, and how much of the present industrial and commercial depression in the United States would have been obviated!

Does the United States now desire to augment its present aggregate trade to the extent of many hundreds of millions per annum? The way stands open; and it only remains for the people of the United States who are suffering for lack of employment, and who complain that there is no demand for the products of their industry, to signify that it is their wish, and it will be done. The people of the British Provinces are only too ready to enter into reciprocal and general commercial arrangements with the people of the United States which will result in such augmentation of trade; and there is no ear more quick to listen and respond to the demands of the people than the representatives of the people in Congress assembled. Selfish private interests, on both sides of the line, will promptly respond, as they have heretofore,* that it is not desirable that any such commercial arrangement as is proposed should be entered into. But let the people as a whole consider the facts in the case as a whole, and they cannot be long in deciding wherein to them is the path of profit and expediency.

Is it desired to annex the British North American Provinces and make them a part of the American Union? We have as a nation for long years past, in our dealings with Canada, been playing the part of the wind, in the contest between the wind and the sun in the fable, to see which could make the traveller soonest take off his coat. Suppose as a nation we now for a while put aside the rôle of the wind and assume the part of the sun. With the balance of advantage in any amicable contest between the two coun-

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* At a convention of persons interested in the manufacture of pig-iron, held in Philadelphia, December, 1874, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

"*Resolved*, That this convention, representing the Pig Iron Manufacturers of this country, earnestly protest against the ratification of the proposed Reciprocity Treaty with Canada, believing that such treaty, if ratified, would result in completely breaking down the barriers which now exist against the introduction to our markets of the products of low-priced European labor, in disastrously impairing the revenues of the government, in preventing the payment of the interest on our national debt, and in continuing indefinitely the general distress which now prevails."

It is possible to quote from the proceedings of some Canadian conventions resolutions that are so similar in prophesying bad results to Canada from reciprocity, that the one would seem to have been borrowed from the other.

tries for industrial and commercial betterment so transcendently on the side of the richer, most populous, and most powerful nation,* it must be a very low order of statesmanship on the part of the United States which could not devise and carry out a policy that in less than a decade of years would make the British Provinces applicants of their own accord for incorporation as States in the American Union, or would enable the United States, if it was deemed expedient, to force them to become such, by the threat, not of armed compulsion, but of simply clouding the sun.†

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* The extent to which Canada is necessarily dependent on the United States for prosperity is well illustrated by the following extract from the "Budget Speech" of the Minister of Finance, Hon. Richard J. Cartwright, before the Canadian House of Commons, February, 1875: "Our distress (industrial and commercial) has been considerably aggravated by external causes over which we had no sort of control. The House knows that the people of the United States have been laboring for two or three years under most unusual depression. The House knows, also, that it is quite impossible for a small community like ours, placed as it is in the immediate vicinity of a great nation of forty-four millions of people, bordering on us for two or three thousand miles, — the House knows, I say, that it is quite impossible that any long-continued permanent depression can exist in the United States without reacting very powerfully upon us. We know that when the prices of American staples are high, ours will be high also. When labor is dear in the United States, it will be dear in Canada; when cheap, it will tend powerfully to make it cheap in Canada also."

† The mass of the people of the United States, occupied with their private cares and business, and giving but comparatively little attention to the details of our foreign relations, probably do not know, what it is full time they should know, that the policy of the United States towards the British Provinces has for a series of years been anything but generous and worthy of a great people. Thus, by the treaty of 1871 between the United States and Great Britain, it was agreed that "fish of all kinds, the produce of the fisheries of the Dominion of Canada, shall be admitted into the United States free of duty, fish caught in inland waters and fish packed in oil excepted." But in 1875 Congress, under influence exerted in behalf of the canned salmon interest, imposed a duty of a cent and a half on each quart of contents of "cans or packages made of tin or other material containing fish of any kind admitted free of duty under any existing law or treaty," the effect of which was to nullify, by a small and mean device, an essential part of the stipulated provisions of the treaty; and all remonstrances on the part of the Dominion government against such enactment has thus far availed nothing. Had a similar act, adverse to the interest of the United States, been perpetrated by any foreign state, words could hardly be found to express the extent of American indignation for so intentional a violation of solemn public engagements; and the government at Washington would have been quick to demand reparation.

Again, under the provisions of the *existing treaty*, all *sea-fish*, the product of the Dominion fisheries, fresh, dry, or preserved in any way, except in oil, are admitted into the United States free of duty. Under the *existing tariff* all *fresh fish*, intended for immediate consumption, wherever caught, are *also* admitted to free entry.

Thus, to illustrate, let us imagine what might be. North of Lakes Erie and Ontario and the river St. Lawrence, east of

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But within the present year the Treasury Department has ruled that if fresh fish imported from Canada into the United States are packed in ice (simply in order that they may be transported to greater distances and supply the immediate demands of more inland markets), the fish in such cases do not then answer to the conditions for *immediate* consumption, and are, therefore, subject to varying rates of duty, according to their species.

Article XXVII. of the same treaty provided that the British government would urge upon the government of Canada to secure to the citizens of the United States the use of the canals "in the Dominion on terms of equality with the inhabitants of the Dominion," and the United States in turn engaged to urge upon the State governments to secure to the subjects of Great Britain "the use of the several State canals connected with the navigation of the lakes and rivers traversed by or contiguous to the boundary-line between the possessions of the contracting parties on terms of equality with the inhabitants of the United States." At the same time the free navigation of the St. Lawrence River was guaranteed by Great Britain to the United States. Immediately after the ratification of the treaty the British and Colonial governments made haste to carry out the stipulations on their part in these respects. The St. Lawrence was made free, and the privileges of the Canadian canals were granted to American vessels on the payment of tolls that barely covered the cost of wages and repairs. But up to the present time the government of the United States have not only failed to do anything to facilitate the transit of Canadian commerce through the States, but they have omitted no opportunity to harass and obstruct it. Thus, the Federal government (last administration) has so construed the Washington treaty of 1871 as to withhold from Dominion vessels with cargo the privilege to load in Canadian ports for New York and other ports on the Hudson River; in consequence of which any merchandise transported in a Canadian bottom can only be taken as far as Albany, and be there entered at customs and transshipped into a United States vessel for transportation to its destination. Technically, the privilege to use the canals does not necessarily imply the use of rivers connecting therewith; but in the case in question, the New York canals, which the Canadians desire to use, constitute, in connection with the Hudson River, a great marine highway between Canadian ports on the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes and the United States ports on the Hudson River and seaboard, and the cutting off of any one link or section renders the remainder nearly, if not quite, practically useless. In a precisely similar case, namely, that of the Ottawa River and the Grenville Canal, the Dominion government have acceded to vessels of the United States every privilege enjoyed by Canadian vessels, and apparently have never thought that any other interpretation of the treaty could be honestly contemplated.

It was also provided in the same treaty that the value of the privilege then conceded to the inhabitants of the United States by Great Britain, to take fish on the coasts of the British North American Colonies without being restricted, as formerly, to a certain distance from the shore, should be determined by commissioners to be appointed by the respective parties. Six years have now elapsed since the ratification of the treaty, and although the subject has been repeatedly pressed upon the attention of the Federal authorities, it is only within the present year that the United States has been willing to comply with its agreement and appoint a commissioner to take part in the stipulated determination.

Lake Huron, south of the 45th parallel, and included mainly within the present Dominion Province of Ontario, there is as fair a country as exists on the North American continent; nearly as large in area as New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio combined, and equal, if not superior, as a whole, to these States, in its agricultural capacity. It is the natural habitat on this continent of the combing-wool sheep, without a full, cheap, and reliable supply of the wool of which species the great worsted manufacturing interest of the country cannot prosper, or, we should rather say, exist. It is the land where grows the finest barley, which the brewing interest of the United States must have if it ever expects to rival Great Britain in its present annual export of over eleven millions of dollars worth of malt products. It raises and grazes the finest of cattle, with qualities especially desirable to make good the deterioration of stock in other sections; and its climatic conditions, created by an almost encirclement of the Great Lakes, especially fit it to grow men.*

Such a country is one of the greatest gifts of Providence to the human race; better than bonanzas of silver, or rivers whose sands contain gold. Is it desirable for the United States to own it, and incorporate it as an integral part of the Union? It can be done. We have only to march an army across the border, intrench, and take possession, — but not an army equipped with implements of war, to deprive rightful owners of lawful possession, and to be welcomed in turn by the Canadians with "bloody hands to hospitable graves"; but an army with ploughs and reapers and all manner of other improved tools for all manner of useful production, with American capital and American ideas, to be welcomed by the Canadians to peaceful homes and conditions of abundance. At present this land, so favored by nature, is in a great measure unoccupied and sparsely populated, because there is little market for the products of its industry, and the United States by its policy

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* "Ontario possesses a fertility with which no part of New England can at all compare; and that particular section of it around which the circle of the Great Lakes is swept forces itself upon the notice of any student of the American map, as one of the most favored spots of the whole continent, where population ought to breed with almost Belgian fecundity." — *Report on the Trade between the United States and the British Possessions in North America*, by J. R. Larned, Treasury Department, Washington, 1871.

has practically said there shall be none. Thus emigration and settlement from without has been discouraged. With an area, as before stated, nearly equal to that of the three great States of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, which now have a population of about *twelve* millions, the present population of Ontario is less than *two* millions. During the period of the operation of the Reciprocity Treaty before the war, the ratio of its increase of population was at the rate of 4.38 per cent per annum, or in a ratio greater than that of the United States at any period of its history; but after the outbreak of our war and the repeal of reciprocity (or from 1861 to 1871) this annual ratio of increase ran down to 1.61, or to a ratio less than that of the United States at any period of its history. Let all barriers to free commercial intercourse and the exchange of products be now removed, and who can doubt that in the course of one or two decades (and what are ten or twenty years in the life of a nation?) there will be gathered in what is now Ontario the material for several great and prosperous States; States whose population originating mainly in the United States and connected with them by ties of blood, kindred, and similarity of thought, — which free intercourse will annually strengthen and not weaken, — will be American rather than Provincial; States whose people, under the representative government now enjoyed in Canada, will largely determine the policy of the whole Dominion, and which will gravitate to incorporation with the American Union as naturally as rivers seek to incorporate themselves with the sea.

But supposing the policy indicated to have been entered upon by the United States, and the anticipated results of development having been speedily attained, the new States across the border, or indeed the entire Dominion, should not then desire to become politically united with us? The answer to this would be, first, that if statecraft had done its whole duty in making the interests of the two countries common, such an opposition probably would not exist. But if it should, it seems hardly necessary to enter into an argument to prove that the United States could then so modify its commercial policy as respects Canada, as to peacefully and powerfully influence such a union, if it was desired; and that then, and not now, would be the time to enact restrictive laws touching the intercourse and trade between the two countries, with the expectation of thereby promoting annexation of the Provinces.

But why should we ever desire to force the Canadas, or the possessors of any other now foreign territory to become part and parcel of the American Union against their will? With the single exception of the satisfaction of a brutal, heathenish sort of feeling which rejoices in the extension of dominion and the enlargement of territory as evidences of the possession of physical power, there is not one single advantage which could come to the United States from Canada annexed which might not in an equal degree be made to accrue, under a rational system of economic laws, from Canada independent. Can any one point out how, with free commerce, a peace policy, and a free popular representative government, the building up of one, two, or three great States on the north side of the Lakes under one flag would be less advantageous than the building up of a similar number of States on the south side of the Lakes under another and a different flag? In the absence of all restrictions on commercial intercourse, the people of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio trade among themselves, and the rest of the Union when it suits their interest; and when it does not suit, they desist. Under similar conditions of freedom the Canadian states, present and future, obeying a common law of self-interest, would act in the same manner. Whatever products of labor the one at any time desired to sell to the other could only be sold by receiving in exchange an equivalent amount of labor of the other, and if the exchange was not *mutually* advantageous and profitable, it would not be continued. Under a Zollverein system, such as has been proposed, and is without doubt practical, the national taxation of the two countries could practically be made the same; while in respect to all other taxation, each State or locality would adopt, as now, that system which seemed to it most expedient, and would come in time to learn that all taxation by diffusion of all kinds ultimately falls on consumption.

But, reasoning from general principles, how much longer, it may be asked, are we to read from the pages of the Book we profess as a nation to believe, that God has made of one blood all the nations of the earth, and then turn away and act as though there was not a word of truth in the averment? How much longer shall we turn the pages of European experience during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and a good part of the nineteenth century, before we learn that the planting of colonies and the acquisition of territory for

the purpose of compelling trade and profiting by advantages not accorded to other nations, has been a business far more productive of evil than of good? And when as a nation shall we comprehend enough of the elements of political economy to understand what it would seem ought to come through intuition, "that if commerce is allowed to be free, its advantages will be shared by every country that engages in it; that in the absence of monopoly the benefits of trade are of necessity reciprocal; and that in a mercantile point of view it would be as absurd to attempt to impoverish a people with whom we trade" (as we have attemped to impoverish Canada), "as it would be for a tradesman to work for the insolvency of a rich and frequent customer"? *

Left to itself, the average human mind must, it would seem, receive and act upon these truths as if by intuition; and that it does so tend to act finds a curious illustration in an extract from the last annual message of General Grant as President of the United States.

General Grant, it is well known, in the earlier years of his

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* "The great producing regions of the Dominion, which we formerly knew as Upper and Lower Canada, have no Atlantic ports; they have, however, one capital advantage over us in their mighty St. Lawrence, which affords a water-line navigable for a ship of 1,000 tons, 2,500 miles inland to the very centre of the continent. This great water-way, having its outlet on the fiftieth parallel, is closed to them for nearly half the year. This alone has prevented the Canadas from rising to the condition of a first-class state; for the practicable and only proper commercial outlets to the great river, for climatic reasons, are the harbors of Boston, Portland, and New York. On the other hand, this great water-way, even when free from ice, and flowing ready to serve the Western States, as their outlet to the ocean, is closed by a barrier far worse than ice, that of the prejudice and non-intercourse worked by bad statutes. The Almighty made the great plains of the West and of the Canadas for the habitation of his children. Between them and the ocean he raised the great Laurentian chain of mountains which we know as the Apalachian range. On the north he opened the river St. Lawrence, and through the frequent gaps in the mountains the way for our iron roads has been discovered. As one country, each section would have supplemented and benefited the other; but men in their ignorance and prejudices have frozen the river after the ice itself had floated away, and have closed the gaps in the mountain chains, even after the iron road had been laid down in them. Are there words to express the folly of those who would reconstruct the continent more fitly than it has pleased the Almighty to do it? Are those men statesmen or blind idiots who render the labor of man more arduous, who double the sweat of the brow, and serve but half the loaf that might be eaten? These are not mere questions of a dollar more or less, but they are questions that lie at the foundation of human society, and that are a part of social ethics." — EDWARD ATKINSON, *Address before the Boston Board of Trade*, 1874.

Presidency, without apparently having ever considered the danger of further politically incorporating with us as a nation races and states that we cannot politically assimilate or digest, earnestly desired to annex San Domingo, and make it a part of the United States. The scheme failed to receive the assent of either Congress or the nation, and consequently failed; but recurring to it in his last message, General Grant maintained, that if "my views [about annexation] had been concurred in, the country would be in a more prosperous condition to-day, both politically and financially." And for this belief he gives the following reasons: "Santo Domingo is fertile, and upon its soil may be grown just those tropical products of which the United States use so much, and which are produced and prepared for market now by slave labor almost exclusively, namely, sugar, coffee, dyewoods, mahogany, tropical fruits, tobacco, etc." He next proceeds to show, that of the above-enumerated useful commodities, Cuba and Brazil furnish the United States at present with the larger portion of their needed supplies; but that legislation, "particularly in Cuba," is "unfavorable to a mutual exchange of the products of each country." San Domingo annexed, the following changes, in the opinion of General Grant, would immediately occur: "All that is produced in Cuba could be produced in Santo Domingo. Being a part of the United States, *commerce between the island and mainland would be free; there would be no export duties on her shipments, nor import duties on those coming here. There would be no import duties upon the supplies, machinery, etc., going from the States.*" All restrictions on commercial intercourse being removed, "hundreds of American vessels," he continues, "would now be advantageously used in transporting the valuable woods and other products of the soil of the island to a market, and in carrying supplies and emigrants to it. The island is but sparsely settled, while it has an area sufficient for the profitable employment of several millions of people. The soil would have soon fallen into the hands of United States capitalists. The products are so valuable in commerce that emigration there would have been encouraged. The emancipated race of the South would have found there a congenial home, and where their labor would be so much sought after that the poorest among them could have found the means to go."

Whether all these glowing anticipations would have been

speedily realized had the proposed scheme of annexation been carried out may well be doubted. But apart from matters of conjecture, it is interesting to note how quick and keen a mind, which showed itself so little acquainted with industrial and commercial matters as that of General Grant, was to discern the benefit that might follow the removal of all restrictions on exports and imports and intercommunication between the United States and the island of San Domingo; and at the same time how utterly incapable it was to perceive that it was not necessary for the United States to annex and own San Domingo to secure such a degree of commercial freedom between the two countries; that all barriers in the way of attaining such a result were not natural, but mainly and artificially created by the legislation of the United States; and that there was nothing which the people and government of San Domingo would do more willingly than to admit every product of the United States, free of impost, into their ports, and accord all manner of other privileges to citizens of the United States on their island, on condition that the latter country would, in turn, allow the peculiar products of San Domingo to be imported into the United States on the terms that they would be, had the scheme of annexation been perfected, that is, free of duty.

The effect of arbitrary legislative restrictions on the international exchanges between the United States and the British Provinces, in hampering and diminishing the *general* business of the country, has been pointed out; but the effect of such restrictions on particular branches of business, obtained by analyzing the details of such exchanges, are equally significant and instructive. The case of the export of *manufactured* lumber is especially a case in point. Thus before the expiration of the reciprocity treaty between the United States and Canada, in 1865, when Canadian lumber could be imported into the United States free of duty, a very considerable business existed, all the way from Eastport, Maine, to New York, on the Atlantic coast, and also at certain points on the lakes, in importing Canadian lumber in the rough, working it up by machinery into the ready constituents of houses, — boards, flooring, shingles, doors, paling, sash, blinds, etc., — and shipping it to the West Indies, South America, Cape of Good Hope, Australia, and other countries, where labor was scarce and machinery almost wholly wanting. Of this business the United States, previous to

and during the first two years of the war, had almost entire control; and it is doubtful if even so much as one vessel up to that time left the Dominion waters for a foreign port loaded with any such manufactures. The great increase of prices and wages during the war, coupled with the presence of Confederate cruisers upon the high seas, as might have been expected, materially affected the extent of this business; but immediately on the termination of the war the export increased and gave evidence of complete revival. But when the reciprocity treaty was repealed in 1866, and Canadian lumber was, in consequence of the duties on its import in the United States, made twenty per cent more expensive to manufacture on this side of the boundary-line between the two countries than it was to manufacture on the other side of the same line, the increase was checked and the revival did not take place. American manufacturers moved their capital and machinery across the borders, or entirely abandoned the export business; while Canadian manufacturers made haste to take up the business where the Americans dropped it, or rather, by the action of their own government, were forced out of it. So that, whereas in 1863 few vessels loaded with manufactured lumber sailed out of the ports of the British Provinces for foreign markets, the number of such vessels so loaded and sailing in 1871 was reported in excess of *seventy;* the shipments of lumber, in great part manufactured, from the port of St. Johns, New Brunswick, to the British West Indies for example, increasing from $16,000 in 1855 to $550,000 in 1872; to the Spanish West Indies from $269,000 to $882,000; and to South America from $18,000 to $127,000, during the same period. On the other hand, the exports of manufactured lumber from the United States have never regained the proportions that they attained prior to the war, $1,882,000 in 1875, as compared with $3,158,000 (gold valuation) in 1857, and $2,703,000 in 1860. The annual exportation of all lumber from the United States, from 1865 to 1874, has also remained almost stationary; while the amount of lumber imported from the Provinces into the United States has increased, notwithstanding the duties and a large augmentation of prices, to meet home necessities.

But the commercial relations between the United States and the British North American Provinces are by no means peculiar or exceptional. They are, in fact, the type of the commercial rela-

tions which the United States has established with most or all other countries; and it matters little at what point one begins to investigate it. For he will find everywhere evidence, amounting to demonstration, that the development of the industry and commerce of the United States has been most disastrously checked, and the present state of business depression in a great degree occasioned, by the persistent refusal to recognize, in our commercial and fiscal legislation, the simplest principles of political economy. In further proof of this, attention is next asked to the character of our commercial relations with Chili, — one of the most prosperous of the South American states. The manufactures of Chili being few and rudimentary in the extreme, its people import from other countries nearly all that they require of cottons, woollens, hardware, agricultural implements, and other machinery, paints, oils, gunpowder, earthen and glass ware, boots and shoes, straw goods, etc., etc. The largest single item of their imports is cotton cloth, of which Chili imported for domestic consumption during the year 1874 — a year of great commercial depression — from Great Britain more than 55,000,000 yards; and from the United States during the same year, a quantity not in excess of 5,000,000 yards; or, in other words, this little state, one of the smallest among the nations, with a population of about 2,000,000, imported more cotton cloth, to supply her wants, from Great Britain in 1874 than the United States exported that same year in the aggregate to *all* foreign countries combined. During the year 1874 many of the cotton-mills of the United States stood idle or worked on reduced time, for the reason that no market could be found for their products; but had the United States been able to supply Chili during that year with 55,000,000 yards of cotton cloth, the demand would have sufficed to have kept about 150,000 spindles (No. 14 yarn), or about one quarter of the cotton-mills in the State of New York, in active operation for every working day in the year; and the withdrawal of the products of these mills from competition in the domestic market would probably have enabled many other mills in the country to have avoided suspension, to the great benefit of labor and to the diminution of destitution and idleness.

Now what was the reason that the United States were unable to sell but five millions of yards of cotton cloth in 1874 to Chili, while Great Britain could sell in the same year fifty-five

millions? Not that the people of Chili preferred English cloth to American, for the general testimony is to the effect that the American cloth is better. Not because the people of Chili were unwilling to trade with the people of the United States, for the relations of the two countries have always been in the highest degree friendly; and then, again, sentiment has very little to do with trade nowadays. Trade knows little and cares less of the places and nations where goods are made, and nations, alike with individuals, everywhere buy and sell as they think they can best subserve their own pocket interests. "Exactly so," will doubtless be the remark of some readers at this point. "England supplies Chili with cotton cloth rather than the United States, because of the advantage which comes to her through the possession of cheaper, or, as many are pleased to term it, pauper labor." But hold! England indeed has an advantage, but the advantage does not come in here. All recent investigations and practical experience have shown that in respect to the coarser cotton fabrics which constitute the bulk of the world's consumption, the United States can now manufacture full as cheap, and probably a little cheaper than Great Britain. There are cotton-mills now running in New England whose products are, and for the past year have been, largely exported and sold, after paying freights and commissions, at a profit in London, Liverpool, and Manchester. Cotton goods made at Fall River, Massachusetts, and shipped to England, have been reshipped by Manchester firms to foreign markets at a profit. According to the recent investigations of Mr. Atkinson (see communication to the New York Herald, April 24) the cotton-spinner in New England has, and for several years past has had, an advantage in the price of his cotton over the cotton-spinner of Manchester, England, of three fourths of a cent a pound on the cost of his cotton, which would admit of the New England manufacturer paying thirty-three per cent higher wages than his English competitor, "and yet make the thirty-inch (cotton) drill at the same cost." But the American cotton manufacturer does not pay thirty-three per cent higher wages than are paid for similar labor in Great Britain. On the contrary, according to Mr. Atkinson, all the evidence obtainable is to the effect that "the cost of labor per pound or yard of cloth is now as high in Great Britain as it is in New England, and, according to some of the evidence, the cost of manufacturing is to-day less in New England than in Great

Britain." "This difference the English manufacturer has of late only surmounted" (we continue to quote from Mr. Atkinson) "by adulterating his goods with starch, clay, barytes, and other substances, — a practice which is now reacting, and which, in the long run, will not succeed." * In the cost of producing cotton goods of the same quality suitable for the Chilian market the advantage, therefore, is clearly with the American rather than the British manufacturer; and, other things being equal, the American ought to have the trade. But other things are not equal; and in one particular especially the English manufacturer enjoys an advantage over the American, and by the American's own act and volition, which in the race for competition leaves the American nowhere. The Englishman recognizes the truth, and acts upon the basis, that all trade is barter, product being given for product, service for service; that to sell one must buy; and in supplying Chili with cotton cloth he takes his pay for his cloth in what Chili has got to pay with. The American manufacturer, on the other hand, refuses, or by the act of his own government is not allowed, to take his pay *directly* in what Chili has got to sell; and as a consequence has not, and as long as he continues to pursue the same course never will have, any considerable trade with Chili.

Thus, the commodity which Chili has mainly to sell is copper ore; out of a total export in 1872 of about $30,000,000, more than one half in value ($17,500,000) consisting of ores of copper, copper regulus, and unwrought copper. Another important article of Chilian export is wool. Now the method of trade between Great Britain and Chili is as follows: British ships, loaded with cotton-goods (average 55,000,000 yards per annum), hardware, paints, machinery, paper, etc., sail for Valparaiso, earning freights. Arriving in Chili, the cargo unloaded is replaced with another cargo of copper ores or wool, and the ships return to England, earning other freights. Profitable employment is thus given to many British ships, and an explanation in great part afforded of the continued supremacy of the British commercial marine, which

* In a recent lecture given before the Society of Arts in London by Mr. William Thompson, F. C. S., upon the "Sizing of Cotton Cloth," a list of the materials used for adulteration was given in detail and the methods described. In witness of the importance of the subject the lecturer said: "As a general rule the whole margin of the whole [English] manufacturer's profit lies within the size used."

strengthens and increases just in proportion as trade increases. Arriving in England the copper ores are sold to the copper-smelters at Swansea, in the southwest of England; who, in converting them into mercantile forms, employ English labor, English capital, English railway service, and consume large quantities of English coal. Smelted into ingots, rolled into sheets, or converted into yellow-metal, or brass, the Chilian copper is finally sold to whoever in the world wants to buy, — and all the world always does want to buy copper under some conditions,* — and out of the proceeds of the sale the Swansea smelter pays himself, pays the conton-spinner, the shipowner, the coal-miner, the common carrier, and all others concerned; the movement, as a whole, being in the nature of a great circle of transactions, in every one of which some profit accrues to English capital and some opportunity for employment is afforded to English labor. But in this great, and special circle of production and exchange American capital and American labor find no place.† Other interests have in effect said to Congress, a dollar made in copper-mining in the United States is worth more than a dollar made in copper-smelting in the United States, although the copper-smelting forms the link in a chain of transactions, which, uninterrupted, will allow of a great and continuous commercial current, and which in turn will give employment to ten dollars of capital and ten laborers, where the interests of copper-mining will employ of each but one. And Congress has thus far listened to the demands of the *small* and crushed the interests of the *great*, and since 1869 has imposed rates of duty on copper and copper-ore, which really were not

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* Consider the conditions under which that part of the world known as the United States buys. English yellow metal is admitted free of duty if used on American vessels not engaged in the coastwise trade; while the copper ore and copper out of which this very yellow-metal is made are excluded from our ports by the excessive duty imposed on their importation.

† The extent of this special circle of industry and commerce, from which the United States has excluded its labor and capital, is strikingly illustrated by the following figures: For the year 1875 the United States exported 5,147,140 pounds of unmanufactured copper, of the value of $1,046,227; and of brass and manufactures of copper and of brass, to the value of $1,125,711; total, $2,271,938. During the same year Great Britain exported of copper, wrought and unwrought, and of brass and yellow-metal, 1,001,940 cwt., having a declared value of $24,910,250; an amount greater than the value of all the wheat, in the form of flour, exported from the United States during the same year.

needed to sustain any American interests, that have made the importation of either of these commodities into the United States practically impossible. Previous to 1869 this was not so. Then under a duty of five per cent *ad valorem* copper ores, obtained in exchange for various products of American labor in Chili, on the coast of Africa, and in the West Indies, were imported in considerable quantities, and large works existed in Boston and New York harbors and in Baltimore for smelting them in connection with American ores that mixed advantageously. But no smoke has come out of the chimneys of any of these works since the imposition of the existing duty, and so long as it is continued none ever will.

In 1876, there being an evident opening for the sale of American farm products, cotton-fabrics, machinery, hardware, etc. in Chili, a line of steamers was started from Boston; owned in great part in the United States, but of British build and register, carrying the British flag and commanded by an English captain. After a year's experience, the agents report that they succeed tolerably well as to outgoing cargoes, but are embarrassed about the return cargo; and ships to be profitable must earn freights both going to and returning from a market. These Boston steamers, to obtain a return cargo, have therefore been obliged to take Liverpool freight and transship it at Boston; several hundred tons of copper in one instance, for example, having been recently brought by one steamer to Boston. But as this cargo could not be profitably landed at Boston, paying duty, it had immediately to be sent to England.

Another important article which Chili has to export, and give in payment for foreign products, is nitrate of soda (Chilian saltpetre), largely used in the manufacture of gunpowder, sulphuric and nitric acids, and for fertilizers; and our recent industrial and commercial experience with this raw material for manufacture as strikingly illustrates the beneficial effects of exemption from governmental interference, as our recent experience with that other raw material, copper, illustrates the disastrous effects of such interference. Prior to 1870 nitrate of soda was subjected on importation to a duty of one cent per pound; since 1870 it has been admitted free of duty. Note the effect. The imports, which in 1869–70 were 28,867,000 pounds, have increased to 51,887,000

in 1876. Who and what has been benefited? *First*, the carrying trade between the United States and Chili. *Second*, the general industry of the United States, for the labor embodied by the Chilians in digging and shipping the saltpetre has been compensated by an equivalent amount of labor embodied in some products (manufactured) of the United States, — nearly two pounds of nitrate of soda being used for the manufacture of gunpowder, nitric and sulphuric acids, and fertilizers, where one was used but a few years previous. *Third*, the powder, acid, and fertilizer makers, and the bleachers and dyers of the United States, who, having a part of the tools (raw materials) of their trade cheapened, have evidently sold more, and been enabled to sell cheaper, and so better contend against foreign competition in the production and sale of similar products. And who and what has experienced anything of detriment by the remission of duties on this Chilian saltpetre? The United States lost an amount of annual revenue (1869–70) of $288,000, which was probably not one twentieth of what the country gained indirectly, reckoned in money.

Leaving now Chili, and crossing the continent to the east, we have the Argentine Republic, another South American State resembling Chili. Its importations for the year 1874 were as follows: from England, $ 21,405,000; from France, $ 19,836,000; from Belgium, $ 16,777,000; and from the United States, $ 3,945,000, with *exports* to the United States of $ 3,747,000. An analysis of this insignificant trade between the United States and the Argentine Republic shows that it consisted, during the year specified, mainly of lumber, with some kerosene, tobacco, railway supplies, alcohol and whiskey, furniture, machinery, and a few other articles, *exported* from the United States, which were paid for mainly (to the extent of about two thirds) by an import from the Argentine Republic of dry hides, together with a little wool; and small as was this trade in 1874, the latest consular advices report it as diminishing and not increasing. During this same year the export of cotton goods from Great Britain to the Argentine Republic was in excess of forty millions of yards; while for the year 1875-76 the export from the United States of these same fabrics to this same country was practically nothing, — 155,000 yards being officially reported.

The explanation of this curious commercial phenomenon is not,

however, at all difficult. The principal commodity of domestic production which the Argentine States have got to give in exchange (or pay with) for the commodities of foreign production which it desires to have, is Mestiza wool; which, in connection with sheepskins and tallow, comprises about two thirds in value of the entire exports of the country. The United States could use Mestiza wool in large quantities, and pay for it with cotton goods and other manufactures, if our manufacturers were allowed to buy it. But this they are not allowed to do; for the duties on the import of this description of wool are all but prohibitory, and under such a condition of things there can be but little trade.

It is useless to expect to ship goods to Buenos Ayres to the growers of Mestiza wool and ask money in exchange; for they cannot pay money, even if the prices of our merchandise are considerably lower than the prices of corresponding English products, for they have not got it. There is no coin of any kind in circulation in the Argentine States, not even for small change, and the paper money used is of the most depreciated character. Hence, so far as we shut Mestiza wool out, we shut American cotton-fabrics and other merchandise in. England, on the other hand, imposing no restrictions on the trade with wool, the wool product of the Argentine States finds its way mainly to England, and is paid for, primarily, with English goods; and this in the main also is the reason why England, in 1874, sold to these States merchandise to the value of *seven* dollars where the United States sold *one*. If it now be rejoined that, in proportion as we exclude and use less of Mestiza and other foreign wools, the greater the amount of home-grown wool we will manufacture, and the larger the quantity of home manufacture we will sell to the American wool-grower for consumption, the answer is, that any such rejoinder will not be in accordance with experience. For (as will be hereafter demonstrated) the home producer of wool has always obtained the highest prices, and has raised proportionally the largest quantity, when foreign wool has been free of duty; while at the present time, with duties on the importation of foreign wools that are practically prohibitory, he is obtaining the lowest prices for his product, and buying the smallest quantities of other domestic merchandise.*

* Address of Edward Atkinson before the New England Cotton Manufacturers Association, April 26, 1876.

The same obstacles in the way of an extended commerce between the United States and the Argentine States also exist and operate on even a larger scale in respect to the trade between the United States and Australia and New Zealand. The rapid development of these British colonies in the South Pacific is one of the wonderful social and economic phenomenon of the latter half of the nineteenth century; the aggregate of their exports and imports (with a population of 2,278,000) for 1875 being $458,399,000, or more than three eighths of the aggregate foreign trade of the United States, with a population of about 44,000,000, for the same year. During the year 1875 these colonies imported, paid for, and consumed commodities of foreign production to the extent of $236,000,000; and of these the United States furnished so small a proportion that in the official and general summary of our exports (see Report of the Bureau of Statistics, 1875 – 76, p. 110) our Australian export trade is not considered of sufficient importance to have a special enumeration, but comes in under the general head "Domestic Exports to [all] the British East Indies, Australia" [and New Zealand] for 1875, $3,978,000." And yet an examination of the details of this small export shows that the Australians found it for their interest to buy a little of almost all the manufactured products which it is particularly for the interest of the labor of the United States should be sold abroad; and this, too, when the Australian markets were undoubtedly fully stocked with similar articles, the products of other foreign countries. If it be asked why these British colonies did not buy more of us, the answer is simple, and in the main is the same as must be given to the question, Why do not the Chilians and the people of the Argentine States of South America buy more? It is because the people of the United States will not take their pay for what they want to sell in what the Australians and New-Zealanders have got to pay with, mainly, wool and copper; and the enemies to the development of American industry are not, as it is continually and most impudently asserted, those who desire freer trade as a part of the fiscal policy of the United States, but those who demand that the existing obstacles to trade which have been pointed out, and the injurious effects of which are so obvious, shall be continued.

DAVID A. WELLS.

Art. VI. — New American Novels.*

Mr. Henry James's latest book has had, as it deserved to have, a somewhat exceptional reception. Not only has it been the subject of more careful and excellent criticism than has fallen to the lot of any other American novel of recent years, but it has called forth, both in print and elsewhere, much of that earnest discussion which is the best evidence of the impression made by uncommonly strong work; and in this instance the discussion has been of more than ordinary value in itself.

There has been no question — as, indeed, we think there can be none — with regard to Mr. James's novel, looked at from one point of view. The perfection of his literary skill is almost beyond cavil. His style has rare, strong qualities in admirable combination. It is delicate without weakness; there is a peculiar refinement in it, without a touch of pedantry or a moment's sacrifice of idiomatic force; it is rich without being fantastic, and individual without mannerisms. In this Mr. James compels the tribute of a hearty admiration; and we join willingly with those who give it without reservation. Whatever may be in dispute about him, he is, before all things, a master of the technical portion of his art, and so easily first among the men around him that we should look in vain, perhaps, for a comparison. What Mr. Howells wrote of his first book is true of all he has produced; it is "a marvel of delightful workmanship."

But the discussion with regard to "The American" has been upon another point; and one which concerns not only Mr. James's

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* *The American.* By Henry James, Jr. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co.

Garth: a Novel. By Julian Hawthorne. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

A Modern Mephistopheles. Boston: Roberts Brothers. (No Name Series.)

That Lass o' Lowrie's. By Frances Hodgson Burnett. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co.

The Jericho Road. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg, & Co.

The Barton Experiment. By the Author of "Helen's Babies." New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The Scripture Club of Valley Rest. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Nimport. Boston: Lockwood, Brooks, & Co. (Wayside Series.)

First Love is Best. By Gail Hamilton. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. (Cobweb Series.)

own prospective place in literature, but incidentally involves, in some degree, the dangerously broad question what a great novel really is.

Mr. James has given us a book appealing almost entirely — we are tempted to say wholly — to the reader's intellectual side. The enjoyment we derive from it is purely intellectual enjoyment. It is obvious to the warmest of his admirers (we do not count ourselves the least among the number), that imagination is not the impelling force with him; that he does not write under the pressure of a strong creative power. On the contrary, he is the representative of a class of men to whom, ordinarily, expression does not seem worth while; of Emerson's "great silent crowd" of highly cultured lookers-on, who feel no impulse toward speech. Even those of them who have the power are apt to feed so long upon the lotus-leaves of a certain kind of modern æsthetic culture, and to be so well satisfied with their meal, that they grow indisposed to all production. Often they drift into criticism of an unproductive kind; but even when they find voice and the wish to use it, they very rarely seek expression through the novel. The influence of their intellectual lotus-eating has taken the vivid dramatic interest out of life for them; they are — to borrow a word from the only race that could have coined it — entirely *désillusionné*. It is a rare strength that enables Mr. James to be in this class and yet not of it. But it has not been quite great enough to enable him to shake off the habit of one who is altogether a *spectator ab extra;* the critic and the analyst, rather than the sharer, of strong feeling.

Not that he is not immeasurably far away from that class of writers who make the reader feel as though he were attending merely on a series of experiments, — a kind of psychological clinic; the quality of his art alone would keep him from any error such as this. With him what Leslie Stephen calls "the cool, hard, and steady hand necessary for psychological dissection" is gentle and kindly in its touch. You do not notice it; you are not conscious of its passage, or of the work that it is doing. Only, he is contented with the mere exhibition of his skill and accuracy; consciously he seems to stop there, as though there were no need of going further. It is not necessary that you should feel when the persons of his story feel, — only that you should see that *they* are feeling. It is not needful that you should be in *rapport* with them, — that when a bundle of nerves is laid bare you should feel each

one tingle, and when a glimpse of a passion is discovered you should be put in keen enough sympathy with it to know the rest. The delicate and subtile analysis is followed throughout with all a student's interest; but it is an interest that attaches almost altogether to the process, very little to its suggestions or results, and least of all to the characters that may have been its subjects.

We do not ask for better bread than can be made with wheat, however; nor appreciate "The American" the less because it seems to us rather an almost perfect study, than a piece of completed or in any sense creative work. It is only because Mr. James stands so near the very head of the school in which he has enrolled himself, that what he writes inevitably raises a question as to the limitations of that school. If we doubt whether he and his companions are not confined, by the very conditions of their method, to the production of admirable specimens of skilful workmanship instead of real creations, we do not listen the less hopefully to those of his critics who believe that he will prove the doubt a groundless one. In the reaction which is strong just now against all crudity and carelessness there is danger that they may expect of his rare skill some things which skill alone cannot supply; yet he has shown himself so thoroughly a master in all that he has undertaken, that the one step higher may also be within his power.

Nationality and surroundings are the only things "The American" of Mr. James's present story has in common with the heroes of "Roderick Hudson" and the shorter sketches that made up its author's earlier volume. Christopher Newman is a new type with him; a more strongly marked and finished one than any he has touched before, and one so carefully studied that it is impossible to give a fair idea of it without the fine lights and shades of his own admirable picture. There is nothing of its kind in fiction better than the paragraph in which this hero first appears, — a man who "fills out the national mould with an almost ideal completeness." "But he was not only a fine American; he was, in the first place, physically, a fine man. He appeared to possess that kind of health and strength which, when found in perfection, are the most impressive, — the physical capital which the owner does nothing to 'keep up.' If he was a muscular Christian, it was quite without knowing it. If it was necessary to walk to a remote spot, he walked, but he had never known himself to 'exercise.' He had no theory with regard

to cold bathing or the use of Indian clubs; he was neither an oarsman, a rifleman, nor a fencer; he had never had time for these amusements, and he was quite unaware that the saddle is recommended for certain forms of indigestion. . . . . His usual attitude and carriage were of a rather relaxed and lounging kind; but when, under a special inspiration, he straightened himself, he looked like a grenadier on parade. . . . . He had a very well formed head, with a shapely, symmetrical balance of the frontal and the occipital development, and a good deal of straight, rather dry, brown hair. His complexion was brown, and his nose had a bold, well-marked arch. His eye was of a clear, cold gray, and, save for a rather abundant mustache, he was clean-shaved. He had the flat jaw and sinewy neck which are frequent in the American type; but the traces of national origin are a matter of expression, even more than of feature, and it was in this respect that our friend's countenance was supremely eloquent. . . . . It had that typical vagueness which is not vacuity, that blankness which is not simplicity, that look of being committed to nothing in particular, of standing in an attitude of general hospitality to the chances of life, of being very much at one's own disposal, so characteristic of many American faces. It was our friend's eye that chiefly told his story; an eye in which innocence and experience were singularly blended. . . . . Frigid and yet friendly, frank yet cautious, shrewd yet credulous, positive yet sceptical, confident yet shy, extremely intelligent and extremely good-humored, there was something vaguely defiant in its concessions, and something profoundly reassuring in its reserve. The cut of this gentleman's mustache, with the two premature wrinkles in the cheek above it, and the fashion of his garments, in which an exposed shirt-front and a cerulean cravat played perhaps an obtrusive part, completed the conditions of his identity."

This unsurpassed bit of description is so absolutely necessary to any comment on the story in which Newman plays a part, that we make no apology for the length of the quotation. With it, the general conception of the novel is half told. Newman had lived the vigorous, quickly successful life of such a man; among other things he had made himself an early fortune. "Life had been for him an open game, and he had played for high stakes. He had won at last and carried off his winnings; and now, what was he to do with them?" The first suggestions of this question had led

him to give up business at thirty-six, — not formally, as men do ordinarily, but suddenly, from a momentary, overmastering impulse. He became suddenly aware that there was another life whose possibilities he had not tested. "I seemed," he says to his friend Tristram, "to feel a new man inside my old skin, and I longed for a new world. . . . . As soon as I could get out of the game I sailed for Europe." This was how "The American" came to be in Paris. Knowing the man, how fresh a type he represents in fiction, how familiar a one, in fact, — catching immediately the full spirit of Mr. James's purpose in putting him suddenly in high relief against a background so opposite in color, we follow the story from these first few pages with an interest which is never suffered to flag, through a succession of character studies that are most perfect exhibitions of literary skill.

Madame de Cintré, who, with her surroundings, makes up that sharp contrast to his leading character without which Mr. James is never quite content, is to our mind the least successful figure in the book. We can well understand that a certain vagueness and haziness about his delineation of her should be a part of Mr. James's plan, for the sharp, decisive lines of Newman are thus most effectively brought out; but we are not prepared to find her so colorless as to seem somewhat inconsistent with the part she has to play. Beside the women of "Roderick Hudson" she is certainly not a successful piece of drawing; and the ability that Mr. James there showed in the depicting of his heroines leads to a little disappointment that Madame de Cintré should be left so mere an outline.

To atone for this, however, Mr. James has devoted more attention to his minor characters than is his habit; in this case possibly because each one of them adds such a vivid touch of color to the contrasted ground against which his leading figure stands, as we have said, in high relief. Madame de Cintré's mother, Madame de Bellegarde, the central stone of that hard wall against which poor Newman strikes, is a masterpiece of skilful drawing. Her "white, intense, respectable countenance, and its circumscribed smile, suggested a document signed and sealed; a thing of parchment, ink, and ruled lines. 'She is a woman of conventions and proprieties,' he [Newman] said to himself as he looked at her; 'her world is the world of things immutably decreed. But how

she is at home in it, and what a paradise she finds it! She walks about in it as if it were a blooming park, a Garden of Eden; and when she sees "This is genteel" or "This is improper" written on a milestone, she stops ecstatically, as if she were listening to a nightingale or smelling a rose.'" Her son, Urbain de Bellegarde, the head of the house, is scarce behind this picture. "He was 'distinguished' to the tips of his polished nails, and there was not a movement of his fine, perpendicular person that was not noble and majestic. Newman had never yet been confronted with such an incarnation of the art of taking one's self seriously; he felt a sort of impulse to step backward, as you do to get a view of a great façade." Best of all, however, is a less serious figure than Mr. James is wont to draw, Madame de Cintré's younger brother Valentin. A thorough Frenchman, a thorough light-heart through and through, — the only appearance in Mr. James's books of a type that Thackeray himself might have created, — Valentin is as living a personage as Newman himself. "The great point in his face," says a passage that describes him, "was that it was intensely alive, — frankly, ardently, gallantly alive. The look of it was like a bell, of which the handle might have been in the young man's soul; at a touch of the handle it rang with a loud, silver sound. There was something in his quick, light-brown eye which assured you that he was not economizing his consciousness. He was not living in a corner of it to spare the furniture of the rest. He was squarely encamped in the centre and he was keeping open house. When he smiled, it was like the movement of a person who in emptying a cup turns it upside down: he gave you the last drop of his jollity. He inspired Newman with something of the same kindness that our hero used to feel in his earlier years for those of his companions who could perform strange and clever tricks, — make their joints crack in queer places or whistle at the back of their mouths."

The ending of the novel will disappoint many beside those who look for a conventional *dénouement*. Its inconsistency with all the probabilities of Newman's character has been the chief objection brought against it by the critics; and it is a sound one. But to us there seems to be another fault as well. The close is somewhat blurred and ineffective; the point that Mr. James seeks to make in his last pages is lost in a vagueness which leaves the

reader not unsatisfied, as much strong work will do inevitably, — but positively discontented, and searching dimly for some reason why such sharp and tangible purposes and figures should pass so quickly into smoke.

It is a singular transition from "The American" to Mr. Julian Hawthorne's "Garth"; and yet in a literary sense the one most clearly points the moral of the other. In precisely that direction in which Mr. James is strong lies Mr. Hawthorne's greatest weakness. Were the two painters, one would use his rather cold, gray tints to fill out perfect drawing; down to its minutest accessory his picture would be studied and worked into perfect harmony; every trifle would be filled with the spirit of the whole; and if all should be covered up except a blown-out candle or a crumpled letter, that bit would indicate the story in each line. The other, conscious that he had some warm colors on his palette, would seek, perhaps half consciously, to make them do duty on his canvas in place of all the patient toil and care of art; handle them in a rather aimless way, content with an occasional effect; satisfied, apparently, to extort the confession that he had some powers, but lacking that which compels a man to finished and faithful performance.

Mr. Hawthorne, we mean to say, has always seemed to us a notable example of the want of a certain literary ambition, — what a critic has called "a reverent ideal of work," which Mr. James possesses very fully. Not that we would be understood as accusing the author of "Garth" of a lack of what is called "literary conscience," of a conscious misuse of either his abilities or his material; it is not this that we refer to. It is a certain carelessness and aimlessness; a want of clear conception in beginning, and of that staying quality which keeps him true to his purpose till it is wrought out completely. His novels always read as if he had grown tired of them before they were half done, and had finished them because he must, with work that now and then is almost slovenly. It is for this reason that his magazine stories and sketches are, in our opinion, so much better than any book that he has ever written.

We do not say all this because "Garth" is either a commonplace, or, in the ordinary sense, an unsuccessful novel; it is neither of these things. Far beyond any book that its author has yet published, it will be in some sense a revelation to those who have

known Mr. Hawthorne only through his "Bressant" and "Idolatry." But it is none the less a new and well-marked instance of the weakness which is the chief hindrance to his progress, and the chief drawback to any real enjoyment of his stories. The first hundred pages of the novel — the story of Garth Urmson's childhood, and notably the chapters on his boyish love and psychological experiences — are in nearly all ways simply charming. Mr. Hawthorne is working at his best, and his best means a great deal. There is a warmth and strength in his keen sympathy with nature, and something gentle and delicate in the way in which he treats Garth's boyish passion, and all the phases of his mental growth, that are very winning. The conception of the story, too, is shadowed forth in such a way that high hopes are excited, and we begin to appreciate how excellent and well-told a story Garth's might be. But the check comes. The power is not sustained; the strong effects are massed here and there to little purpose; the plot grows intricate without the slightest gain in interest or force. The reader's progress through the story becomes a mere wandering through a maze, the end of which he foresees so clearly that he ceases to care very much about it; while he is not sure that the author himself has a very clear idea by which path he shall lead him to it, and suspicions are excited that several changes of mind take place in the latter portion of the journey.

The characters are many of them strong, — Garth and his father easily chief among them, followed, at a long distance, by Madge Danver. Golightley seems to us by far too labored; Elinor incomplete and inconsistent; and inconsistency is not confined to her, but seems a necessary consequence, in all the persons of the story, of that certain aimlessness of which we have spoken as making all the ending lack the clearness of the earlier part. Were it the fashion to put books before the public marked "unfinished," as pictures are sometimes hung in exhibitions, the latter half of the story of "Garth" should be omitted, and the rest put forth as no unworthy showing of what a truly strong and excellent work Mr. Hawthorne might accomplish, if he would add to his many powers the patience of an artist.

"A Modern Mephistopheles" is an imaginative sketch, — more than half an allegory, — written with considerable grace of fancy, and with fair success in carrying out the spirit in which it was

conceived. The unknown author — who, of whichever sex, writes in this instance with both the defects and merits of a woman's pen — has given a new, fantastic dress to a world-old story, — a story that will suggest to its readers, as it does to its writer (so clearly that he feels, as it were, in duty bound to mention it), Retzsch's familiar picture of "The Game of Life."

Jasper Helwyze (whose name, by the way, is meant to fit him after the most approved models of the "Pilgrim's Progress") is seized by a sudden fancy to rescue and aid, for the ultimate purpose of a psychological experiment, a young author of whom he hears by accident, whom failure and privation have made desperate, and whom he interrupts in the midst of an attempt at suicide. The youth, Felix Canaris, accepts his new life eagerly, and in Helwyze's luxurious home — such a "dream of luxury," of course, as every writer has a prescriptive right to introduce into a story of this order, albeit architecture and the possibilities are thereby outraged — he blossoms into the beauty and vigor nature had meant him to possess, and want had hitherto kept from him. Full of all the possibilities of young manhood, he forms an admirable subject for the Mephistophelian designs of his protector; whose first desire, of course, is to gain over him a power from which he cannot well escape. The keen ambition of Canaris offers him a way. He offers to help the young author with the volume of poems he has dreamed of, yet failed to finish or to find success for. For a while Canaris labors on alone; but the inspiration will not come. Led by the stronger mind, he consents to the secret substitution of some poems by Helwyze for his own; the book comes out under Canaris's name and makes him famous. From that day he is the slave of the "modern Mephistopheles."

Naturally, we have not space or inclination to trace here the course of Helwyze's experiments, whether on the mind of his chief victim, or on the minds of the only other two characters who enter into the fantastic little story. These two are women, — and the types of women necessary to make up what may be called the psychologic quadrilateral. One is Olivia, the "sumptuous beauty," attracting all the sensuous part of Canaris's nature, but herself absorbed in a devoted worship of the master-spirit, Helwyze. The other is called Gladys, the best-drawn character the book contains, whose appeal is to the young man's better, more ideal side; the watching angel in his game.

The story is too lightly drawn to be judged by stern standards; and the delicacy of its execution entitles it to praise. Its little faults, and even a few absurdities, are of a kind to make it seem absurdly hypercritical to comment on them harshly. If Helwyze's eyes are a little too intensely black and magnetic, if Olivia is a trifle too "sumptuous," and "the villa," as we intimated, magnificent beyond the power of all upholstery, why should we quarrel with the too liberal fancy that created them? "A Modern Mephistopheles" remains a fresh and dainty fantasy; and this was all its author offered.

"That Lass o' Lowrie's" is a novel American by authorship, though its scene is laid in the coal-region of English Lancashire; in which county, if a current newspaper paragraph may be believed, the author of the book, Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett, passed some years of girlhood. It is essentially a well-told story, of a not extraordinary sort, but chiefly noteworthy for the excellence of its local color, and for one or two well-drawn types of character. The heroine, a pit-girl surrounded by every kind of coarsening influence, doing a man's work in the mines, and beaten and bullied by a brutal father, is the strong figure of the novel; and Mrs. Burnett's merit lies in this, — that she succeeds in bringing out the whole womanliness of this girl's nature, and in showing her development into an altogther different being, and yet does not call in cant or impossible absurdities to aid her in the task. Joan Lowrie is by no means one of those familiar characters who, in the midst of a phenomenally vicious career, suddenly grow seraphic wings before the very eyes of the observer, and begin incontinently to chatter the platitudes that mark "a change of heart." Her mental growth is quiet and consistent, on the whole; and if her natural strengths at the beginning are a little puzzling to one disposed to reason logically from her education and surroundings, yet we are far from saying that they are impossible.

Some of the minor characters are excellently done, — notably "owd" Sammy Craddock, the village oracle and humorist, and Jud, a refreshingly natural and unregenerate boy. The leading persons, — excepting always Joan herself, — though not ill-drawn, are more conventional; nor is the story's plot a very new one apart from its fresh dress, — not new enough, at all events, to con-

tain any surprises for the least-hardened novel-reader. Fergus Derrick, the London engineer sent down to take charge of Riggan collieries, — somewhat of a muscular Christian, who strides "like a young son of Anak, brains and muscle evenly balanced and fully developed," — is by no means a new acquaintance, and has no unfamiliar part to play. Large odds might be given (to speak after the worldly fashion), that he would reform the coal-pits, thrash the local bully (who in this case chances to be Joan Lowrie's father), and become a hero to Joan herself. But he is a good healthy type of hero, like others of his school, and we have no quarrel with him. His friend Paul Grace, the "little parson," frail and sensitive, but full of pluck in a crisis, also has his prototypes in other fiction, yet is not an unwelcome figure; and has his natural companion in Anice Barholm, the rector's daughter, who is the feminine agent in Joan's elevation, and who, to her glory be it said, justifies the praise that one of her poor protegés bestows upon her, — "Yo' dunnot harry me wi' talk." It is because it does not "harry us wi' talk" that Mrs. Burnett's novel is successful above others of its kind.

We were not in the least prepared, we willingly confess, to find much pleasure in the three short stories, "The Jericho Road," "The Barton Experiment," and "The Scripture Club of Valley Rest." All of them are announced, though not upon their title-pages, as having the same author, Mr. John Habberton, whose last year's trifle, "Helen's Babies," proved a success that may have marked a white day in the calendar of its publisher, but certainly gave not the faintest promise of better or more serious work upon its writer's part. If we have been agreeably disappointed, we would not convey the idea — unjust alike to Mr. Habberton and to ourselves — that it is because we have found in these three Western sketches anything of great intrinsic value. More purely tentative, experimental bits of writing could hardly be imagined; and it is so obvious that they are nothing more, that we are almost sorry to see them clothed in the dignity of separate volumes, instead of passing their ephemeral lives between the covers of the magazines, or gaining at most the permanence of a "collection." Their worth is simply in their revelation of new possibilities; in promises concerning the fulfilment of which we cannot prophesy, since that depends on Mr. Habberton's own earnestness, the quality of his

ambition, and his ability to rid himself of certain crudities not only of expression, but of thought.

All the stories deal with a kind of Western life that is altogether new to literature; not the Pike County civilization of John Hay's ballads, nor the picturesque barbarism of Bret Harte's mining country, but the hard, prosaic, and angular life of villages on Western lakes and rivers; life that has grown up within moral and social lines as rigid and ungraceful as "fever an' ager" ever made the gaunt contours of those who live it. The types of character that Mr. Habberton chooses to treat cannot be overlaid with sentimentalism; and the one fact would show his art to be beyond the common, that he has kept them from being only repellent and useless studies of pure harshness, for which their mere fidelity to nature could hardly be a sufficient *raison d'être*. In spite of all their utter want of picturesqueness, and in spite, too, of the rather stiff didactic purpose which is almost naïvely stated as the motive for his giving us their story, he has made his people very human, and his local coloring so nearly perfect as to show a power he ought not to neglect.

We have not space to go into the detail of the stories. By far the best of them, "The Jericho Road," is concerned with the problem of what may happen to the weak member of a rude society when, as Mr. Habberton puts it in his preface, the Good Samaritan does not come along. "The Barton Experiment" is the history of a "Temperance Reform" in Barton Village, wherein the reformers' eyes were opened to certain practical aspects of the matter of intemperance and the community's business with the drunkard, which had hitherto escaped them, as they have escaped the eyes of other and more cultured classes. "The Scripture Club of Valley Rest" pleases us least of all the three, — not because in its history of the shades of opinion, the difficulties and the types of character appearing in the Bible-class of a village church, it approaches more closely to a purely didactic book than even either of the others; but because its figures are so much more crudely drawn, and show so much less invention and spirit than the two earlier stories lead us to expect.

Mr. Habberton is entering upon his work as heavily handicapped as a new author can be, — weighted with a meaningless success, and with the constant temptation to do hurried work because he

knows a similar success awaits whatever he may publish. But in the "Jericho Road" and the "Barton Experiment" there is distinct evidence of a talent which should in time give better results than these two trifles.

The books whose titles end our somewhat random list may be described without injustice in the compass of a paragraph. "Nimport" is clearly the production of a writer who has his hardest lesson yet to learn in the subordination of his own somewhat obtrusive cleverness, before the few uneven merits of his work can bear a large proportion to its great defects. To write a volume with so obvious an effort to say telling things, and not to say any, would be beyond the power of any person moderately equipped with wit and general reading; so that "Nimport" is not altogether without its epigrams and touches of good characterization. Yet, as a whole, it cannot but be rated wearisome; and the bad habit of a leading person of the story, in communicating her adventures in letters of that odious kind written to be read aloud amid the hearers' praises of their "cleverness," can only be a warning to many wise novel-readers that the book is to be shunned. Gail Hamilton's "First Love is Best" is simpler in its style and altogether better than what might perhaps be looked for by habitual readers of its author's works; and yet it fully justifies her long apology for entering upon the novelist's domain. What is good in this story would have been still better said in the essay form in which she has already written — somewhat overwritten, possibly. And what is otherwise than good might thus have passed unnoticed, being of that peculiar sort of commonplace which never strikes one as particularly stupid till put into the mouths of characters in fiction.

EDWARD L. BURLINGAME.

Art. VII. — "Fair Wages."

The newspapers have fallen into line to defend the railway companies, who thus have brought all the great guns of public opinion to bear on one side of the fight, so the strikers have got the worst of it before the community. We have been so handled that if a workingman stands out to speak his mind, the public have theirs so full of pictures of him and his doings in the illustrated papers, that he is listened to as if he was a convicted rough pleading in mitigation of penalty, instead of an honest and sincere man asking for a fair show. I would not have any one mistake what my principles are and have been. I don't envy any man his wealth, whether it is ill-gotten or not. I am a workingman, therefore an honest one, and would refuse a dollar I did not earn, for I am neither a beggar to accept charity nor a thief to take what belongs to another, however he came by it. If it be his according to law, I, for one, am ready to protect him in his legal rights, and in return I want to be protected in what I believe to be mine.

Forty years ago my father came over to this country from Sweden. He had a small business and a large family. In Europe business does not grow as fast as children come, and poverty over there is an inheritance. He heard that North America was peopled and governed by workingmen, and the care of the States was mainly engaged in the welfare and prosperity of labor. That moved him, and so I came to be born here. He, and millions like him, made this country their home, and their homes have mainly made this country what it is. Until lately the States kept their faith and promise to the people, and we, the people, showed ours when trouble came; an assessment of blood was made on our shares of liberty, and we paid it. That is our record. We did not fight for this party or that party, but for the country and against all that were against the United States.

I am no politician, caring little whether one party or another holds the fort at Washington. My father, who, like me, was a workingman, used to say a country fared best where a strong

and sound opposition party kept justice awake and made power behave.

So it was before the war, but since then, it seems to me, the power has got fixed so long in one set of hands that things are settling down into a condition like what my father left behind him in Europe forty years ago, and what stands there still. I mean the slavery of labor. The landed aristocracy over there made the feudal system, just as the moneyed men of this continent are now making a ruling class. As the aristocracy used to make war on each other, so in our time the millionnaires live on each other's ruin. As the feudal lords hired mercenary soldiers to garrison their strongholds and to prey on the common people, so the railway lords and stock-exchange barons hire a mercenary press to defend their power, the object of both being the same: the spoils of labor. It looks very like as though this country was settling down into the form and system we fled from in Europe.

The rights and value of labor were acknowledged here forty years ago because the country wanted hands. Now we have made it rich, it turns our own earnings against us, and its prosperity becomes our disaster. We are told to look at Europe and perceive that this condition of affairs is the inevitable result of growth, of population, of wealth; but we look over there, and find that discontent, rebellion, and war are also the inevitable results, and it was to avoid such results these States declared themselves free, that Americans should have a government that was not a conspiracy.

That government has been regarded by the laboring classes of Europe and by our people as the stronghold of the workingman, and in this our present difficulty we are referred to its Constitution which should afford us a remedy for our grievances, the ballot-box is the panacea for all and every complaint. It is not so; and those who point to the remedy know it to be a sham,— they know they can buy idlers and vagabonds enough to swell the ranks of wealth and run up a majority whenever a show of hands is required. They recruit the very men that wrecked Pittsburgh, and would pillage New York if they dared to face us, the workingmen, that fill the ranks of the militia.

We are sick of this game, we are soul-weary of looking around for some sympathy or spirit of justice, and, finding none, we turn to each other and form brotherhoods and unions, depots of the army of labor, officered by the skilled mechanic.

This organized force is now in process of formation, and prepared to meet the great questions of the age: Has labor any rights? If so, what are they? Our claim is simple. We demand *fair wages.*

We say that the man able and willing to work, and for whom there is work to do, is entitled to wages sufficient to provide him with enough food, shelter, and clothing to sustain and preserve his health and strength. We contend that the employer has no right to speculate on starvation when he reduces wages below a living figure, saying, if we refuse that remuneration, there are plenty of starving men out of work that will gladly accept half a loaf instead of no bread.

We contend that to regard the laboring class in this manner is to consider them as the captain of a slave-ship regards his cargo, who throws overboard those unable to stand their sufferings. Let those who knew the South before the war go now amongst the mining districts of Pennsylvania, and compare the home of the white laborer with the quarters of the slave; let them compare the fruits of freedom with the produce of slavery!

But we know the question is a difficult one to settle, — we do not want to force it on with threats. The late strike was not intended to break out as it did; things broke loose and took a direction we regretted. We find ourselves answerable for results we had no share in or control over. Nevertheless we accept the event as a symptom of the disorder that is consuming our body and pray the country to look to it, — it is not a passing complaint. Let me put this matter in a plain way, as we understand it, and use round numbers instead of fractions, as we have to deal with hundreds of millions, — dividing the subject into sections.

1. In the United States the amount of capital invested in railway property last year was $4,470,000,000, made up of $2,250,000,000 capital stock and $2,220,000,000 bonded debt. The gross earnings were $500,000,000, or about eight and a half per cent on the capital. The running expenses (of which the bulk was for labor) were $310,000,000, leaving $185,000,000 as interest to the capitalist, or barely four per cent on his investment.

Labor is admitted into this enterprise as a preferential creditor, to be paid out of gross earnings before the most preferred mortgagee or bond holder receives a dollar. For as capital could not build

the roads nor equip them without labor, so the enterprise, when complete, cannot be run without labor.

Capital, therefore, takes a back seat when it comes to the push, and acknowledges not only that labor has the largest interest in the concern, but takes the first fruits.

I take the railroad as a sample out of all enterprises, and if we could get at figures, there is no doubt it is a fair sample of the crowd. If, then, labor is the more important and essential factor in the result, when it comes to the question which of the two shall suffer in moments of general distress, the capitalist in his pocket or the laborer in his belly, we think the answer has been already settled by the rights assumed by one and acknowledged by the other.

2. It is manifestly unjust that the workingman should be subject to under wages in bad times, if he has not the equivalent of over wages in good times. If railroad companies in concert with the laboring class had established a tariff of labor, and paid a bonus on wages at every distribution of dividends, that bonus being in proportion to the profits of the road, so that each man becomes a shareholder in his very small way, then he would have submitted to bear his share of distress when all were called on to share trouble, but to share it equally and alike.

3. When folks say that labor and capital must find, by the laws of demand and supply, their natural relations to each other in all commercial enterprises, and neither one has any rights it can enforce on the other, they take for granted that the labor "market" is, like the produce market, liable to natural fluctuations. If that were so, we should not complain. But it is not. The labor market has got to be like the stock and share market; a few large capitalists control it and make what prices they please. This sort of game may ruin the gamblers in stocks, and injure those who invest, but the trouble is confined mostly to those who deserve to lose or those who can afford it.

But not so when the same practice operates in the labor market. The capitalist must not gamble with the bread of the workingman, or if he does, let him regard where that speculation led France one hundred years ago, when the financiers made a corner in flour, and the people broke the ring with the axe of the guillotine.

4. When the railway companies obtained privileges and rights

over private property, and became by force of law the great landowners of the state, holding its movable property as well, and controlling every avenue and department of business, public and private, they became powerful monopolies. The state endowed them with powers to frame laws of their own and deprived citizens of their property, means, facilities of transport, to vest it all in these corporations. Thus endowed, they cannot pretend they are no more than ordinary commercial enterprises. They are responsible to the state for the result of their operations, if they disturb fatally the order of our concerns. They are not independent. The state has claims upon them it has not on private concerns. They may not accept liabilities and then decline responsibility. It behooves the state to decide what the people are entitled to in return for all they have conceded to these companies, and to enforce such claims.

5. The English Parliament legislated on the question of the number of hours a workingman should labor. It limits them to so many. It legislates for his health and supply of light and water. In all these matters the capitalist has an interest. (He does as much for his horse.) But when it comes to the question of a proper amount of food and clothing, of warmth and shelter, the government declines to interfere. It leaves the question of fair wages to be adjusted between employer and employed.

And so I leave it, fearing I have put the matter in rough language, but not intentionally rude, having a deep and loyal faith in the humanity and justice that abide in the hearts of all this community, and wishing that God had given me the power to touch them.

A "STRIKER."

NOTE. — In this case, as in all others, the Editor disclaims responsibility for the opinions of contributors, whether their articles are signed or anonymous.

Art. VIII. — Reformed Judaism.

PART II.

Mendelssohn.

Reformed Judaism originated in Germany; its leading representatives have invariably been Germans. The history of Germany during the past hundred years is the background upon which our account of the movement must be projected.

The Jews of Germany had waited long and patiently for deliverance. At last, toward the close of the eighteenth century, it came, and one whom they delight to call their "Second Moses" arose to lead them into the promised land of freedom. This was Moses Mendelssohn. His distinguished merits as a writer on philosophy and æsthetics we need not here pause to dilate upon, but shall proceed at once to consider him in his relations to the political, social, and religious emancipation of his people. In each of these different directions his example and influence upon others served to initiate a series of salutary changes, and he may thus appropriately be termed the father of the Reform movement in its widest acceptation. It was Mendelssohn who, in 1781, inspired Christian Wilhelm Dohm to publish his book "On the Civil Amelioration of the Jews," a work in which an earnest plea for their enfranchisement was for the first time put forth. The author points to the thrift and frugality that mark the Jewish race, their temperate habits and love of peace, and exposes the folly of debarring so valuable a class of the population from the rights of the citizen. He appeals to the wisdom of the government to redeem the errors and injustice of the past; he defends the Jews against the absurd charges which were still repeated to their discredit, and strenuously insists that liberty and humane treatment would not only accrue to their own advantage, but would ultimately redound to the honor and lasting welfare of the state. Dohm's book created a profound impression, and though it failed to produce immediate results, materially aided the cause of emancipation at a later period.

Again Mendelssohn was the first to break through the social re-

straints that obstructed the intercourse of Jews and Christians, and thus triumphed over a form of prejudice which is commonly the last to yield. His fame as a writer greatly assisted him in this respect. The grace and freshness of his style, the apparent ease with which he divested the stern problems of philosophy of their harsher aspects, had won him many and sincere admirers. His "Phædon" was eagerly read by thousands, whom the writings of Leibnitz and Kant had repelled. On the afternoon of the Jewish Sabbath he was accustomed to assemble many of the choice spirits of the Prussian capital, among whom we mention Lessing, Nikolai, and Gleim, in his home. The conversation turned upon the gravest and loftiest topics that can occupy the human soul. The host himself skilfully guided the stream of discussion, and the waves of thought flowed easily along in that placid, restful motion which is adapted to speculative themes. The spirit that of old had hallowed the shades of Academe presided over these gatherings. Mendelssohn emulated the plastic idealism of Plato and the divine hilarity of Socrates. The singular modesty, the truthfulness and quiet dignity that adorned his character were reflected upon the people from whom he had sprung, and produced a salntary change in their favor in the sentiments of the better classes.

But it is as the author of a profound revolution in the Jewish religion that Mendelssohn attracts our especial interest. Not, indeed, that he himself ever assumed the character of a religious reformer. He was, on the contrary, sincerely devoted to the orthodox form of Judaism, and even had a change appeared to him feasible or desirable, he would in all probability have declined the responsibility of publicly advocating it. His was the contemplative spirit which instinctively shrinks from the rude contact of reality. He had neither the aggressive temper nor the bold self-confidence that stamp the leader of parties. And yet, without intending it, he gave the first impulse to Jewish Reform, whose subsequent progress, could he have foreseen it, he would assuredly have been the first to deprecate.

The Bible.

The condition of the Jews at the close of the last century was in many respects unlike that of any other race that has ever been led from a state of subjection to one of acknowledged equality.

Long oppression had not, on the whole, either blunted their intellects or debased their morals. If they were ignorant in modern science and literature, they were deeply versed in their own ancient literature, and this species of learning was not the privilege of a single class, but the common property of the whole people. What they lacked was system. In the rambling debates of the Talmud the true principles of logical sequence are but too often slighted, and the student is encouraged to value the subtle play of dialectics on its own account, without regard to any ultimate gain in useful and positive knowledge. Impatience of orderly arrangement, being allowed to develop into a habit, became contagious. It impressed itself equally on the thought, the manners, the language * of the Jews, and contributed not a little to alienate from them the sympathies of the refined. Such, however, was the preponderating influence of the Talmud that it not only engrossed the attention of the Jewish youth to the exclusion of secular knowledge, but even perverted the exegesis of the Bible and caused the study of Scripture to be comparatively neglected. To weaken the controlling influence of the Talmud became the first needful measure of Reform, and to accomplish this it was necessary to give back to the Bible its proper place in the education of the young. It was an event, therefore, of no mean significance when Mendelssohn, in conjunction with a few friends, determined to prepare a German translation of the Pentateuch, and thus, by presenting the teachings of Scripture in the garb of a modern tongue, to render their true meaning apparent to every reflecting mind. The work was finished in 1783. It holds a like relation to the Jewish Reform movement that Luther's translation held to the great Protestant movement of the sixteenth century. It was greeted with a storm of abuse upon its appearance, and was loudly execrated by the orthodox as the beginning of larger and far-reaching innovations. Its author might sincerely protest his entire innocency of the radical designs imputed to him, but subsequent events have proved the keener insight of his opponents. The influence of the new translation was twofold. In the first place it facilitated a more correct understanding of the doctrine, the literature and language of Scripture; secondly, — and this is

* The German Jews spoke a mixed dialect of German and Hebrew, which has been likened to the so-called Pennsylvania Dutch.

worthy of special remark,— it served the purpose of a text-book of the German for the great mass of the Jews, who were at that time unable to read a book written in the vernacular, and thus became the means of opening to them the treasure-house of modern thought.* In the very year in which Mendelssohn's work appeared we notice among the younger generation a general revival of interest in the Hebrew, the mother-tongue of their race. Two students of the University of Königsberg began the issue of a periodical devoted to the culture of the Hebrew, which was widely read and attracted great attention. Poems, original essays, Hebrew versions of modern writings, appeared in its columns; the style of the Prophets and of the Psalmists was emulated, the works of the ancient masters of the language served as models, and in the aspect of the noble forms employed in the diction of the biblical authors the æsthetic sense of the modern Jews revived. We are inclined to doubt whether the Hebrew Bible, considered merely with a view to its æsthetic value, is even yet fully appreciated. The extravagance of religious credulity and the violent extreme of scepticism have alike tended to obscure its proper merits. The one accustomed to behold in the "holy book" a message from the Creator to his creatures shrinks, as a rule, from applying to the work of a Divine author the critical standard of human composition. The sceptics, on the other hand, impatient of the exorbitant claims which are urged for the sacred writings of the Jews, and resenting the sway which they still exercise over the human reason, are hardly in a proper frame of mind to estimate justly its intrinsic and imperishable excellences. And yet, setting aside all questions of the supernatural origin of the Bible, and regarding only the style in which its thoughts are .conveyed, how incomparably valuable does it still remain! It would be difficult to calculate the extent to which many of our standard authors are indebted for the grandest passages of their works to their early familiarity with the biblical style. Those who are able to read the text in the original become aware of even subtler beauties that escape in the process of translation. Purity of diction, power of striking antithesis, simple and yet sublime imagery, a marvellous facility in the expression of complex states of feeling, and those the deepest of which the human soul is capable, are but a few of the

* The German of Mendelssohn's translation was written in Hebrew letters.

obvious features that distinguish the golden age of Hebrew literature. Never perhaps has the symbolism of nature been used with such supreme effect to express the unspeakable emotions that are deep down in the heart of man. Such music as that which swells through the pages of Isaiah's prophecies cannot be forgotten; such ringing, rhythmic periods, in which the eloquence of conviction bursts forth into the rounded fulness of perfect oratory, can never fail to touch and to inspire. We know of no nobler pattern on which the modern orator could mould his style. And thus, too, the exquisite poetry of the Song of Songs, the idyl of the Book of Ruth, the weird pathos of Jeremiah's lament, the grand descriptions of Job, will ever be counted among the masterpieces of human genius. Whatever we may think of the doctrines of the Bible, it is safe to predict that the book will live long after the myths that surround its origin shall have been dispelled; nay, all the more, when it shall cease to be worshipped as a fetish will men appreciate its abiding claims to their reverence, and it will continue to hold its honored place in the libraries of the nations. The refining influence of the study of the Bible soon became evident among the contemporaries of Mendelssohn. But in another way also his translation tended to their improvement. We have said that it became the means of acquainting them with the language of the land. A wide field of knowledge, embracing the rich results of modern science, philosophy, and art, was thus laid open to their industry. Eagerly they availed themselves of the proffered opportunity; schools were erected, in which the elements of liberal culture were imparted to the young, and erelong we find a new generation of the Jews engaging in honorable competition with their Christian brethren for the prize of learning and the rewards of literary distinction. It was at this time that Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason" appeared, a work which marks a new epoch in the world's thought. Its profound reasoning and technical style made it difficult of comprehension to all but the initiated. Three Jewish scholars — Dr. Herz, Salomon Maimon, and Ben-David — undertook the task of popularizing its main results, and were among the first to call attention to the transcendent importance of the new system. Plainly new vital energy was coursing through the veins of the Jewish people.

Social Standing.

But at this very time, while they were rapidly assimilating the best results of modern culture and winning the respect and confidence of the learned, the Jews of Germany were still laboring under an odious system of special laws, and beheld themselves excluded from the common rights of citizenship. The manly effort of Dohm in their behalf had as yet availed nothing; the voice of bigotry was still supreme in the councils of the sovereign. And yet they felt themselves to be the equals of those whom the law unjustly ranked their superiors, and longed to see the barriers done away that still divided them from their fellow-men. Many of their number had amassed fortunes, and expended their wealth with commendable prudence and generosity. They supported needy students, founded libraries, extended their knowledge, and refined their tastes. Even the Jewish maidens followed the general impulse toward self-culture that was setting with such force in the Jewish community. In particular the works of Schiller and Goethe, as they successively appeared at this period, inflamed their enthusiasm, and none were more zealous than they in spreading the fame and influence of the new school of German literature. Still they were taught to consider themselves an inferior class, and were despised as such. The position of equality which the narrowness of the laws denied them they were resolved to achieve by the weight of character and the force of spiritual attractions. Henrietta de Lemos, a young girl of singular beauty and attainments, had at this time become the wife of Dr. Herz, of whom we have casually spoken above in his connection with Kant. She is described as tall, graceful, possessing a face in which the features of Hellenic and Oriental beauty were blended in exquisite harmony; while the soubriquet of the "Tragic Muse," by which she became known, denoted the majestic nobleness of her presence. Under the guidance of competent masters she had acquired considerable proficiency in many of the modern and ancient languages, and to a mind stored with various knowledge was added the mellow charm of a most sweet and loving disposition. Attracted by her fame and captivated by her genius, the most eminent men of the day sought the privilege of her society. The art of conversation, which had till then received but little attention in the Prussian capital, was for the first time cultivated

in the *salon* of Henrietta Herz. Sparkling wit and profound philosophy were alike encouraged. Statesmen high in the service of their country sought the amenities of these delightful gatherings. Alexander and Wilhelm von Humboldt, Gentz, Schleiermacher, Friedrich von Schlegel, Mirabeau, Dorothea, the daughter of Mendelssohn, Rahel, afterwards wife of Varnhagen von Ense, were among the intimates of her circle. Christians and Jews met here on terms of mutual deference, and forgot for a while the paltry distinctions which still kept them asunder in the world without. And yet these distinctions, senseless in themselves, were full of ominous meaning to those who felt their burden. Young men eager for advancement in life found their religion an insuperable obstacle in their way. The professions, the army, the offices of the government, were closed against them. On the threshold of every higher career they were rudely repulsed, unless they embraced the base alternative of changing their creed to satisfy their ambition. Under these circumstances that fidelity to the faith of the fathers which had so long marked the conduct of the Jews began seriously to waver, and in many instances gave way. Not, indeed, that the new converts became true and loyal Christians. On the contrary, they considered the rite of baptism a mere hollow form, and left it to the state, which had insisted upon their conformance, to justify the deep disgrace that was thus brought upon the Christian sacraments. Moreover, a certain laxity in the interpretation of dogma had at this time become widely prevalent, which greatly assisted them in setting their conscience at ease. Rationalism had stripped the positive religions of much of their substance and individuality. To none of them was an absolute value allowed. They were regarded as forms in which a principle higher than all forms had found an imperfect and temporary expression. Even the influence of Schleiermacher tended rather to obliterate than to define the outlines of the contending creeds. Schleiermacher, the author of a Protestant revival in Germany, spoke the language of Pantheism, and his opinions are deeply suffused with the spirit of Pantheistic teachings. He defines religion to be the sense of dependence on the Infinite, the Universal. To the fact that different men in different ages have been variously affected by the conception of the Infinite he ascribes the origin of the different creeds. Theological dogmas, according to him, cannot claim to be true in

the sense of scientific or philosophical propositions. They approach the truth only in so far as they typically express certain emotional processes of our soul, and those dogmas are nearest the truth which typify emotions of the most noble and exalted character. Allowing Christianity to be what its learned expounders had defined it, intelligent Jews could hardly find it difficult to assume the Christian name. It is estimated that in the course of three decades full one half of the Jewish community of Berlin were nominally Christianized.

How thoroughly conventional, at the same time, the use of the term Christian had become may be judged from a letter addressed by David Friedlander, a friend of Mendelssohn's, to Councillor Teller of the Consistory, in which he offered, on behalf of himself and some co-religionists, to accept Christianity in case they might be permitted to omit the observance of the Christian festivals, to reject the doctrine of the Trinity, of the divinity of Jesus, and, in fact, whatever is commonly regarded as essentially and specifically Christian. It is true the reply of the Councillor was not encouraging.

Paris, the New Jerusalem.

While the very existence of Judaism was thus threatened in Germany, it seemed about to regain its pristine vigor in France. More than seventeen centuries had elapsed since the Sanhedrin, the High Court of Jerusalem, had passed out of existence. Quite unexpectedly it was recalled to momentary life by the caprice of the great Corsican, who then ruled the destinies of the world. In the year 1806 Napoleon convened a parliament of Jewish Notables at Paris in order to definitely settle the relations of French Israelites to the state. Soon after an imperial decree convoked the grand Sanhedrin for the purpose of ratifying the decisions of the Notables. The glories of Jerusalem were to be renewed in "modern Babylon" on the Seine. On February 9, 1807, the Sanhedrin met in the Hôtel de Ville. Care was taken to invest its sittings with due solemnity; the seats of the members were arranged in crescent shape about the platform of the presiding officers, as had been customary at Jerusalem; the president was saluted with the title of Nassi (Prince), as in the olden time; the ancient titles and forms were copied with scrupulous exactness. Two thirds of the members were Rabbis, the remainder laymen. The opening

of the Sanhedrin attracted universal attention, but its proceedings were void of interest. In fact, its sole task was to lend the authority of an ancient tribunal to the action of the Notables, and this having been accomplished it was adjourned after a brief session. In connection with these conventions of the years 1806 and 1807 it behooves us to mention the creation of a new constitution for the French synagogue elaborated by the joint efforts of the imperial Commissioners and the Notables. The form of government adopted was moulded on the pattern of the secular power. A system of consistories was organized throughout France, culminating in a central consistory at Paris with a Grand-Rabbin at its head. The officers of the consistories were treated as officers of the state, the charge of their maintenance was in part defrayed at the public expense, and, in the course of time, they were placed on a footing of almost complete equality with the dignitaries of the Christian churches. The union of the teachers of Judaism in a species of graded hierarchy, dependent upon temporal rulers for their support, was as usual fruitful of evil results. If it is true that the supremacy of the church over the state disturbs the peace of nations and endangers the very existence of governments, it is equally certain that no religion can long continue to maintain its purity when the church becomes the subservient vassal of the state. Whatever the apparent gain in stability may be, it is more than counterbalanced by the loss of spontaneity and sincerity. Hypocrisy flourishes, the liberty of conscience is abridged, and a spirit of base time-serving eventually prepares the downfall of institutions whose perfect safety is consistent only with perfect freedom.

The French Synagogue, as we have indicated, presents a case in point. During the past seventy years it has stagnated. No single luminous thought lights up its dreary record, no single whole-souled effort to appropriate the larger truths of our time dignifies its annals. In the history of the Reform movement it merits no further mention.

The Liturgy.

Returning to Germany we behold the leading Jews at last awakened to the necessity of energetic measures to check the widespread disaffection that was thinning out their ranks. Hitherto the liturgy of the synagogue had not been affected by the grow-

ing tendency to change. An attempt in this direction was initiated by Israel Jacobsohn, the financial agent of the Duke of Brunswick, a man of wealth, culture, and generous disposition. He was shocked at the scenes of disorder, the utter lack of decorum, that disgraced the public worship; he was resolved as far as in his power lay to correct the abuses which had been allowed to grow up unrestrained in the gloomy period of mediæval persecution, and to win back to the faith those whose affections had been estranged by the barbarous form in which it appeared to view. He erected at his own expense, and dedicated on July 17, 1810, in the town of Seesen, a new temple,* at the same time introducing certain radical modifications into the service which we shall presently take occasion to consider.

Being appointed to the Presidency of the Consistory of Cassel, during the reign of Jerome Bonaparte, he took advantage of his official position to urge his innovations upon the congregations under his charge. In 1815 he transplanted the "new fashion in religion" to Berlin, and in 1818 assisted in founding the temple at Hamburg, which soon became one of the leading strongholds of Reform. A provisional service on the same plan was likewise instituted at Leipsic,† during the period of the annual fair, and tidings of the reform were thus rapidly transmitted to distant parts of Germany. The main changes introduced by Jacobsohn, and copied by others, may be briefly summed up as follows: The introduction of regular weekly sermons, which had not previously been customary; of prayers in the vernacular by the side of the Hebrew; of choir singing with organ accompaniment, and of the confirmation of young children. These innovations implied a revolution in the character of the public worship.

The Jewish people had been wont to regard themselves, individually and collectively, as soldiers in the army of their God, commissioned to wage warfare against every species of false religion. A spirit of martial discipline, as it were, pervaded their ranks. The repetition of prayers and benedictions by day and night in the privacy of domestic life, on the public square and by

* The term Temple has since been used by the Reformers in contradistinction to the orthodox Synagogue.

† Dr. Zunz was appointed preacher, and the composer Meyerbeer directed the musical services.

the roadside, was a species of drill intended to keep alive in them the consciousness of their mission, and to prepare them for the emergencies of actual conflict. Thrice a day they mustered in their synagogues, and renewed their oath of allegiance in the presence of their spiritual king. The term Jewish Church, though in frequent use, is a misnomer based upon false analogy. The difference between the synagogue and the church is as clearly marked as that between Judaism and Christianity themselves. The sentimental element, using the word in its nobler signification, which is distinctive of the latter, is almost entirely lacking in the former. Both make it their aim to elevate the moral life in man, but while Judaism acts through the will upon the affections, Christianity places the affections in the foreground and seeks by their means to persuade and captivate the will.

It cannot be denied that the Reformers had in some measure modified the traditional character of Jewish worship. The purely emotional element acquired a prominence which it had never had before, the very word employed to designate the purpose of the temple service — "Erbauung," edification — was foreign to the ancient vocabulary of Judaism. In another direction, too, they transgressed the limits prescribed by time-honored usage. We have referred above to the ceremony of confirmation, which has since been generally adopted by congregations of the Reform school. On some festival or Sabbath — the Feast of Weeks, celebrated about Whitsuntide, being commonly preferred — boys and girls of thirteen or fourteen are assembled in the temple, where, after having undergone an examination in the chief tenets of their religion, they are required to repeat aloud a confession of faith. The ceremony usually attracts a large congregation, and is one of the few institutions introduced by the Reformers that have strongly seized upon the popular heart.

The natural concern of parents for the welfare of their offspring lends a solemn interest to the occasion. At an age when the child's character begins to assume definite outlines, when the reason unfolds, and the perils and temptations that attend every pilgrim on the valley road of life, approach near, an instinctive prompting of the human heart leads us to forecast the future of sons and daughters, and to embrace with joy whatever means are placed at our disposal to guard them against aberration and mis-

fortune. To utilize the impressiveness of a great public gathering, the sympathetic presence of parents and friends, the earnest monitions of a wise and revered teacher, in order to confirm them in every virtuous endeavor and high resolve, is therefore fit and proper.* The propriety of exacting a formal confession of faith, however, has been hotly disputed both by the orthodox and the more advanced liberals. It is urged that Judaism is a practical, rather than a dogmatical religion. Even the existence of a God is rather presupposed as a fact than asserted as a matter of belief. Apart from this it is claimed that a child at thirteen can hardly be prepared to comprehend the fundamental questions of religion, much less to express convictions on problems so grave and difficult. The age of reflection and consequently of doubt is yet to come, nor can any child on the day of its confirmation answer for its convictions ten years thereafter.

The progress of the Reform movement was thus of a character to awaken distrust and fierce contention at every step. The conservative party were enraged at what they considered unwarrantable encroachments upon the traditions of an immemorial past. The radicals were dissatisfied with the lack of substance and vitality in the teachings of the Reformers, the shallow moralizing tone of their preachers, the superficial views of Judaism which they scattered among the multitude.

It may indeed be asked how could better things have been expected at that time. The great facts of Jewish history were not yet clearly known, the philosophy of Judaism was proportionately vague and uncertain. No Jewish author had ever undertaken to write out the annals of his people; chaotic confusion reigned in their chronicles. To know what Judaism might be it seemed necessary to ascertain in the first instance what it had been; the past would prove the index of the future. Untoward events that happened at this period gave a powerful impulse to historical research, and led to fruitful investigations in the domain of Judaism.

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* It deserves to be noted that the ceremony of confirmation among the Jews took its origin in the schools of Seesen, Frankfort-on-the-Maine, etc. Indeed, the first Reformed congregations were formed by natural accretion about these schools. The influence of schools in giving character and stability to new religious movements is a subject of sufficient importance to deserve separate treatment.

"*Hep-Hep.*"

The great battles of 1813 and 1815, in which the German people regained their independence, effected a marvellous change in the spirits and sentiments of the nation.

Accustomed for a long time to endure in silence the insults and arrogance of a foreign despot, they had learned to despair of themselves; a deadly lethargy held their energies in bondage, and in the fairy visions of poetry and the daring dreams of metaphysical speculation they sought consolation for the pains and burdens of reality. The victories of Leipsic and Waterloo completely altered the tone of their feelings. It is a not uncommon fact that individuals usually the reverse of self-asserting exhibit, on occasions, an overweening self-consciousness, which is all the more pointed and aggressive because of their secret and habitual self-distrust. We note with curious interest the recurrence of the same obnoxious trait in the life of a great nation. The novel sense of power intoxicated them, the German mind for the moment lost its poise; Romanticism flourished, the violence of the Middle Ages was mistaken for manhood, and held up to the emulation of the present generation. Whatever was German was therefore esteemed good; whatever was foreign was therefore despised, or at best ignored.

The Jews were made to feel the sharp sting of this feverish vanity; their Asiatic origin was cast up against them, though it might have been supposed that a residence of fifteen centuries had given them some claim to dwell at peace with the children of the soil. In the year 1819 the assassination of Kotzebue added fresh fuel to the fervor of Teutonic passion. In August of that year a professor of Wurzburg, who had written in defence of the Jews, was publicly insulted by the students. A tumult ensued, the cry "Hep-Hep" * arose on every side, and "Death to the Jews" was the watchword. On the next day the magistrate ordered them to leave Wurzburg, and four hundred in number they were driven beyond the city's limits. Similar excesses occurred in Frankfort-on-the-Maine, Meiningen, Carlsruhe, and elsewhere. Inflammatory pamphlets contributed to increase the excitement.

* "Hep-Hep" has been explained as an abbreviation of the words "Hierosolyma est perdita" (Jerusalem is perished). Probably it is no more than one of those meaningless exclamations which are not infrequent in college jargon.

Grattenauer, Rühs, Fries, had written to good effect. All the old falsehoods were revived, the fable of the use of Christian blood at Passover among the rest. It seemed as though the genius of chivalry which the Romantic school had invoked had returned with its grim attendant train to renew the orgies of mediæval persecution in the full light of the nineteenth century. In November appeared the "Judenspiegel," by Hundt-Radowsky. In this the author argues that the murder of a Jew is neither criminal nor sinful. In order to avoid unnecessary bloodshed, however, he proposes a more peaceful means of ridding the German people of "these vermin." His propositions, couched in plain language and delivered in sober earnest, are simply these: the men to be castrated, and sold as slaves to the East Indies; the women — but the pen refuses to record the fiendish suggestion. It is mortifying to reflect that this infamous publication was widely circulated and eagerly read.*

The Science of Judaism.

The sole reply which these occurrences elicited from the intelligent members of the Jewish community was a more strenuous effort on their part to complete the work of inward purification, and renewed zeal in the study of their historic past. They trusted that the image of Judaism, if presented in its proper light, would remove the odium which rested upon their people, and would furthermore become their sure guide in the work of reconstructing the religion of their ancestors.

Late in the year 1819 a "Society for the Culture and Science† of the Jews" was founded at Berlin. Its object was twofold: first, to promote a more effective prosecution of the "Science of Judaism"; secondly, to elevate the moral tone of the people, to counteract their prevailing bias toward commerce, and to encourage them in the pursuits of agriculture, the trades, and such of the professions as they had access to.

The science of Judaism embraces the departments of history, philosophy, and philology, the last being of special importance, since it presents the key to the correct understanding of the two former. The means adopted to secure these objects were chiefly

* Graetz, Geschichte der Juden, X. p. 361.

† Throughout this article we use the word "science" in the sense of the German *Wissenschaft.*

three, — a scientific institute, a journal whose columns were enriched by many contributions of enduring value, and a school in which instruction was imparted gratis to poor students and artisans. Among the members of the society we mention Edward Gans, the President, afterwards Professor of Jurisprudence at the University of Berlin; the eminent critic, Dr. Zunz; the poet, Heinrich Heine;* Moser; the noble Wholwill; and others.

Unfortunately, the public mind was not yet prepared to appreciate the labors of these men; the society languished for want of support, and after a few years its formal organization was dissolved. But in the brief term of its existence it had accomplished its main object; the science of Judaism was securely established, and it could safely be left to the industry of a few gifted individuals to cultivate and propagate it. The ten years following the "Hep-Hep" excitement witnessed a series of literary achievements whose importance it would be difficult to overrate. Zunz and Rappaport, the pioneers of the new science, discovered the thread by which they were enabled to push their way through the labyrinth of Jewish literature. Profound erudition, critical acumen, and a subtle insight amounting almost to intuition, are displayed in their writings. A band of worthy disciples followed their lead. The chain of tradition, which had seemed hopelessly tangled, was unravelled; many of its missing links were ingeniously supplied, and the sequence of events, on the whole, satisfactorily determined. The dimness and vagueness that had hung over the history of the Jews was giving way, and the leading figures in the procession of past generations assumed clear and distinct outlines. At this time Jost was employed in writing the first connected history of his people which had ever emanated from Jewish sources.

Scientific Theology.

While scholars were thus busy preparing the way for a new theory of Judaism based on the facts of its history, no efforts were made to press the needful work of practical reform. Indeed, the hostile attitude of the temporal rulers discouraged any such undertaking. The influence of Metternich swayed the councils of the

* Heine was for some time an instructor in the society's school. For an account of the *Cultur-Verein*, and of the poet's cordial interest in its success, *vide* Stroeltmann, "Heine's Leben und Werke," p. 237.

German princes. The King of Prussia had broken the promise of constitutional government which he had given to his people in the hour of need. The power of the Triple Alliance was prepared to crush out the faintest stirrings of political or religious liberty wherever they appeared.

In 1830, however, the revolution in France swept away a second time the throne of the Bourbons, and changed the face of affairs. The courage of the Liberal party revived everywhere; the bonds of despotism were relaxed; a spirit of resistance to oppression arose, and grew in intensity from year to year, until it at last found vent in the convulsions of 1848. The Jews felt the prophetic promise of a better order of things, and roused themselves to renewed exertions.

We have indicated in a previous article that the cause of political and of religious emancipation, so far at least as Germany was concerned, advanced in parallel lines. In 1831 Gabriel Riesser addressed a manifesto to the German people on the position of the Jews among them.* It was a clear and forcible presentment of the case. The style is dignified, free from the taint of undue self-assertion, and equally free from misplaced modesty. He did not petition for a favor; he demanded a right. He disdained all measures of compromise; he dared to treat the question as one of national importance; he asked for simple justice, and would be content with nothing less. The German people rewarded his manliness with their confidence,† and under his able leadership the struggle for emancipation was finally brought to a triumphant close.

In 1835 Abraham Geiger, then Rabbi of Wiesbaden, began the publication of a "Scientific Journal for Jewish Theology," and with the appearance of this periodical the Reform movement entered into its present phase. It was the purpose of Geiger and his coadjutors to prosecute the work of religious renovation on the basis of the science of Judaism. This is the distinguishing feature of the modern school of Jewish Reform.

But, before we proceed to sketch the principles of these "scien-

* Ueber die Stellung der Bekenner des Mosaischen Glaubens an die Deutschen aller Confessionen. Riesser's Works, II.

† He was elected Vice-President of the first German Parliament that met in the Pauls-Kirche in Frankfort.

tific theologians," let us rapidly advert to the brief series of events that mark the outward development of the new school.

Around the standard which Geiger had unfurled a body of earnest men soon collected, who agreed with him in the main in desiring to reconcile science and life (*Wissenschaft und Leben*). They were mostly young men, fresh from the universities, profoundly versed in Hebrew and rabbinic lore, zealous lovers of their religion, equipped with the elements of ancient and modern culture, and anxious to harmonize the conflicting claims of both in their private life and public station. Many of them underwent severe privations for their convictions' sake. They were distrusted by the various governments, without whose sanction no Jewish clergyman could enter upon his functions, and were made to feel, in common with other Liberals, the displeasure which their measures, moderate though they were, had provoked in high quarters. They were subjected to numberless petty annoyances, and even downright force was employed to check their growing popularity. With the accession of Frederick William III., the Ultramontanes and the party of retrogression in the Protestant Church completely gained the ascendant.

Covered by the shield of royal favor they offered the most audacious insults to the conscience and common-sense of the people, the right of free speech was impaired, the press was shackled, while the most abject superstitions were openly encouraged. The holy coat of Jesus, exhibited at the cathedral of Treves, attracted hundreds of thousands of pilgrims, and the fame of the miraculous cures it had effected was diligently spread. But the very violence of the extremists provoked a determined opposition among the intelligent classes. National unity and individual liberty were loudly demanded, a German Catholic party was formed with the avowed object of reorganizing Catholicism on the basis of the modern State. Free religious congregations began to crop up here and there, which, though feeble as yet in their organization, were properly regarded as significant of the spirit of the times. On the waves of the turning tide the young Rabbis were carried along. They, too, were ardent patriots; they, too, were eager to see their religion wedded to the progressive tendencies of the age. The sympathies of the most enlightened of their brethren were cheerfully extended to them, and high hopes were founded on their success.

In 1844 they were sufficiently strong to meet in convention. Disclaiming the functions of a religious synod, they assumed the character of a scientific body, assembled to promote the objects of truth in their special department. The discussions were indeed intended to secure harmony of sentiment and action, but the resolutions adopted were binding neither upon the members themselves nor upon the congregations they represented. Three times these conventions were repeated at Brunswick, Frankfort, and Breslau.

In 1845 a new congregation was formed, called "The Reform Association of Berlin," which was recruited from the extreme left wing of the liberal Jewish party. This congregation became noted for the introduction of a Sunday service, a measure which eventually compelled them to entirely abandon the Jewish Sabbath. Samuel Holdheim, the ablest exponent of radical Judaism, was selected to be their preacher.

Thus far had the Reform movement proceeded, when, in 1848, the incidents of a great political revolution crowded every other issue into comparative insignificance. The fall of Metternich before the intrigues of the camarilla and the fury of a popular uprising, the humiliation of the king of Prussia, the convocation of the national parliament, the Baden insurrection, — these were the events that absorbed the interest of the public. Political incompetency on the part of the leaders precipitated the catastrophe of the revolution, and the hopes of the German people were again doomed to disappointment. Soon the reaction set in, a dreary period of stagnation followed, and the efforts of the friends of freedom were paralyzed.

The Jewish Reformers were stricken down by the general reverse that had overtaken the liberal party, nor have they since been able to recover from its stunning effects. Two revolutions, those of 1830 and 1848, mark the growth and the decline of "scientific reform." Within the past thirty years a number of prominent reformers have been called to this country, and to them is due the spread of the movement in the United States.

The difficulties which confronted them here were of the most formidable kind. The great bulk of the Jewish emigration to the United States were originally drawn from the village congregations of the Fatherland, and were by no means fair specimens of the in-

telligence and culture of the Jewish race. While they displayed the qualities of energy, perseverance, and thrift, and soon acquired wealth and influence in the commercial world, few only were fitted to appreciate a movement so thoroughly intellectual in its bearings as that which the reformers came to propagate amongst them. The mere externals of reform were readily adopted, but its spiritual essence escaped them. Accordingly, the development of Reformed Judaism on American soil presents no novel or striking features for our consideration, and it may appropriately be treated as a mere offshoot of the German stock.

Principles.

Ever since the appearance of Geiger's "Scientific Journal," Jewish philology and Jewish theology have been inseparably connected. To attempt a detailed account of the latter would involve the necessity of frequent reference to the former, an attempt in which we can hardly assume the reader's interest would bear us out. Unwilling to test his patience by such a course, we shall content ourselves with stating the main principles of Reformed Judaism, and briefly indicating the successive steps by which it advanced to its present positions.

The one great fact which the Science of Judaism had indisputably established was the fact of evolution in the sphere of the Jewish religion. Each generation had legislated for itself. The authorities of the Middle Ages had introduced changes in the ritual; the Talmud itself, that corner-stone of orthodoxy, was a stupendous innovation on the simplicity of the Bible religion.* Applying the theory of evolution to their own case, the modern Rabbis assumed on their part the right to institute whatever changes the exigencies of the age had rendered imperative. The very fact of change, it is true, presupposes the existence of a substratum that remains unchangeable. What that substratum in the case of Judaism is claimed to be we shall presently discover. The measures of the Reformers were in the main dictated by the sentiment of patriotism and the desire to remove the barriers that inter-

* The theory of an Oral Law, delivered to Moses on Sinai and handed down from generation to generation, until it was finally embodied in the ordinances of the Talmudical academies, is a palpable fiction invented by the Talmudists in order to lend to their own decisions the sanction of Divine authorship.

posed between them and their fellow-men. They would cease to be a "state within the state," cease to separate themselves from the fellowship of the Gentiles. Hence the leading proposition upon which Reformed Judaism is founded. *The Jewish people have ceased to be a national unit, and will exist hereafter as a confederation of religious societies.*

If the Jews have ceased to be a nation, then the Reformers must abandon the idea of a national restoration. They did so. If they have ceased to be a nation, they must give up the hope of a personal Messiah who should lead them back to the promised land. They did so. If they desired no longer to dwell in seclusion they must abolish the dietary laws, which forbid them to taste of the food of Christians, though commanded by the Talmud and founded apparently on the authority of Moses. This, too, they were willing to do. Other changes were inspired by the philosophic teachings of the day, and were undertaken with equal readiness. Thus the doctrine of resurrection in the flesh was set aside. The fabric of ceremonial observances had been rudely shaken, and soon gave way altogether. Changes in the ritual followed. The prayer-book reflected the gloomy spirit of a people whose life was imbittered by constant trials and dangers. Naturally they had turned to the past and the glories of Zion; the pomp of the sacrifices, the advent of the Messiah, the future restoration of the kingdom of David, were the themes on which they loved to dwell. All this was no longer suited to the temper of the modern Jews, and radical alterations became necessary. Many of the festivals and fast-days also were struck from the calendar. One of the most distinctive customs of the Jews, the so-called rite of Abraham's Covenant, was boldly attacked, and though the abolition of this ancient practice is still strenuously resisted, there is little doubt that it will ultimately go with the rest. Samuel Holdheim advocated the propriety of intermarriage between Jews and Christians.

The manner in which these conclusions were reached may be described as follows. At first an attempt was made to found each new measure of Reform on the authority of the Talmud. The Talmud was attacked with its own weapons. The fallacy of such a method becoming apparent, the authority of the Talmud was entirely set aside. A return to the Bible was next in order. But even the laws of the Bible proved to be no longer capable of ful-

filment in their totality. A distinction was therefore drawn between the letter and the spirit of the Bible. The letter is man's handiwork, the spirit alone ought to be regarded as the Divine rule of faith. The "spirit of the Bible" is the essence of Judaism, which cannot change. In the process of evolution it constantly assumes new forms, but remains substantially the same. Nor could any motives of expediency, nor could even the ardent desire of political emancipation have induced the Reformers to pursue the course they did, had they for one moment believed it contrary to the substantial teachings of the Bible. The spirit of the Bible is expressed in two fundamental propositions: the existence of one God, the author and governor of the universe; and the Messianic mission of the people Israel. The former is no longer the exclusive property of Judaism, the latter is distinctively its own; both together express the simple creed of the Reformers.

Prospects.

If now we cast a glance upon the present aspect of Reformed Judaism we are confronted by a state of affairs that by no means corresponds to the great anticipations which were connected with the movement in its earlier stages. The ancient institutions have been cleared away, — that was unavoidable; they had long been tottering to their ruin, — but an adequate substitute for what was taken has not been provided. The leaders have penetrated to the foundations of their religion, but upon these bare foundations they have erected what is at best a mere temporary structure incapable of affording them permanent shelter and protection. The temper of the Reform school has been critical. Its members were admirably fitted to analyze and to dissect; their scholarship is unquestionably great; the stainless purity of their lives has elevated the character of their people and entitled them to sincere respect. But they lacked the constructive genius needed for the creation of new institutions. In the year 1822 Wholwill declared that "the Jews must raise themselves and their principle to the level of science. Science is the one bond that alone can unite the whole human race." The emphasis thus placed on science has continued to distinguish the Reform movement down to the present day. In the sphere of religion, however, it is not sufficient to apprehend the abstract truth of ideas with the help of intellect,

but it is necessary to array these ideas in concrete forms, in order that they may warm the heart and stimulate the will.

We hold it erroneous to believe that the age of symbolism is passed. The province of religion is to bring the human soul into communion with the Infinite. In the lower religions the conception of the Infinite was meagre and insufficient and the symbols in use proportionately gross. At the present day it is the ideal of moral perfection that alone is capable of exciting our devotion and kindling our enthusiasm. Now it is true that the material symbolism of the churches and the synagogues, the venerabile, the bread and wine, the scrolls of the Pentateuch tricked out in fanciful vestments, fail to appeal to the sympathies of many educated men and women of our time; not, however, because they are symbols, but because they are inadequate symbols, because of an almost painful disparity between their earthy origin and the vastness of the spiritual ideas which they are intended to suggest. There is, on the other hand, a species of symbolism peculiarly adapted to the needs of the present generation, and which, if properly understood, might be employed to incalculable advantage in the interest of a revival of the religious sentiment. We allude to the symbolism of association.

The tendency to associate the efforts of individuals in corporate action has never been more markedly displayed than in our own day. So long as such associations confine themselves to certain finite objects, they are mere social engines organized with a view to utility and power, and with such we are not concerned. The characteristic of symbols is their suggestiveness. They have a meaning in themselves, but they suggest illimitable meanings beyond their scope. Now a form of organization is not only conceivable, but has actually been attempted, that fully meets the requirements of the symbolic character. The Christian Church is designed to be such an organization. Not only does it propose to unite its members and to satisfy their spiritual needs during the term of their sojourn on earth, but it aspires to typify the union of all saints under the sovereignty of Jesus, and thus to give to the believer a presentiment of the felicity and perfection of the higher world. In like manner the Hebrews have been acquainted with the symbolism of association from a very early period of their history. If they delight to style themselves the chosen peo-

ple, the meaning of that phrase, so often misunderstood, is purely symbolical. Recognizing the fact that the majority of mankind are at no time prepared to entertain the ideals of the few, they undertook to work out among themselves a nobler conception of religion and a loftier morality, trusting that the force of their example would in the end bring about the universal adoption of their faith and ethical code. In this sense the choice of Israel was interpreted by the Prophets. They believed that their selection by the Deity imposed upon them heavier responsibilities, and regarded it in the light of an obligation rather than a privilege. What the statue is to the ideal of beauty, a whole people resolved to be in relation to the ideal of the good. The same conception still dominates the thoughts of the Reformers, and is expressed by them in their doctrine of Israel's messianic mission. They claim that the Jews have been for the past three thousand years the "Swiss guard of monotheism." They still believe themselves to be the typical people, and their firm persuasion on this head is the one strong feature of the Reformers' creed. If they will use their world-wide association to illustrate anew the virtues for which their race became renowned in the past, — and we refer especially to the purity of the sexual relations among them, their pious reverence for domestic ties, — they may still become, as they aspire to do, exemplars of purity to be joyfully imitated by others. If they will use it in the spirit of their ancient lawgiver * to tone down the harsh distinctions of wealth and poverty, to establish juster relations between the strong and weak, in brief, to harmonize the social antagonisms of modern life, they may still confer an inestimable benefit upon mankind. But the manner in which the symbolism of association might be applied to invigorate the religious sentiment, and to expel the coldness of the times by the fervor of a new enthusiasm, is a subject of too vast dimensions to be thus summarily despatched, and we shall hope to recur to it on some future occasion.†

The present condition of liberal Judaism is strongly akin to that of liberal Christianity. The old is dead, the new has not been born. It is hardly safe to predict what possible developments the future may yet have in store. As regards the Jews, however, it is

* Leviticus xxv. 8.

† In an article on the religious aspects of the social question.

right to add that such changes as have taken place in the constitution of their religion have not brought them in any sense nearer to Christianity. On the contrary, since the belief in a personal Messiah has been dropped, the hope of their conversion has become more vague and visionary than ever. Those whom the worship of the synagogue and the temple no longer attracts either become wholly sceptical and indifferent, or, as is often the case, transfer their allegiance to the new humanitarian doctrine which is fast assuming the character of a religion in the ardor it inspires and the strong spiritual union it cements. For the great body of the Jews, however, the central doctrine of Judaism remains unshaken, and doubtless, so long as Christianity exists, Judaism as a distinct creed will coexist with it. The modern Jews, like their ancestors, believe that their mission is not yet ended, and they await with patience the rising of some new man of genius amongst them, who will combine the qualities of the popular leader with the attributes of the scholar, and will give body and form to the ideas elaborated by the Reformers. As a religious society they desire to remain distinct. But as citizens, they are eager to remove whatever distinctions still hamper their intercourse with their neighbors of other creeds. Never has the desire to return to Palestine and retrieve their lost nationality been more foreign to their sentiments than at the present day, though recent speculations have misled many to believe otherwise. They know they can no more return thither. They would not if they could. They love the land of their birth, they wish to join their labors with those of others in promoting the progress of the entire human race. They have ceased to regret the past, and desire nothing more earnestly than to live in the present and for the future.

FELIX ADLER.

Art. IX. — The Recent Strikes.

Philadelphia, August 13, 1877.

Allen Thorndike Rice, Esq.,

Editor of the North American Review.

My dear Sir, — The request that you have done me the honor to make, to give you for publication in the North American Review such results of my observation and experience during the recent disastrous disturbances in this country as may appear to have some bearing upon the general interests of the community, finds me absorbed in imperative duties which make it difficult for me to comply with your wishes. But the issues and results of these deplorable events are of such importance to the prosperity and happiness of the American people, without distinction of class, and to the very existence of our social and political institutions, that no one, perhaps, who happens, through whatever circumstances, to have been brought into immediate contact with these events, should allow any personal considerations to restrain him, when the proper occasion is presented, from expressing his candid and deliberate views in regard to them.

I therefore take pleasure in giving you the following statement, which must be taken for what it is worth by the thoughtful readers of the North American Review, and my hope is that it may be found of some use in helping the public in this country to form just and practical conclusions on the subject.

On the 16th of July it became known that the firemen and freight brakemen of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad were on a strike at Martinsburg, West Virginia, and that no freight trains were allowed to pass that point in either direction. This proved to be the beginning of a movement which spread with great rapidity from New York to Kansas, and from Michigan to Texas, which placed an embargo on the entire freight traffic of more than twenty thousand miles of railway, put passenger travel and the movement of the United States mails at the mercy of a mob, subjected great commercial centres like Chicago and St. Louis to the violent dis-

turbance of all their business relations, and made the great manufacturing city of Pittsburgh for twenty-four hours such a scene of riot, arson, and bloodshed as can never be erased from the memory of its people.

In Baltimore, Reading, Scranton, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Fort Wayne, Columbus, Cincinnati, Louisville, and many points in New York and New Jersey, the laws were set at defiance, the property of the various railway companies seized, injured, or destroyed, the civil authorities overpowered or overawed, and in many cases compelled to call upon the military power of the States to protect persons and property. This call could not in all cases be fully met. The governors of West Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, acted with great promptness, but found the military organizations of their States, although very efficient for the suppression of any ordinary outbreak, unable to suppress what rapidly grew from a riot to an insurrection; and were compelled to invoke the aid of the United States government. To this the President at once responded to the extent of the forces at his command; and the presence of detachments of the regular army and navy hastily gathered from all quarters, and hurried to the points most seriously threatened, aided largely in securing the comparative quiet which now prevails within the borders of those States. Had it not been, however, that in many communities the municipal authorities acted with great nerve and efficiency, and were supported by organizations of citizens, and by a public sentiment determined to maintain law and order at any cost, the troubles to be encountered would no doubt have been much more serious.

I do not wish, and happily it is not necessary, to fill your pages with the mere recital of the distressing cases of violence and outrage which marked the course of these riots unexampled in American history. Suffice it to say that the conduct of the rioters is entirely inconsistent with the idea that this movement could have been directed by serious, right-minded men bent on improving the condition of the laboring classes. How wages could be improved by destroying property, the existence of which alone made the payment of any wages at all possible, it is difficult to understand. Nothing but the insanity of passion, played upon by designing and mischievous leaders, can explain the destruction of vast quantities of railroad equipment absolutely necessary to the

transaction of its business, by men whose complaint was that the business done by the full equipment in possession of the railways did not pay them sufficient compensation for their labor.

During the greater part of our century of national existence we have enjoyed such unbroken prosperity that we had perhaps come to expect exemption from many of the worst problems which perplex other and older civilizations. The vast area of public land open to cultivation and settlement had steadily drained off not only our own surplus population, but that of other countries, and the rapid extension of our railway system, by furnishing markets for the productions of all parts of the country, had increased the national wealth and built up a general prosperity. But for the Civil War this state of things might have continued to exist; but the waste of human life and the destruction of property which accompanied that war, the loss of real productive power, and the creation of large debts, national, State, and municipal, involving heavy taxation to meet them, have entailed burdens upon us which were lightly felt during the feverish excitement of the civil conflict, but the weight of which became suddenly onerous and almost intolerable when the financial condition of the country was so seriously disturbed by the panic of 1873. In a few hours the credit upon which the fabric of our apparent prosperity rested was almost entirely destroyed, the capital which had been freely lent to all enterprises offering even a show of prospective profit was suddenly withdrawn. Since that time the country has been obliged to meet its debts, not by renewals, but by actual payments from its resources. Every important industry in the country has been compelled to practise the closest and most rigid economies, in order to escape marketing its products at an absolute loss. The cotton and woollen mills of New England, the furnaces and mines of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, have all passed through the same experience, and have the same story to tell. The capital which communist orators so eloquently denounce has yielded such scant returns as the men who pretend to dictate the scale of adequate wages for labor would regard with disdain. In every manufacturing State in the country it is perfectly well known that many establishments have been kept in operation simply that the men might be employed. This has been done often without one iota

of profit to the owners. During the last winter the large rolling-mills in Pennsylvania must have been closed, and thousands of laboring men reduced to idleness, and possibly want, had not the railroads — which, during the recent madness that swept over the country, were selected for mob violence and opprobrium — come to their relief by anticipating their wants, and by giving orders for rails months in advance of their actual requirements. Political economists may object that it was not an act of charity in which great corporations had any right to indulge, but it is certain that without this thousands of laboring men in the State of Pennsylvania alone would have suffered severely.

Not only this, but in order to aid the industries which are now so much depressed, and to enable manufacturers to continue business and thus keep their men steadily employed, the railways of the country have reduced their local freight charges to the lowest point ever known, and have moved the heavy materials used in making iron, steel, glass, and other products at rates barely above the actual cost of transportation; and yet, by a curiously inverted process of reasoning, the course thus pursued by the railways has been most bitterly denounced by the self-constituted mouthpieces of the very classes which have alone profited by it.

It is safe to assert that so far as the special class of railway employés, firemen and freight brakemen is concerned, there are, perhaps, but few railway companies in the United States which are not to-day employing a force of train-hands larger than their actual business requires. With the falling off of revenue from traffic, the question was presented at once to railway managers, whether the force employed on the lines should be reduced to that actually necessary for the work to be done, in which case greater compensation might have been paid to the men so retained while others equally deserving must have been turned adrift,— or whether it would not be both wiser and kinder to retain as many men as possible in the service, by so allotting the work as to permit all to earn a sum, smaller indeed than in the past, yet it was hoped sufficient to support themselves and their families during the severe period of depression, to the near close of which railway managers, in common with all the business men of the country, perhaps too confidently looked forward. This course, as I have said, may be condemned by the hard rules of political economy. The experi-

ence of the past few weeks seems to show that it has commended itself as little to those whom it was intended to relieve, and to whom alone, if anybody, it has been beneficial.

It must not for a moment, however, be understood that the greatest portion, or, indeed, any considerable portion, of the outrages upon life and property which have disgraced our recent history were actually committed by railway employés. It is not true that the majority, or even any large portion, of these men have been disloyal to the trust reposed in them. Probably ninety per cent of the men on all the important lines of the country where strikes occurred were faithful to their duties, and either remained at work, or stood ready to resume it as soon as they were relieved from the actual intimidation to which they were subjected by the rioters and their leaders. It was the dissatisfied element — which exists in that branch of industry as in all others — which perpetrated or allowed the perpetration of most of the overt acts of violence, such as stopping trains, forcing men therefrom, uncoupling cars, disconnecting engines, and other lawless doings of the kind, and which made itself amenable also to the charge of directly attacking the interests of the government and society at large as well as of the railway companies.

As General Hurlbut of Illinois so forcibly expresses it, in a paper recently published, "they permitted themselves to be the nucleus around which the idle, vicious, and criminal element could gather. Reinforced by these dark and disreputable allies, they destroyed property, stopped commerce, deranged the mails, burned great public buildings, broke up tracks, and thus paralyzed the natural circulation of the Commonwealth." It is in the menace to the general interests of society involved in these disturbances that the real gravity of the situation with which this country is now called to deal exists. "The railroad system is to-day a supreme necessity to maintain life, furnish ready markets, and to bring about the enormous interchange of products which makes the country one. Stop it, and in ten days many parts of the country would near the starvation-point, and within a month there would be no hamlet in the vast territory drained by these channels but would feel to the core of its business the effects of the stoppage of this regular and usual circulation."

The enormous mechanical changes and progress of the past

century have brought about a complete revolution, so gradual that perhaps it has not been generally apprehended, in the very condition of things in the United States. The water lines, which, at the date of the framing of the Constitution, were our important channels of internal commerce, have been almost superseded by the new iron highways. Upon these is borne a traffic so essentially national, so closely interwoven with the interests not only of our own but other countries, that it demands the most efficient and speedy protection against all unlawful interference. Grain and other agricultural products of Iowa, Minnesota, and Illinois, the wool, wine, and bullion of California, Nevada, and Utah, the cotton and other products of Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee are largely carried over the railways to New York, Boston Philadelphia, Baltimore, and other Atlantic cities, much of it for, transshipment to Europe, while in return the manufactures of New England and the Middle States, with our importations from the various countries of the world, the basis of our national customs revenue, reach by the same railways all parts of the great West and the South. Certainly this great inland commerce, both in tonnage and value, is of such vast proportions, and requires for its successful management such absolute and uninterrupted freedom of movement, that the public to which the traffic belongs is entitled to instant and effective protection against all violent interruption, in the first place from the proper local authorities and the State itself, and in addition thereto, when their force is found inadequate, as it has been found in so many cases during the recent troubles, from the government of the United States.

It is well known that the government uses the railway lines of the country, both as postal and military highways, in such form as its interests may require. The Constitution of the United States imposes upon the government the duty of thoroughly protecting inter-State commerce. When it is considered that the stock and bond holders of the various railway companies, whenever the interests of the government required it, paid taxes upon their coupons, their dividends, and their gross receipts, that they promptly met every call made by the Federal authorities, and that the entire equipment of the various lines was often placed at the disposal of the government for the prompt movement of the national forces and their supplies, to the exclusion often of other and more profit-

able traffic, it would seem but a matter of equity that the government should insure such protection to these railways as would preserve their usefulness and keep them always in condition to render similar services when they may be required. But over and beyond such considerations as these, the absolute dependence of the whole community upon this great system of railways for almost its very existence as a civilized body would seem to impose upon the Federal government in the last resort the supreme duty of preventing any lawless and violent interference with the regular and certain operation of every railway in the United States.

This insurrection, which extended through fourteen States, and in many cases successfully defied the local authorities, presents a state of facts almost as serious as that which prevailed at the outbreak of the Civil War. Unless our own experience is to differ entirely from other countries, — and it is not easy to see why it should, with the increasing population of our large cities and business centres, and the inevitable assemblage at such points of the vicious and evil-disposed, — the late troubles may be but the prelude to other manifestations of mob violence, with this added peril, that now, for the first time in American history, has an organized mob learned its power to terrorize the law-abiding citizens of great communities. With our recent experience before us, it is believed that no thoughtful man can argue in favor of delay by the proper authorities in dealing with lawless and riotous assemblages. Delay simply leads to destruction of property, and may lead in the end to the destruction of life. The force used to repress such assemblages should be as prompt in its manifestation as the evil with which it deals. The interests concerned are too grave to admit of delay. The raising of the black flag and the stoppage of all vessels on the Great Lakes and on the Mississippi and Ohio rivers would not produce one tithe of the damage to the whole country that has resulted from the recent stoppage of the great trunk-lines. The burning of the vessels and their cargoes on these waters would raise a storm of wrath which no mob would dare to face, and would be visited by the United States government, under existing laws, with most exemplary punishment. But what distinction can be established between such a crime and the hideous destruction at Pittsburgh of over eighteen hundred cars laden with the products of the various States, to-

gether with the engines ready to move them to their destination, and the station buildings and machine-shops that were absolutely essential to their proper care and movement, and which with other like doings resulted in the stoppage of all commerce and business relations between the States, not only on one highway, but on many important lines, through the concerted action of the mob and its leaders? In the city of Pittsburgh much human life and many private dwellings and other property were sacrificed as the result of mob violence; indeed, it is almost a marvel that a large portion of that city was not destroyed by fire. Only the prevailing direction of the wind averted greater and more general disaster.

The authority of the United States, now potent to protect commerce moving upon the waters, should be equally potent when the same commerce is exposed to greater peril upon land. This brings us, then, to the practical question: In what shape can this protection be put so as to be extended most efficiently and with the least delay? The present regulations all favor, unintentionally, the rioters and the mob. In the first place the mayor of a city must exhaust his power, the sheriff of the county must essay his strength; then, while precious time is expending, — for a mob constantly attracts dangerous elements and grows with impunity and success, — the governor of the State must be called upon by the sheriff of a county. If the State happens to have an effective military organization, which at the present time is the case in perhaps not more than five out of the thirty-seven States of the Union, the governor can call out the military forces and suppress the riot. If the State has no such organization, or if the military forces of the State prove inadequate to the emergency, the governor is paralyzed and must call upon the United States for assistance. If the authorities of any State should, for any cause, fail or refuse to call upon the United States government, what possible remedy or protection is left to life and property within the limits of that Commonwealth?

It can readily be seen what frightful possibilities of mischief are afforded by the necessarily long interval which must elapse in the present state of our laws before the Federal authority can intervene in cases where its intervention is most imperative. In fact, as our recent experience has shown, the only roads which could procure prompt protection and immunity from interference

were those whose misfortunes had made them bankrupt and placed them in the direct custody of receivers appointed by United States courts. To the aid of these roads the United States Marshal could call United States troops, and no rioter dared to resist the power represented by the small but admirably disciplined detachments quartered near the scenes of the recent troubles. It will hardly be contended that the railway companies must become bankrupt in order to make secure the uninterrupted movement of traffic over their lines, or to entitle them to the efficient protection of the United States government. If a bondholder or other creditor is entitled to the protection of the Federal courts to prevent the threatened impairment of the value of a property through legal proceedings, he certainly should not be left without remedy against lawless violence which has actually destroyed the security for his investment, and has, as at Pittsburgh, converted millions of dollars into scrap-iron and ashes. The laws which give the Federal courts the summary process of injunction to restrain so comparatively trifling a wrong as an infringement of a patent-right certainly must have been intended or ought to give the United States authority to prevent a wrong-doing which not only destroys a particular road, but also paralyzes the entire commerce of the country and wastes the national wealth.

It is demonstrable that during the recent disturbances the government of the United States was itself a direct loser, and, through the government, the taxpayers of the whole country, to a very large amount by the diminution of the national revenues arising from the interruption of business and the interference with many of the operations on which the internal taxes of the country are levied, as well as by the diminution of the customs revenues; as all the imports during this period, instead of being forwarded to their destinations, were necessarily placed in store, of course without payment of any duty to the government for the time being. Suppose that this state of things had continued for sixty days, would not the United States government have been deprived of nearly all the revenues on which it relies to meet its current obligations?

Certainly it cannot have been contemplated in the formation of our government that the United States authorities should submit to see the transportation of the mails, covering the enormous financial

and business transactions of the whole country, and the movement of the supplies required for its own various departments, made dependent upon the grace and favor of rioters, whose misconduct in almost any other form would have secured their immediate arrest and condign punishment. During the recent riots the movement of United States troops was impeded at several points, and large quantities of ammunition and other Federal stores, on their way to the Pacific coast, were forcibly detained for days. The operations of the national government in some parts of the country were as completely blocked as in the early days of the Civil War. There certainly should be a protection against such dangers and a remedy for such wrongs. If the government of the United States is to exercise its power of protection or of remedy, it perhaps can do so only through an adequate exhibition of the military force that may be given it for such purposes by Congress. The important question is to ascertain in what way the government can so exhibit its military force as to secure the utmost possible efficiency in the enforcement of law and order without jarring or disturbing the general framework of our institutions and our laws. It seems to be indispensable, in the light of recent events, that whatever force is to be used by the government in such emergencies should be so distributed and controlled that it may be concentrated upon any point or points that may be threatened within a few hours of any outbreak. Several companies of regular troops that were quartered at Baltimore, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Reading, Scranton, Louisville, Chicago, and other places, during the recent riots, had to be transported for such distances that, if they had been compelled to march instead of moving by rail, they would have been powerless to avert mischief. It was only by the fear or favor of the rioters that the United States were able to concentrate their forces where they did. In some cases formal resolutions were passed by the strikers that no troops should be allowed to pass over the lines. In Jersey City a mob endeavored to prevent the departure of a United States battery and the troops connected therewith. On the Erie Railway, between Cornell and Hornellsville, a few lawless men, by tearing up tracks, destroying bridges, and tampering with switches, were able seriously to retard the military forces of the State, which were there under the orders of the governor to re-establish law and order. What is needed, therefore, would clearly

seem to be that proper forces should be so disposed at prominent points, large cities and other great business centres, — in many of which the government has arsenals, custom-houses, mints, navy-yards, and other property of its own to protect, — that their movements can be combined rapidly, and they be directed against points of danger so as to be able to act effectively and with decision before violence can become triumphant.

With the experience of other countries to warn and guide us, and especially with the experience of England, where the rights of the people have for ages been guarded and asserted as jealously as they always have been and should be among ourselves, we shall have only ourselves to blame, if through apathy, demagoguism, or weakness we leave ourselves unprepared to meet an issue which from all the evidences of the times is only too likely again to be forced upon us. With the approach of winter, and the loss of outdoor employment which severe weather even in the most prosperous times entails, the country will have to deal not only with the deserving among the unemployed, who can be reached and helped through local organizations, but with vast numbers of idle, dangerous, and in many cases desperate men, who have been allowed unfortunately to catch a glimpse of their possible power for mischief. Such men, unless confronted by a thorough organization in the cities, States, and other communities, backed by the power of the Federal government and an unmistakable public opinion, will need but little urging to renew the scenes which have already brought such disgrace upon the American name.

It surely may be hoped that at the approaching session of Congress, the earnest, unprejudiced, and patriotic men of both Houses will discuss this grave subject independently of party lines, and with the united resolve to secure equity to all interests and to take all necessary measures to secure protection to life and property and the impartial enforcement of the laws, including the guaranty to every man of the right to work for such compensation as he may agree upon with other men, free from interference or intimidation. The able lawyers of the Senate and House will perhaps frame a law which will give to the owners of every highway carrying inter-State commerce, whether by land or water, in which citizens of different States are interested, or carrying the United States mails or other government property, the right to appear by

petition properly verified before the tribunals of the United States in order to show that the movement of such traffic has been interfered with by unlawful combinations, by threats, or by violence, and which upon such showing will give these tribunals the right, when necessary, to call upon the United States in the form now authorized by law to enforce their process by arresting the rioters and the suppression of all such unlawful combinations.

The magnitude of the evil to be met and dealt with can hardly be overstated. The remedy to be provided should be equally prompt and effective. It must be discussed and adopted in the interest of the whole country, and not of any particular class; for the interests of all classes of our citizens are the same in the maintenance of domestic peace and civil order.

But to no one class in the community is an absolute assurance of peace so important as to the men who have no capital but their labor. When the accumulations of labor are put in peril by lawlessness, capital may always protect itself by suspending the enterprises which give labor its value and insure it its reward. Anarchy not only deprives the laboring man of his present subsistence, but puts in jeopardy all his hopes of improvement for his own future and the future of his family.

My own railway experience, extending over a period of thirty years, leads me to believe that the managers of American railways in general may fearlessly appeal to their past relations with the faithful among their employés, to prove that they at least have always endeavored to treat the interests of employers and employed as identical, and have never failed to take into prompt and respectful consideration every grievance which has been fairly and properly presented to them. I am sure that it has been the purpose of the company with which I am connected to at all times pay its employés the best compensation that the business of the country would warrant; and I have no doubt that this will be the policy of the company for all future time, as it is founded on sound business principles no less than upon the instincts of humanity.

Very truly yours,

THOMAS A. SCOTT.

Art. IX. — Progress in Astronomical Discovery.

The Lunar Theory.

Some time since, Newcomb announced his discovery of an inequality in the longitude of the Moon, which had a period of 27.4 days. It can be put in the form

$$\delta v = + 1''.5 \text{ sin. } [g + 21°.6 \text{ (Y} - 1865.1)],$$

g being the mean anomaly.

This term was deduced empirically from a discussion of corresponding Washington and Greenwich observations. More recently Neison of England has given an account of some lunar perturbations produced by Jupiter, and has shown that these gave rise to a new periodical term in the Moon's longitude, which could be expressed by

$$\delta v = + 1''.163 \text{ sin. } [g + 20°.85 \text{ (Y} - 1864.4)].$$

From this it follows that we have to do with a real inequality theoretically deduced by Neison in the field previously examined by Hansen and Delaunay. The agreement between the theoretical and Newcomb's empirical term is a satisfactory one. The two independent results confirm each other and dispose of the doubts expressed as to the reality of this term. It is impossible to do more than mention here the classic work of Dr. G. W. Hill, of the American Ephemeris, on the motion of the Lunar Perigee.

Recent Works on Double Stars.

The lack of a comprehensive General Catalogue of Double Stars has long been a serious drawback both to the observer of double stars, and to those who occasionally desire to consult the various works on the subject. Sir John Herschel left among his papers materials for such a work, which he probably intended to be on the general plan of his excellent "Catalogue of Nebulæ and Clusters of Stars." At the time of his death data relating to about 10,000 double stars had been collected, the stars had been arranged in order of right ascension, and a synoptical history of all known observations of over 4,000 of these had been formed. It is plain that this work was intended to be most thorough, but its author did not live to finish it, and it was bequeathed to the Royal Astronomical Society and finally published by them in an incom-

plete and unsatisfactory state, as Volume XL. of their "Memoirs." Its use is chiefly that of an extended index to various double-star observations, with the approximate positions (for 1830) of these stars, and it has little or no value unless accompanied by the original works, which it was its chief object to replace.

The recently issued work of Lord Lindsay (Publications of the Dun Echt Observatory, Vol. I.) is intended to supply the place of a general catalogue so far as the double stars of W. Struve are concerned. It is a careful collection of all the measures of Struve in the "Mensuræ Micrometricæ," and in the minor works, and all these stars (above 3,000 in number) are arranged in order of their right ascensions for 1875.0. For each pair all the particulars of magnitude, color, distance, position-angle, date of observation, even the magnifying powers employed, are given, as well as the co-ordinates, right ascension and declination, for 1875. The precessions are to be taken from a table appended to the book. The full notes give further measures. Thus the particulars regarding each star are to be found collected on one line. If a reference to Struve's own measures is desired, a column gives the page of the original work where these may be found.

This volume is sure to prove useful both to observers of Double Stars and for general reference. It is capitally printed, but unfortunately quite a number of errata* still remain in the text, some even transferred from the original sources without correction. To give to this excellent work its full value these will have to be removed.

A general catalogue of double stars is now printing which will probably be found to fulfil all the conditions for a work of this class. It is from the hands of Mr. Burnham of Chicago, a distinguished discoverer of double stars, and it is the work of many years. It will contain all the elements of position (for 1880) with the particulars concerning each star from the latest trustworthy authority, and copious notes referring to previous measures. For important stars the entire history is given or rendered accessible, a special treatment having been adopted for binaries. It is to be printed as an Appendix to the Washington Astronomical Observations for 1875, and will be eagerly looked forward to by all to whom such a work is a daily need.

The Observatory at Cincinnati has begun its work, since its re-

* To take a single case. The following stars have their declinations erroneous by 4° or more: Nos. 300, 563, 635, 1012, 1062, 1714, 1806, 2008, 2036.

moval to its new site, by researches in this field. The former observations of Mitchell have been reduced and published, and also a series of measures of double stars of southern declination. It is announced by the Director, Professor Stone, that it is the plan of the observatory to observe the doubles lying in the zone between 15° and 35° S. The great number of measures made by Otto v. Struve, at Pulkova, have been reduced and printed, but no copy has yet reached the United States. Recent measures of a large number of Struve's doubles are, however, available in the work of Dunér of Lund. This includes 2,679 observations made in the nine years from 1867 to 1875. The measures were made in the manner employed by W. Struve, and are given in detail in pages 1 to 162. From page 163 to page 260 are given the measures of many of the doubles, arranged in chronological order, accompanied by a tolerably full discussion of the whole series of observations, from the elder Herschel's to Dunér's. In pages 265 and 266 is given a table in which the stars are arranged in classes according to the arc through which they have moved since the earliest observation.

Class I. contains those stars which have moved through a complete revolution, and comprises 8 stars.

Class II. those stars which have moved through 180° of their apparent orbit; 8 stars.

Class III. those which have moved through 90°; 8 stars.

Class IV. those which have moved through 30°; 16 stars.

Class V. those which have moved through 10°; 48 stars.

Class VI. those which certainly have an orbital motion; 59 stars, etc., etc. So that there are 147 stars in this list which have been proved to be binary in character.

The recent measures of Dembowski, Ferrari, Wilson and Seabroke, Hall, Newcomb, Gledhill, and others are noteworthy, as well as the theoretical researches of Doberck on binaries, but they are too numerous to be referred to in detail.

The Great Telescopes of the Future.

Howard Grubb, of Dublin, well known as the maker of many of the largest and most successful of the telescopes of the world, has just published a paper of great importance, giving the considerations which seem to him to indicate the direction in which important advances in the art of instrument-making are to be looked for. The paper consists mainly of a series of propositions (so to say),

each of which is separately considered. The advantages which Refracting telescopes, of such sizes as are already in existence (i. e. 26 inches in aperture and below), possess over Reflectors are first noticed.

1st. "Inasmuch as the light lost by the two reflections in case of a Reflector is greater than the amount lost by transmission through an object-glass of corresponding size, a Reflector, to be of the same optical power, must be of greater diameter than a Refractor; consequently, it will be subject to greater atmospheric disturbance, and will not be usable with as low a power as the Refractor. The light-collecting power of a unit of surface of a Reflector is independent of the size, while in a Refractor it diminishes as the size increases, on account of the extra absorption of light, from the extra thickness of glass." From experiments on various kinds of glass, Dr. Robinson, Director of the Armagh Observatory, estimates that a Refractor of 35.435 inches aperture would be just equal to a metallic Reflector of the same size, and that beyond this size the Reflector would have the advantage.

2d. The second advantage of Refractors consists in "the greater permanence of collimation and consequent suitability for ordinary observatory work, and for measuring purposes." Mr. Grubb justly remarks, that, while this advantage is a real one for the smaller sizes, and when fitness for all kinds of work is regarded, yet we must consider the large telescopes of the future in relation to *special* functions. Their field of work is limited, and no large telescope of any class can supersede the small Refractors of the size of those at Berlin, Dorpat, Leipzig, etc., for the every-day uses to which they are put.

3d. Refractors again are superior in the "permanence of the optical parts," and this, with the second instance, leads to the fourth, which relates to their superiority in "suitability for observatory work and measuring purposes." Again (from their construction),

5th. "There is no central mirror in the Refractor to disturb the course of the rays"; and further (from their construction),

6th. We have "less effect from air-currents in Refractors," since they permit of tubes closed at both ends.

Summing up the advantages which Reflectors possess over Refractors, we have, —

B^1. "Absence of secondary spectrum." All Refractors of large size made on the ordinary forms and with the present kinds of

glass possess this defect in a large degree, and must do so. This is not harmful, however, except for bright objects, as the moon, the planets, and the brighter stars; in the largest Refractor now in use (that at Washington) it cannot be said to interfere in any considerable degree with work on the vast majority of double stars or the faint satellites of the outer planets, on nebulæ, etc. when only *micrometric measures* are considered. This Mr. Grubb does not notice, and it is an important point, as work in this field is practically unending.

B^2. The next point noted is the better "applicability of the Reflector for physical work," understanding by this the great problems of Celestial Photography, Photometry, Spectroscopy, etc. It is, however, to be noted again that by confining a large instrument to a *special* field great results may be still had from the Refractor. Mr. Rutherford of New York, for example, has his 13-inch Refractor so adapted to photographic work that the best lunar photographs extant have been made by its use; and this in spite of the fact that two of the finest Reflectors in the world are devoted to the same pursuit. This is another point not elaborated by Mr. Grubb.

B^3. The next point made by Mr. Grubb in favor of Reflectors is "the possibility of supporting them with perfect freedom from flexure irrespective of size." Here it must be said that general experience has not confirmed Mr. Grubb's proposition, as there is probably no Reflector even of the sizes now made which will stand the rapid handling to which Refractors are daily subjected. Up to twenty-six inches noxious flexure of objectives can be avoided, and there is every reason to believe that up to thirty-six inches the same immunity could be secured.

B^4. "The general convenience of the Reflectors for observing purposes." This consists chiefly in the short foci allowable, and constitutes a real advantage. Mr. Grubb next examines the effect of *increase of size* upon the advantages enumerated in each case; and, first, for the advantages of Refractors it is concluded that only the third advantage really becomes greater with increase of size, while most of the others are nullified or remain as before. In the effects of increase of size on the advantages of the Reflector, it is different, and (retaining the numbering just given) he finds that for B^1 the advantage increases rapidly with increase of size. In B^2 the advantage is the same, size for size, always. B^3 increases with the size. We have noticed the freedom from flexure of the

Washington glass, but Mr. Grubb in his own practice finds sensible flexure even in 15-inch glasses and uses three intermediate supports for these (six in all), and in the 27-inch Refractor which he is making for the Vienna observatory he expects to use six such.

This advantage of the Reflector could be reduced, however, as Mr. Grubb himself suggests, either by introducing a central support, or, more elegantly, by having an air-tight tube for the Refractor, hermetically sealed and filled with air under pressure. The eye end could be sealed by a Barlow lens of low power. This air would form the most perfect of supports for the objective, and the plan is quite feasible, though novel. Mr. Grubb has worked out the details of this plan, and finds that for an objective of forty inches aperture and six hundred pounds weight, two thirds of whose weight it is required to support by the air-cushion, a pressure of one third of a pound per square inch (one fiftieth of an atmosphere) would suffice.

B^4. This advantage increases rapidly with increased size. With regard to the practical difficulties in each case and the most promising means of overcoming these, Mr. Grubb adduces from his own extensive experience the most important facts. For Refractors, it appears to him "that the chances of obtaining 40-inch discs of glass, in the present state of the art of glass-making, are remote." The difficulties of figuring large objectives can be overcome by the opticians without doubt. Certainly Mr. Grubb in Europe, and the Clarks of Cambridgeport, will undertake to figure an objective of any size. For Reflectors, the difficulties of getting discs of glass over six feet are probably insuperable, as no one of the glass-makers in Europe is now willing to undertake to make a disc of that diameter (although the *quality* of the glass is here of no moment), and therefore silver-on-glass Reflectors of that size are for the present out of the question. With regard to metallic specula of large dimensions Mr. Grubb says that his own experiments lead him to believe that we shall soon be able to produce metallic mirrors with a reflecting power twenty-five per cent greater than those formerly made; they certainly can now be made of six feet aperture. It is probably in this direction that Mr. Grubb looks with the greatest hope. His final conclusion, "that no one kind of telescope is *best* for all kinds of work, and that in the choice of telescopes reference must be made to the work that the instrument is intended for" and to the circumstances under which it is to be employed, is

so eminently just that it simply requires to be stated to be admitted.

The Comets of 1877.

The recent dearth of comets has been supplied in 1877 by the discovery of three. Comet *a* was discovered by Borelly of Marseilles, on February 8, and was visible as a telescopic object till March 18 in Europe, but was observed by the 26-inch telescope at Washington so late as March 30. It had the usual comet spectrum. Comet *b* was discovered by Winnecke of Strassburg, on April 5, and independently by Block of Odessa, on April 10. Young of Dartmouth and Wolf of Paris have investigated its spectrum, which is of the usual type. Comet *c* was discovered by Swift of Rochester on April 10, and independently by Borelly on the 14th. It was at first supposed that Comet *b*, whose elements are similar to those of 1827.II. and 1852.II., might prove to be periodic, but according to Hind this is not likely. There is a strong resemblance between the elements of Comet *c* and those of the Comet of 1762. D'Arrest's periodic comet was detected on the 30th of July by M. Tempel, of Florence.

Astronomical Expedition to Ascension Island.

Mr. David Gill of England is to take up his residence at Ascension Island, for the purpose of making heliometric observations of Mars to determine the solar parallax. The heliometer to be employed is the one used by Mr. Gill in the Transit-of-Venus Expedition of Lord Lindsay in 1874, in which Juno was observed and the parallax 8″.82 deduced. This expedition is of great importance in many ways, as it is quite possible that from its results the best determination of solar parallax may be had, the method employed admitting of great refinement. The support given to the expedition is also noteworthy, as the Royal Astronomical Society guarantees the expenses, £500, and as several observatories will join in the fixing of the star places, etc. It contrasts with the unfortunate expedition of Gilliss (1849 – 52), who, on his return to the United States from Chili, found that his brilliant labors in the same field, although by a different and less independent method, had been practically in vain, through the feeble support given by Northern observers.

The new Durchmusterung.

Astronomers will never cease to be grateful to Argelander and his assistants, Krueger and Schoenfeld, for the *Durchmusterung des Nordlichen Gestirnten Himmels*, which embraces all the stars, of the first nine magnitudes, from the North Pole to 2° of south declination. This work was begun in 1852, and at its completion a catalogue of the approximate places of no less than 324,198 stars, with a series of excellent star-maps giving the aspect of the northern heavens for 1855, was at the service of astronomers, and has been in the most constant use from that time forward. Argelander's original plan was to carry this *Durchmusterung* as far as 23° south, so that every star visible in a small comet-seeker should be registered. His original plan was abandoned, but his former assistant and present successor at the observatory of Bonn, Dr. Schoenfeld, is now engaged in executing this important work. The same methods will be followed by Schoenfeld which were so successful formerly; the equinox of 1855 is chosen as the fundamental one; and almost the only changes are the adoption of a telescope of six inches aperture for the work, and a closer discrimination of the magnitudes of the fainter order of stars. In the prosecution of the plan, Schoenfeld has already determined the position of 74,885 stars; and astronomers in the northern hemisphere will soon possess an index, as it were, to every star likely to be used in their observations.

New Satellites to Mars.

On the 16th of August, since the above was written, Professor Hall, in charge of the 26-inch equatorial of the Naval Observatory at Washington, discovered a faint satellite to Mars. From the observations up to the present date, it appears that its time of rotation is about thirty hours, and its greatest distance from the centre of Mars about eighty seconds of arc. It appears to be of the 13-14 magnitude. The mean distance of this satellite is between 14,000 and 15,000 miles, which is less than that of any known planet.

On the 18th of August Professor Hall suspected the existence of another satellite interior to the first; at the date of writing this no further observations are at hand. The discovery of these two satellites is one of the most important astronomical events of the century, being paralleled only by the discovery of Ariel and Umbriel by Lassell, and of Hyperion by Lassell and Bond.

Art. XI. — CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1. — 1. *Renaissance in Italy: The Age of the Despots.* By John Addington Symonds. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1875. 8vo. pp. xvi, 574.
2. *The Revival of Learning.* London. 1877. pp. xv, 546.
3. *The Fine Arts.* London. 1877. pp. xiv, 539.

It is Mr. Symonds's purpose in the three handsome volumes before us (to be completed by one on Italian Literature) to give a detailed account of that wonderful intellectual movement in the fifteenth century which for want of a better term we name Renaissance, — the new birth of humanity brought about by the revival of classical letters, or rather of the classical spirit. In a narrow sense the Renaissance is the period during which the Italians became conscious of their Latin ancestry and sought to revive the literature and arts of ancient Rome. In a broader sense the Renaissance is the transition period from the Middle Ages to the modern world, and it is in this sense that Mr. Symonds understands it and attempts to describe it.

A mere history of the effects of a certain spirit would be unsatisfactory without some account of the growth of that spirit and the external causes that modified it and caused it to assume peculiar and phenomenal shapes. This is the case with the history of the Renaissance. The new spirit of classical learning, with the momentous changes it wrought in the moral constitution of mankind, modified powerfully Italian society of the fifteenth century, but it was itself influenced by it, and the rapid assimilation of the new spirit could not have taken place without a certain pre-existing state of society. The author devotes the first volume of his work to giving a picture of this society in a survey of the political and social condition of Italy during the fifteenth century. It may be doubted whether any period of modern history possesses so many individual characters who have exercised on posterity such powerful fascination as Lorenzo de' Medici, the Borgias, Savonarola, and Michael Angelo, — names which represent the extremes of the tendencies of their age. It was the age of immense contrasts, of the grossest immorality and most fervent piety, of outward Christianity and inward paganism, of wild bloodthirstiness and gentle manners, — the age that produced a Vittoria Colonna and a Lucrezia Borgia. It is, in short, an age that

must always remain a psychological problem and baffle the fascinated student. Mr. Symonds gives a vivid picture of this immoral, tyrant-ridden Italy of the fifteenth century, and indicates the conditions which were favorable to the new spirit which manifested itself, first, in what is known as the Revival of Learning. The numerous courts of wealthy and able despots were so many centres of patronage where the tyrant assumed the mask of Mæcenas and lavished the state treasures on manuscripts of Cicero and Homer. It is difficult for us now to comprehend the boundless enthusiasm for classical learning which possessed the whole nation. We must, however, bear in mind that it had all the charm of freshness. In Petrarch's day Greek was practically unknown in Italy, and there is something touching in the middle-aged Boccaccio endeavoring to catch a glimpse of Homer's grandeur, and becoming the first Greek scholar in Italy. This charm of freshness attached to Latin also, for although it was the language of the Church and State, it had departed immeasurably from the models of classic times, and the language of Cicero was as new as the language of Homer.

In his second volume the author describes the Revival of Learning from Petrarch and Boccaccio to its final stage in Bembo and the purists. We witness the eager search after manuscripts, the careful collation of texts, the founding of the great libraries at Florence and Rome, the rise of learned academies, and the final pedantry which brought discredit upon the whole movement and degenerated into affectation. One of the most interesting characters of this period is the wandering professor, a perambulating library, who expounded the new-found classics to enthusiastic crowds, and when he had finished the minute exposition of the few authors to whom he had devoted his life moved on to another city where his lectures were fresh. They were for the most part arrogant, irascible men, puffed up with the consciousness that they were the only receptacles of learning, and their quarrels form one of the most curious chapters in the history of the period.

The large mass of biographical details in this volume wearies the reader; it is, however, relieved by many interesting disquisitions on libraries, the introduction and early history of printing, and the Latin literature of the Renaissance. It is not until we can form an idea of the whole movement and its results on the individual and society that we can appreciate the efforts of a Poggio Bracciolini in collecting manuscripts or the munificence of a Cosimo de' Medici in founding public libraries.

The new spirit was not manifested alone in literature, it soon showed itself in art; and it is to this side of the movement that the third volume of Mr. Symonds's work is devoted. His purpose, as he says in his Pref-

ace, is not to retrace the history of the Italian arts, but rather to define their relation to the main movement of Renaissance culture. With this object in view he tries to explain the dependence of the arts on mediæval Christianity at their commencement, their gradual emancipation from ecclesiastical control, and their final attainment of freedom at the moment when the classical revival culminated. We cannot but feel that this volume is wanting in the interest of the former ones. We are again oppressed by the mass of details from which no very clear ideas are evolved. The relation of the earlier artists to the Renaissance movement is, it seems to us, insufficiently indicated; and we do not think the author explains the influence of the Renaissance on the religous and secular styles of such artists as Raphael and Titian. The chapters on Michael Angelo and Benvenuto Cellini are more interesting for their personal details than for art criticism, and might have been placed in the first volume as illustrating Italian society. In an Appendix the author gives some excellent translations from Michael Angelo's sonnets, using the new text edited by Guasti.*

The faults we have hinted at above are inseparable from the arrangement of Mr. Symonds's work. The historical and social details are crowded into one volume, the scholars are assigned to the second, and the artists to the third. This method is convenient for reference, but it fails to give a clear picture of the whole movement in its mutual relations. The reader is obliged to make his own combinations, whereas a combined history of the period would have given a clearer idea and avoided much repetition and reference to the other volumes. With this exception to the author's method we can heartily praise the execution of the work. There existed previous to it in English only such partial works as Greswell's Memoirs of Politianus, etc. (London, 1805), Shepherd's Life of Poggio Bracciolini (London, 1837), and the notices scattered through the works of Roscoe and others. Mr. Symonds has supplied this want in an excellent manner. He has made good use of the material accumulated by his predecessors in this field in other countries, and has added to it his own independent labor and observation. His spirit is candid and catholic, and his literary perception clear and sound. He is in full sympathy with his subject, and his readers cannot fail to catch some of his enthusiasm. In spite of the somewhat

* *Le Rime di Michelangelo Buonarroti.* Firenze, 1863. It may be well to warn our readers against all previous texts. They rest on the edition prepared in 1623 by the poet's grand-nephew, who, himself a poet, took the liberty of altering his uncle's poems to suit the taste of the day. In one sonnet, for instance, he left but one line as the author wrote it. An excellent article on the subject may be found in Wilhelm Lang's *Transalpinische Studien.* Leipzig, 1875. 2 vols. Vol. I. p. 173.

dry nature of parts of his subject he has produced a readable as well as a valuable work, and we shall look forward with interest to the volume on Italian Literature, which we have no doubt will complete the whole in a worthy manner.

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2. — *Peru: Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas.* By E. George Squier, M. A., F. S. A. New York: Harper and Bros. 1877. pp. 588.

There is no country in the New World to which a higher antiquarian and archæological interest attaches than to that portion of the continent of South America which owned the sway of the Incas. The iconoclastic tendencies of the conquering Spaniards, in their efforts to introduce what they erroneously conceived to be a higher civilization, have destroyed so thoroughly these wonderful traces of a powerful and cultured race, that the archæologist often finds himself puzzled to reconstruct, from the remains and *débris*, the palaces and temples of a bygone period. Whatever a ferocious and bigoted superstition spared, the cupidity and avarice of treasure-seekers has since completed. When we remember that many of the most imposing and majestic of these structures were not more than a century old when the Spaniards entered the country, and that the civilization of the Incas generally was of comparatively late date, we cannot but regret that fate should have doomed it to an invasion of European hordes as ruthless and barbarous as were those Huns and Goths who swept away the civilization of Rome. Fascinated by the romance which must ever attach to the traces of a civilization so recent and yet so rapidly becoming wholly effaced, Mr. Squier has devoted himself to a complete and laborious investigation of the ruins of Peru; indeed, his present work may be considered a text-book on the subject. He has carefully gone over the ground of Rivero and Von Tschudi, corrected many of their errors, and thrown light on much that they left vague and uncertain. In his examination of Lake Titicaca and its neighborhood he has filled up much that even Pentland has failed to notice. It is needless to say that the ancient Spanish chroniclers were extremely unreliable. Dazzled with the splendor and magnificence of a civilization so gorgeous as to surpass all their former experience, their accounts were invariably exaggerated, and in many instances almost fabulous. Had Garcilasso, Cieza de Leon, and others described accurately and truthfully what they saw, they would at least, in some measure, have atoned for the acts of vandalism in which they took part. But the interest of this portion of South America is not confined to the remains of Inca civilization. Mr. Squier first takes us

to the Grand Chimu, where we have traces of a higher perfection in the arts of pottery and metallurgy than was known in the country of the Incas, where the most perfect specimens of arabesque still adorn the crumbling walls, and the extensive ruins of a city which was the capital of a country whose civilization dated, in all probability, beyond that of the Incas, by whom it was afterwards conquered. Of a far higher antiquity, however, than even the ruins of the Grand Chimu are those of Tiahuanuco. These have been the problem of antiquarians since their first discovery, and have already been elaborately described by Von Tschudi and D'Orbigny. But the mystery which surrounds them remains still to be penetrated, bearing the same relation to the remains at Cuzco that those of Egypt or Assyria do to Rome. They tell of an exceedingly remote civilization, and of races all traces of whom have long since vanished. Their huge standing monoliths, mystically arranged, seem to suggest a kinship with the Druidical remains in England and Brittany; while the winged, human-headed figures and symbolic ornaments graven upon them remind one strongly of similar subjects at Nineveh. Mr. Squier has given us by far the most intelligent account we have yet had of these ruins, and deserves the highest credit for the labor he inflicted upon himself in taking careful measurements and plans, and accurate photographic representations, of the most important features both of the ruins here and at Grand Chimu. The same conscientious observation characterized his work on the Lake Titicaca and its sacred isle, involving much exposure, hardship, and occasional risk. Our space does not admit of our lingering with him at the ancient and historical city of Cuzco, where the ruins of the most imposing edifices ever reared in the New World still exist, and mark the seat and centre of Inca civilization; nor can we follow him on his journey down the valley of the Yucay to Ollantayambo, with its gloomy gorges and rock-cut fortresses, but we can recommend it to our readers as one of the most graphic and picturesque portions of the book. The charm of Mr. Squier's style enables him to be an archæologist without being dry, when he is not actually measuring and giving us plans and details which are essential to the value of his work. His narrative is the lively and well-written record of his daily adventures; and his pictures of life and scenery in the Cordilleras will commend the book to the general reader as highly as the antiquarian details must to the student. The work has been most carefully and elaborately illustrated; in fact, without the very accurate drawings of the monuments which it contains it would have been impossible to convey any idea of them to the reader. Since Prescott, we have not read anything so strongly calculated to awaken an interest in Peru and its departed civilization as Mr. Squier's last researches.

3. — *Société des anciens textes français:* I. *Les plus anciens monuments de la langue française (IX^e, X^e siècle) publiés avec un commentaire philologique par* Gaston Paris, *Album.* Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie. 1875. 10 planches. Fol. — II. *Chansons du XV^e siècle publiées d'après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris par* Gaston Paris, *et accompagnées de la musique transcrite en notation moderne par* Auguste Gevaert. Paris. 1875. — III. *Brun de la Montaigne. Roman d'Aventure publié pour la première fois, d'après le manuscrit unique de Paris par* Paul Meyer. Paris. 1875. — IV. *Bulletin de la Société des anciens textes français.* Nos. 1 – 4. 1875.

The above-named works constitute, with one to be mentioned later, the first year's publications of the recently established Old-French Text Society. There have been before this French societies for the publication of old texts, but none that could compare with such societies as the Early English Text Society, etc. The present society has been organized to meet this want, and the results of its labors for its first year justify fully its establishment and give great promise of its future usefulness. The scope of the society embraces the publication of "mediæval documents of all kinds, whether Old-French or Provençal," and although thus far mention has been made of only Old-French works, it is to be hoped that the literature of the South of France will not be overlooked. The first work published contained most appropriately the oldest monuments of the French language, viz. the Oaths of Strasbourg, 842, the *Cantilène de Sainte Eulalie*, the *Passion du Christ*, *Vie de Saint Léger*, and *Fragment d'une Hom lie sur le Prophète Jonas*, all of the tenth century.* These are all given *in extenso* after the most approved method of photolithography. Portions of these documents had previously been published in facsimile, but it is only necessary to compare this last edition with the plates in Roquefort (*Glossaire de la langue romane*, Paris, 1808, Tom. I. p. 20), and in Champollion-Figeac (*Documents hist. inéd.*, Paris, 1848, Tom. IV. p. 424) to show how unreliable the latter are, and what immense improvements have been made in this field. The value of the present publication can hardly be overestimated. The five monuments here made accessi-

* Diez, in his *Altromanische Sprachdenkmale*, Bonn, 1846, assigns the *Cantilène* to the ninth century, but says, p. 16: "Wäre das Alter der Handschrift nicht so wohl verbürgt, so könnten Gründe aus der Entwicklungsgeschichte der Sprache geschöpft an der Richtigkeit desselben zu zweifeln verleiten." Since then the MS. has been assigned to the tenth century. See E. du Méril, *Essai phil. sur la form. de la langue franç.*, p. 404; Littré, *Hist. de la langue franç.*, II. p. 283.

ble to the public for the first time in their original form contain the earliest specimens of French, and show the rapid development of the language into a flexible and satisfactory literary medium. For the first time, too, foreign scholars can study these precious remains as well as if they had the manuscripts before them, and it is very interesting to see how Diez and others were misled by the old and defective facsimiles, and also how many of the first-named scholar's emendations are confirmed by the readings of the manuscripts. The editor promises a *commentaire philologique*, which is to be one of the publications for 1876, and has not yet appeared. The student will find meanwhile very careful transcripts of the *Vie de St. Léger* and the *Passion du Christ* in the *Romania*, I. p. 273, II. p. 295, with notes by the present editor.* We may remark, in passing, that with the exception of the *Fragment de Valenciennes* (as the *Homélie sur le Prophète Jonas* is technically called, from the library where it was found), which is partly written in *notes tironiennes*, the other documents may be read without any previous knowledge of palæography.

If the interest of the volume we have just noticed is purely philological, that of the second is almost exclusively literary. The *Chansons du XV^e siècle* contains one hundred and forty-three *chansons*, carefully edited with notes and a glossary by M. Paris. The value of this publication is also great from a standpoint which has only recently acquired much importance. The interest of almost every nation in Europe has, within the past few years, been awakened in their national popular traditions, whether embodied in nursery tales or popular ballads. The necessity for preserving these products of the popular muse has been especially felt in those countries where there is danger of their disappearing before the march of national unity and modern education. France has of late years produced some very valuable collections of her popular poetry, but comparatively little attention has been paid to the songs of past generations. The editor deplores this neglect, and trusts that France may soon have a complete collection of her old *chansons* on which all the resources of modern scholarship may be spent. The character of the collection before us is as varied as possible, — *pastourelles, rondes, chants d'amour*, satirical pieces, and songs recording contemporary events. Some are Norman, others from Lyons, Picardy, and Burgundy. The dialects of Savoy, Provence, and Gascony are represented, and there is even a ballad in Spanish on the death of Prince Alfonso of Portugal (died 1491). The poems in this collection

* The monuments are best treated in the works of Littré, Du Méril, and Diez, previously mentioned, and in the last-named scholar's *Zwei altromanische Gedichte*, Bonn, 1852.

do not differ in character from those already published of this period. However, as the editor truly says in his Preface (p. v), "Toutes ont ce mérite et ce prix incomparable d'être l'expression fidèle et spontanée du génie français, et de nous livrer des traits dont plusieurs semblent avoir disparu, dont d'autres sont indélébles, mais qui tous appartiennent à la physionomie la plus intime de notre peuple."

The third publication of the society, *Brun de la Montaigne*, is unfortunately only a fragment, and it is impossible to tell how much is lacking, although to judge from the story a considerable portion must be lost. The literary value of the poem is very small, but it has preserved some interesting mediæval beliefs in regard to fairies, and also affords the oldest example of the modern French rule about the feminine cæsura. The poem opens at the birth of a son of Butor de la Montaigne. The father summons his vassals, and expresses his desire to have the infant carried to the forest of Breceliant to a spring where the fairies were accustomed to meet during the night. Bruiant, one of his principal vassals, takes charge of the child and watches over him at a distance, while he is exposed near the fountain. Three beautiful fairies approach, singing, and begin to examine the child. Two of them bestow their gifts upon him: he shall be beautiful and courteous; he shall be feared in war and tournaments, and honored by all. The third fairy, however, the most powerful of all, piqued because the others have anticipated her, is less favorable: the child shall be without a friend (*mendiant d'amie*) in his youth, his love shall not be returned, he shall be another Tristan; and she so names him; and, finally, more angry, she declares that the one he loves shall marry in his presence a humpback rustic (*un vilain bossu*). The child is carried back to his father, who is not at all affected by the malediction of the bad fairy, and has his son baptized Brun. Meanwhile a nurse presents herself at the castle, and takes charge of the child. She puts him to sleep, and then disappears to return before the infant awakes. It was one of the good fairies, who at the fountain had put a ring upon the child's finger. The good fairy takes charge of Brun for fifteen years, then she tells him that the time has come for him to love, and recalls the prediction of the bad fairy. After Brun has loved for ten years a lady whom he will see marry the humpback, his nurse will return and comfort him. Brun starts out on his adventures, and the poem is cut off just as he has fallen in love, and the predictions of the bad fairy are about to be realized.

The editor says that before this poem fairies have been represented surrounding the cradle of a child and bestowing their gifts on him, but no one until the author of Brun de la Montaigne has informed us of the usage which must have existed of carrying children to the fountain where the fairies met.

The most noteworthy thing about the poem is its form, which is that of the *chansons de geste* (Alexandrines), although the poem in question is a *roman d'aventure*. There is, however, one important difference. In Old-French versification the verse of ten and twelve syllables admitted at the end of each hemistich an unaccented syllable which did not count. In modern French this has been restricted to the second hemistich alone. Hence the verse with feminine rhyme. When an unaccented syllable occurs at the end of the first hemistich it must be elided, that is, the following word must begin with a vowel. This modern usage has, until the publication of Brun de la Montaigne, not been traced farther back than the poet Jehan le Maire, who lived at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. It is, however, found observed, with few exceptions, in the poem before us, which is more than a century older than the works of Jehan le Maire.*

The fourth and last volume for 1875 is in press, and will shortly be issued to subscribers. It is the *Débat des Hérauts de France et d'Angleterre*, followed by "The Debate between the Heraldes of Englande and Fraunce," compiled by Johne Coke.

In addition to the works above named the society also publishes a Bulletin, which contains, in addition to reports on the affairs of the society, notices of manuscripts relating to Old-French literature which are not of a character to publish *in extenso*. The Bulletin for the first year contains notices of three interesting manuscripts, one of which, *Bib. Nat.* 25, 415, *Fonds Fr.*, contains various works in Provençal of extreme value for the history of mediæval traditions.

The society, in short, is doing excellent work, and deserves the hearty support and recognition of scholars in this country.

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4. — *Life of Edwin Forrest, the American Tragedian.* By William Rounseville Alger. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1877. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 431, 433.

Mr. Alger's life of Edwin Forrest is confessedly a good deal more than a biography. Its plan, the author tells us in his Preface, "is that of a philosophical history," which adds to the narration of events a discussion of their causes and their teachings, and "intersperses the mere recital of personal facts and incidents with studies of the principal topics of a more general nature intimately associated with" them. Clearly,

* An interesting note on this subject by A. Mussafia will be found in the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, I. p. 98.

the only limits to a book undertaken with this very decided breadth of purpose are to be found in the number of opinions the author may have to set forth on that considerable class of subjects with which human experience is concerned in one way or another; and since in Mr. Alger's case this number is by no means small, it is not in the least surprising that his work expands into these two rather formidable volumes. The latitude which he so candidly bespeaks he uses to the full, in what is certainly a hazardous experiment upon the public patience; but then he has one great point in his favor, — he is an enthusiast, and an enthusiast is seldom dull. His opinions are set forth with a combative energy that, if unnecessary, is at least exhilarating. If there is hardly a subject which could be supposed to be suggested by his leading topic that does not draw him into a digression; if there is no passion, phase of life, or form of action or adventure, that does not call forth its little essay, it must be confessed that each of these is entertaining even when erratic, and very much in earnest even when its cause is the most trifling. The book, as a whole, is a most curious production, which will constantly amuse and sometimes possibly amaze the reader; but it will seldom tire him, unless with overmuch of its author's favorite quality of "vigor."

The biographer's estimate of Forrest, whom he regards with a peculiar kind of hero-worship, is best indicated, perhaps, by a passage from his description of the "dominating class of men" to which he considers the actor to belong; a passage which has the additional advantage of showing Mr. Alger's peculiarities of style running their wildest riot and executing their most startling feats. Of such a type of man, he says that "the dynamic charge in his nervous centres is so deep and intense that it produces a chronic exaltation above fear into complacency, and raises" him "toward the eternal ether, among the topmost heads of our race." Again, "there is in his nervous system, resulting from the free connection and uninterrupted interplay of all its parts, a centralized unity, a slowly swaying equilibrium, which fills him with the sense of a saturating drench of power. . . . His consciousness seems to float on his surcharged ganglia in an intoxicating dreaminess of balanced force, which . . . . lifts him out of the category of common men."

"In his basic build" Forrest appears to Mr. Alger to have been a strongly marked specimen of the rare ruling class whose character is thus described; and although "the circumstances of his life and the training of his mind were unfavorable to the full development of his power in the highest directions," yet he remains for his biographer a fairly heroic embodiment of great and balanced force. It is almost altogether in this aspect that the book considers him; and Mr. Alger has

but little patience with those who fail to see in the stalwart actor's mighty muscles, gusty passions, and intense vitality, all the elements of a most "robust and towering specimen of impassioned manhood." There is a certain savage glee in his attacks upon such "weaklings" as have disagreed with him, and displayed their "ignorance of virile truth in querulous complaints" that Forrest's acting showed both "coarseness and ferocity." Throughout his narrative such misappreciators of his hero keep Mr. Alger constantly employed; he is continually on the watch for those Philistines that beset the path of genius with their feeble criticism; and where he finds one, does not fail to dash upon him with a force of fierce invective beside which Forrest's own might pale. He is not long content without some object of denunciation, and in the intervals often reminds us very strongly of a character in one of Leon Gozlan's novels, who, when conventionalities offended him, was wont to query fiercely, "Mais quand pourrai-je manger un bourgeois?"

It would, however, be an injustice both to Mr. Alger and his subject should this inevitable comment on the book's extravagances convey the impression that we have found it, as a whole, either absurd or valueless. It is by no means necessary that we should. In spite of Mr. Alger's somewhat riotous fancy, he has been in the main more faithful to his task than those who agree with him in his heroic conception of the actor's character might wish. The actual narrative, which forms the main portion of the book, though far too richly decorated with the arabesques of Mr. Alger's rhetoric, is at least not itself distorted; and either intentionally, or because of the writer's instinctive conscientiousness, is so easily separable by the reader from the comments made upon it, that one unconsciously clears away the verbiage as he reads, and rises from the book with a very fair idea of what Forrest really was. Sonorous phrase about his slowly swaying equilibrium and balanced consciousness floating upon his surcharged ganglia is, after all, of little consequence when we have here beside it the easily gathered facts of his history and character told with a truth which could have no better testimony than that they often run counter to the design of their narrator. We do not deny that they establish Forrest's claims to a place in the literature of biography as a typical character, — the embodiment of a certain force and vigor which there is a common tendency to identify with genius; but that the force was essentially of the earth earthy, and the vigor incapable of use in any very high direction, we are more than ever convinced by reading Mr. Alger's book.

5. — *Les Secrets d'État dans le Gouvernment Constitutionel.* Par le Général Alphonse La Marmora. Paris: Libraire Militaire de J. Dumaine. 1877. pp. 156.

While General La Marmora's latest publication is principally a defence of his own political conduct and previous publications, it is interesting as throwing light upon the relations which now exist between Italy and Germany, and as affording us a glimpse into the negotiations in 1866, which have doubtless contributed to produce those relations. The high positions which General La Marmora has occupied in the service of his country, having filled the functions of Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs, President of the Council, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and Administrator of the Kingdom of Naples shortly after its annexation, invest any revelations he may have to make with a peculiar weight and importance. The object of his present brochure is not, however, so much to divulge new secrets as to defend himself for revealing those which caused so much sensation on the occasion of his former work, "un peu plus de lumière"; the statements in which, relative to the negotiations which had taken place between Italy and Prussia at the time of the Prusso-Austrian war, Prince Bismarck stigmatized in the German Chamber as "an impudently false invention," and with characteristic arrogance demanded from the Italian government that they should pass a law rendering any such publication of political documents in future penal. This law was passed; it was a direct insult to General La Marmora, and he now revenges himself on the Minister who passed it at the dictation of the German Chancellor, and on that potent personage himself, by reiterating the assertions to which he took umbrage, and throwing back upon him the charge of falsehood. As between Prince Bismarck and General La Marmora, our experience of the two men would lead us to give the benefit of the doubt as to who is telling the truth to the Italian. Unfortunately his adversary is too powerful even for truth to prevail against him. The publication by Count Arnim of despatches which were undoubtedly genuine, and which did not represent the German Chancellor as a model of truthful diplomacy, did not save him from destruction, and now General La Marmora thinks that if he can prove his case, he has won it. The misfortune in these disputes is that the truth can only be known through a breach of political confidence. It is true that General La Marmora was basely maligned; the worst treachery towards Prussia, of which he was undoubtedly innocent, was ascribed to him by the Prussian government organs, because it suited the German Chancellor to ignore the assistance

which Italy had rendered to Prussia in her struggle with Austria, and La Marmora was finally goaded to retaliate and to defend himself, which he could only do by the revelation of state secrets, which did not reflect very much credit upon any of the parties concerned. For this he was generally blamed at the time, and we doubt very much whether he has made his own case better by this last publication. It can certainly not be gratifying to his countrymen, as it proves how completely Bismarck has got his heel upon them; nor can it be pleasing to the German Chancellor, as it gives us some idea of the means usually employed by that eminent statesman whenever he wishes to weave the toils of his diplomacy round a foreign government. The fetters which were flung round Italy in 1866, and against which General La Marmora so bitterly inveighs, are drawn even tighter now, for Italy has no longer France to appeal to, and is in the inexorable gripe of Prussia. She is held in a leash by the German Chancellor, and will be slipped upon Turkey the day that Austria declares war against Russia, and in self-defence finds herself driven to an alliance with the Porte. Perhaps the very campaign which Prussia dictated to Italy in 1866, and his refusal to adopt which is the cause of La Marmora's present quarrel with Bismarck, will be forced upon some more pliable general, when Italy is ordered by the German government to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them in the present European complication by taking up arms against Austria.

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6. — *Across Central America.* By J. W. Boddam Whetham. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1877. pp. 353.

"If," says Mr. Boddam Whetham in the preface to his book, "my readers only know as little of the subjects of this volume before taking it up as I did before I started on my journey, I trust they will be in some measure repaid by its perusal." The fault we have to find with the author is that he should have limited his literary effort to a desire to satisfy that portion of the public who were as ignorant of Central America as he was himself before he started on his tour across it. Had his ambition been higher, his book would have been better worth reading. As it is, we thankfully accept it as a slight though distinct addition to our knowledge of a very little known region, which our author had great opportunities of rendering far more satisfactory and complete. Assuming that our readers have read Stephens and Morelet, and that their ignorance of Guatemala is not so profound as Mr. Boddam Whetham's seems to have been, they will appreciate the value of his exploration when we tell them that he travelled from Coban to Peten by a

hitherto untraversed route. Crossing the range which intersects the unexplored Lacandone country of Guatemala by a path much to the westward of that followed by Morelet, he descended the "Pasion," or Upper Usmuacinta, for three days in a canoe through a region never before described. The importance and interest of this achievement Mr. Boddam Whetham in his modesty does not seem to understand. Thus we have a valuable piece of exploration accomplished, and no map of any kind to illustrate it. We have lovely scenery described, heretofore unvisited, but the only illustrations contained in the book are those of the city of Guatemala and of Peten, both of which we have seen pictures of before. A map and itinerary are essential to a journey of exploration, but beyond guessing from the Preface that the exploration was made last year, we have nothing definite in regard to dates. Our author tantalizes us by telling us that he traversed a forest "whose depths contain innumerable ruins both small and great," but leaves the rest to the imagination. "Hardly a league away on the opposite side of the river," he says on one occasion, "are the remains of a very extensive city, but so thick is the jungle, and so overgrown with great trees are the stone-walls, that it is difficult to trace the form or meaning of any of the massive fragments." And this is all he tells us of ruins that have never before been visited or described by any traveller. If Mr. Boddam Whetham had given the time and the space which he has devoted to the ruins of Quiché, Copan, and Palenque, which we know all about, to the unvisited ruins which must exist in the region he traversed, we should indeed have owed him a debt of gratitude; if, instead of lingering at Peten, which Morelet has exhausted, he had pushed on, as he had an opportunity of doing, to Tickal, only forty miles distant, which we know nothing of beyond the rumor that it is a large city, with many of the buildings three and four stories high, remaining in perfect condition, though still sealed up, he would have imparted an altogether exceptional interest to his book, and might possibly have earned for himself a considerable reputation. As it is, he has written a book which is well worth reading, which is most agreeable in style, and shows the author to be a man of culture and refinement, which must certainly interest and amuse those who care as little about antiquarian and archæological research as he seems to do himself, but which has a tendency to produce a slight feeling of irritation in the minds of that more limited section of the public who feel that Mr. Boddam Whetham has had a magnificent chance, which he has thrown away, of telling them something they did not know before.

7. — *The Marquis of Lossie: A Romance.* By GEORGE MACDONALD. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1877. pp. 245.

To say that the author of "The Marquis of Lossie" ranks among the first novelists of the day is perhaps hardly to render justice to the place which Mr. MacDonald holds in the estimation of a large class of readers. With these he is even more popular than Mrs. Lewes (George Eliot) or Charles Reade. We can quite understand the fascination which he exercises over the minds of his admirers. Mrs. Lewes allows her love of subtle analysis of character, and a thin and often trite metaphysical vein to interfere so seriously with the action of her novels, that the interest of the reader flags, and a sense of weariness and discontent steals over him, even while he recognizes the genius and fine literary faculty of the author. Charles Reade, on the other hand, never allows the "moral" of the story to interfere with its action, but the moral is too often a hobby of his own rather than one which interests the general reader. The abuses of private lunatic asylums and of prisons, or the bigotry and narrowness of the medical profession, to denounce which his last novel, "A Woman-Hater," seems to have been written, may justify attack, but they do not appeal to a widespread popular sympathy. The charm of George MacDonald is, that, while the interest of his narrative is so absorbing that it is difficult to tear one's self away from it, the moral lesson which it conveys is thoroughly suited to the reflecting mind of the day. The thoughts which issue so spontaneously from the lips of his leading characters are exactly those which his readers have been thinking, and want to see expressed in words: the problems which, in "The Marquis of Lossie," puzzle Lady Clementina Thornicroft, are precisely those which are puzzling thousands of the best and most intelligent women of society; and the sentiments which the author puts into the mouth of the Marquis himself will find their response in the breast of every noble and generous nature that is struggling to emancipate itself from those narrow and dogmatic formulas, which the highest religious instinct revolts from as opposed to the spirit of pure Christianity. It is refreshing in these days to meet an author whose whole effort and aim seems to be to do good to his readers, and to do it with all humility and simplicity, for Mr. MacDonald's hatred of pedantry and cant is a conspicuous feature of his teaching. We only regret that so many of the finest and most original ideas should be clothed in dialect of the broadest and most incomprehensible Scotch. Mr. MacDonald increases the difficulty by not spelling his Scotch in the conventional way, but exactly

as it sounds in a part of Scotland where it sounds the most uncouth; the result is, that the reader is either tempted to pass over the gem that lies concealed by this rough setting altogether, or is obliged laboriously to puzzle out the meaning of the Scotch words. The plot of this "romance," as the author properly calls it, is as novel as it is ingenious. Whether it is an incident possible in the civilization of the present day we leave our readers to judge. They will not be the less interested in the story because it is improbable, and even verges on the fantastic; the charm of style, the sustained action, the noble vitality, which pervades the book will carry them along in spite of its improbabilities. The fact that Lady Florimel jumped on board a cutter in the Thames in her riding habit, and with two men and a boy sailed to the North of Scotland, is a startling event to take place in the height of the London season, but it is by no means impossible, and at the pace at which young ladies go nowadays it may soon cease to be improbable. We fear her intimacy with the artist while she is flirting with Lord Liftore is neither impossible nor improbable in the existing state of society. Lady Clementina and Malcolm are by far the most attractive and interesting characters in the book; the former, while absolutely true to nature, is a type of the modern aristocrat which we do not remember to have seen introduced before into any work of fiction. Altogether, we consider the "Marquis of Lossie" the best English novel which has appeared this year.

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8. — *The Cruise of Her Majesty's Ship Challenger.* By W. J. Spry, R. N. New York.: Harper and Brothers. 1877. pp. 388.

The Challenger left England in December, 1872, and after visiting Lisbon and Gibraltar sailed for the Canary Islands and West Indies, thence to Bermuda and Halifax, returning by way of the Azores to the Cape de Verde Islands, thence to Brazil, Tristan d'Acunha, and the Cape of Good Hope. This completed the first year of the cruise, in the course of which many valuable results were obtained by trawling and dredging, and much important knowledge was acquired in regard to the depth, currents, and temperature of the ocean traversed. From the Cape the expedition cruised in southern latitudes, examining islands little known or previously unexplored, until the Antarctic ice-barrier was reached. Thence, having been with difficulty disengaged from the ice, the Challenger visited Australia, New Guinea, the Philippine Islands, and Malay Archipelago, and so to Hong Kong, where she refitted, having completed her second year of exploration. The following year was spent in Japan and among the South Sea Islands, and in May, 1876, she reached

England, returning by way of Valparaiso, the Straits of Magellan, and Montevideo. When we have told the reader all this, we have told him everything he is likely to learn from Mr. Spry's book. Whether, owing to his position as assistant engineer, he had fewer opportunities of observation than his brother officers, or whether his powers of observation were defective, the result is none the less unsatisfactory. If he deserves any credit at all, it is for the ingenuity he has displayed in writing a book containing 388 pages, professing to be a narrative of one of the most interesting voyages ever made, which is so utterly vapid and destitute of any real information. When the dredges come up, he usually tells us that they "contained many interesting specimens," but is prudently silent in regard to the nature of the specimens, that being what the reader is especially anxious to learn.

On one occasion an exploring party discovered in Patagonia a large heap of dry and fossilized bones; we should have been glad to hear what the naturalists said of these bones, which doubtless they had no difficulty in placing, but the intelligent remark of Mr. Spry on the subject is that they "may possibly by and by suggest the existence of some strange and unknown creatures, which ages ago roamed over hill and dale in these remote regions." There could be no "by and by" in the matter. Either they were or were not the bones of existing animals, and any naturalist could have "suggested" definitely in regard to this point in five minutes. The best feature in the book are the illustrations, for they often tell the story which Mr. Spry labors in vain to do. We are sorry to seem somewhat severe on the literary venture of this gentleman, as we have no doubt he has exerted himself to the utmost of his capacity in his effort to present the public with a readable book, but the material was so novel and abundant and the subject so intensely interesting, that our disappointment is proportionate to the height of our expectations, and we have not hesitated freely to express it.

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9. — *Log Letters from the Challenger.* By Lord George Campbell, R. N. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1877. pp. 504.

The literary faculty seems determined to assert itself in the noble family of Argyle. The Duke himself is not unknown in the world of letters. His eldest son, the Marquis of Lorne, has written a poem of no mean pretensions, though of very moderate merit, and now comes his younger brother, Lord George Campbell, a sub-Lieutenant in the Navy, with a pleasant, chatty volume containing his youthful impressions of a cruise round the world on a scientific exploring expedition in

Her Majesty's ship Challenger. The merit of this volume lies in its perfectly unaffected style, its buoyant, rollicking humor, its bright and graphic descriptions, and the lively and appreciative spirit of observation which characterizes it throughout. We become thoroughly interested in Lord George, his dog "Sam," and his companions generally, very soon after we have made their acquaintance. Although the cruise lasted for three years, with occasional intervals of dulness, the reader is not permitted to share in the ennui of the voyage, but, like the scenes of a magic lantern, new and amusing pictures rapidly succeed each other. Under these circumstances we are not disposed to be critical as to style, or exacting in regard to the scientific results of the expedition; doubtless we shall have these furnished us before long in a work sufficiently dry and elaborate to satisfy a more learned class of readers. Lord George's accounts of the marine monsters which appeared in the trawls and dredges, of ocean temperature and currents, and so forth, are somewhat vague and sketchy, while he seemed keenly to realize the intense bore it was to stop for twenty-four hours in mid-ocean for the purpose of providing the naturalists with a haul of alcyonaria, umbellularia, and crinoids, or of satisfying them as to whether the ooze was radiolarian or globigerina, when he might have been careering along with a fair breeze to lovely South Sea Islands, where fascinating maidens lightly draped in tapa were waiting to ensnare his affections. The naïveté and humor with which this young gentleman recounts to his anxious family at home, to whom these letters are addressed, the difficulty he had in retaining control of his heart at each new spot he visited, is one of the most amusing features of the volume. It need scarcely be remarked that to a midshipman race and color are absolutely immaterial. The best-told and most graphic incidents in the book are the author's descriptions of the penguin rookeries, the battle with the icebergs in the Antarctic regions, the visit to New Guinea, and the trip into the interior of Japan. Lord George is an ardent sportsman, with a very considerable smattering of ornithology, and his observations, wherever the feathered tribe are concerned, are well worth reading; hence his penguin-rookery scene is quite unique. The principal result of the Challenger's visit to the far South was to demolish Wilkes's Termination Land, which has figured in all atlases since the United States surveying expedition returned with the report of its discovery. It is true it was only reported as "an appearance of land" sixty miles distant; the Challenger reached a point fifteen miles from its supposed position, and in clear weather could see no trace of it. It is to be regretted that the hostile attitude of the natives in Humboldt Bay, New Guinea, rendered any prolonged stay in that interesting island impossible. It is probably

the richest unexplored field for the naturalist in the world. Although Japan has been pretty well exhausted by travellers since it has been opened to foreigners, there is a spirit and dash about Lord George Campbell's scramble into the interior which makes it the most attractive part of his book.

Our author left the Challenger at Valparaiso, crossing the Pampas to Buenos Ayres, and here we reluctantly part with him. As a light and sparkling narrative of observation and adventure in little-known regions it deserves high commendation.

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10. — *A Woman-Hater: A Novel.* By CHARLES READE. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1877. 8vo (paper). pp. 178.

AFTER some of his more recent novels, — "A Simpleton," "The Wandering Heir," "A Terrible Temptation," — there seemed reason to fear that those who heartily admired the true and characteristic side of Mr. Charles Reade's work were to see no more of it. A quantity of his mere mannerisms, often offensively exaggerated, and altogether unsustained by the real strength that had once justified them, remained as somewhat melancholy reminders of his earlier books. An artificial harshness and bluntness, if not coarseness, labored in vain to recall the real virility and outspokenness of his best writing. It certainly appeared as though what had shown itself to be a master-hand was losing or abandoning its power.

"A Woman-Hater" is chiefly valuable because it revives the hope that this may not be so. It is by no means a great book; but it is still a capital novel, and there are parts of it which no one but the real Charles Reade could possibly have written, — characteristic passages that have not only the old manner, but the old force. A certain vigor in the action, a snap and pithiness in all the talk, are like the strong, unhackneyed quality that made his earlier stories what they were; and his unfailing element of an absorbing purpose, — a cause to champion, such as calls out his energies completely, — is more conspicuous than ever. His vigorous defence of women as physicians, which is the leading motive of this book, is quite as strong a piece of special pleading as any to be found in all his works.

It is possible that the novel-reader will not find in Dr. Rhoda Gale a very welcome addition to Mr. Reade's *dramatis personæ*. The suddenness with which she makes her entry into a plot in which she obviously is not needed will seem to many a most false and inartistic method of forcing a discussion on a special topic. But general rules can hardly

be applied to Mr. Reade; when at his best, as in this case, he justifies his own infraction of them. It is as impossible to resent the means by which he introduces to us such a chapter as this already famous one on women in medicine, as it is to quarrel with the management of Hardie's exposure of mad-houses in "Very Hard Cash," or the preternaturally acute and infallible Eden in "Never Too Late to Mend." Neither Hardie nor Eden nor Rhoda Gale is to be tried by the every-day standard of quiet probabilities; each of them is the entirely possible embodiment of one intense idea, which each impresses on the reader with a force that keeps it clearly marked when the whole surrounding incident and action of the story is forgotten. The man who can do this may be forgiven much besides, and yet be called a master. We may smile as we will at the way in which Mr. Reade's novels are remembered and referred to, — "This was the insane asylum story"; "That was the book about women doctors"; but when we gain the power to fix our own leading idea so firmly and exactly in the public mind that it can never be drawn out again, and will always be a tingling reminder of an abuse or its remedy, we see that this is no small matter. As to the function of the novel in the case, that is an old question between Mr. Reade and certain of his critics; and one we gladly leave to their debate.

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11. — *Mesmerism, Spiritualism, etc., Historically and Scientifically Considered.* By Dr. W. B. Carpenter. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1877. 12mo. pp. 152.

This little volume contains in an enlarged and completed form two lectures which the author originally delivered before the London Institution, and has since published as contributions to Fraser's Magazine. His effort is to show that what is called spiritualism is an epidemic delusion, like the delusions which have prevailed in past times in regard to magic, witchcraft, mesmeric clairvoyance, and things of that sort, and that its phenomena may be fully accounted for on rational principles without assuming the existence of hitherto unknown forces. His chief reliance is upon the well-known fact that where the mind is subjected to a dominant idea it is predisposed to see, feel, and hear the things it expects to see, feel, and hear, and is thus easily deceived by its own fancies. This he calls the state of expectancy, and avers that no reliance is to be placed upon the testimony of persons affected by it. He further declares that most of the performances of spiritual mediums are performed by trickery, and that all of them, so far as they contradict uniform experience, are absurd. His proofs and illustrations are

abundant, but unsystematically arranged, and we fear that his reasoning will fail to convince persons not already in agreement with him in their views of the subject. An appendix to the volume furnishes much interesting historical and scientific information, though we observe that in a letter printed on an inserted leaf one document, purporting to be an exposure of the tricks of the Fox sisters, is withdrawn by Dr. Carpenter as untrustworthy.

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12. — *Special Report to the Honorable the Minister of Education on the Ontario Exhibit, and the Educational Features of the International Exhibition at Philadelphia.* By J. George Hodgkins, LL. D., Deputy Minister. Toronto, Canada: Hunter, Rose, & Co.

The Province of Ontario in Canada has given us an example of energy in its educational department which deserves the warmest commendation. Dr. Hodgkins, the Deputy Minister of Education, who represented the Province at the International Exhibition at Philadelphia, in his official capacity has furnished a most elaborate report, not merely on the Ontario exhibit, but on the educational features of the Exhibition generally, which is full of the most useful and valuable information. The report is addressed to the Hon. Mr. Crook, the indefatigable and able Minister of Education for Ontario, and that gentleman has exercised a wise discretion in having it published for general circulation. As a work of reference on the present state of education throughout the world, this report is of great value outside of the Province of which it especially treats. It contains not merely an account of the present state of education in the more important countries, but includes statistics illustrating the condition of countries which had no exhibit at Philadelphia. Altogether the reader is furnished with the educational data of nearly eighty countries, and the details which Dr. Hodgkins has collected in regard to some of them are full of novelty and interest. Twelve pages are devoted to a consideration of the past and present system of education in Japan, which offer a striking testimony to the progressive tendencies of that newly opened empire. The information in regard to the systems of education now in operation in Russia, Egypt, Chili, and other little known countries, will doubtless be new to our readers, and will enable them to contrast the intellectual condition of races whose civilization is still only partially developed with those who are supposed to have reached the most advanced stage. It will be found that the percentage of those receiving education in some of these countries is higher than the position usually conceded to them in the

scale of civilization might have led us to expect. In addition to the comprehensive view of national education contained in this report, Dr. Hodgkins has inserted some valuable papers on special subjects, some of which deal with the educational policy pursued in various European states, and concludes with a popular sketch of the whole Exhibition, in which the progressive position occupied by education as a "group" or "section" at the various international exhibitions which have been hitherto held is noted. Not the least valuable part of the report is the summary of practical lessons as applied to Canada, which Dr. Hodgkins draws from the educational exhibits of other countries.

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13. — *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare.* Edited by Horace Howard Furness. Vols. III., IV. *Hamlet.* Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1877. 8vo.

The scope of Mr. Furness's task is familiar to our readers (see this Review for October, 1873, p. 475); and in the present volumes he performs for "Hamlet" what he had performed, in the two volumes that preceded these, for "Romeo and Juliet" and for "Macbeth," respectively. Now, as then, his task was a twofold one. To each division of it he gives an entire volume; one being devoted in the main to the text, another to the commentary. Besides the quarto and folios, about thirty modern editions are minutely collated in the first volume; notes and comments from their editors are given, and criticism, more often textual than æsthetic, is abundantly cited from various sources. The second volume begins with an essay on the date and the text of "Hamlet"; then comes a reprint of the quarto of 1603, its variorum readings being too numerous for the footnotes. Mr. Furness gives us, too, six chapters out of eight of the ancient "Hystorie of Hamblet," the immediate source of Shakespeare's play, and translates an old German tragedy, *Bestrafte Brudermord*, — "Fratricide Punished, or Prince Hamlet of Denmark." An interesting note upon this play describes the strolling companies of English actors who travelled in Germany during Shakespeare's lifetime; performing, says Tieck, as quoted by Mr. Furness, "chiefly in Dresden, and for the most part pieces imitated from Shakespeare's contemporaries, nay, even from Shakespeare himself; for instance, *Titus Andronicus*." It is interesting to learn that these strolling actors performed in English. Röchell's Chronicle of the City of Münster says: "On the 26th of November (1599) there arrived here eleven Englishmen, all young and lively fellows, except one, a rather elderly man, who managed everything. They acted five successive days, in the Townhall, five different comedies in their English language." After this follow

full selections from the literature of æsthetic criticism, British, American, French, and German; the translations from the latter being made by the Rev. Dr. Furness. A bibliography of editions of the play and of criticism upon it closes the work, and indexes to each volume (that of the second volume is erroneously named a Table of Contents) are given. We can find little fault with this painstaking edition, except to say that a key to the abbreviations used in these two volumes is lacking; though Mr. Furness had promised, in the preface to his "Macbeth," to make the volumes "as far as possible independent and complete each in itself." We may add, too, that Mr. Furness's style displays sometimes a looseness, as on pages vi, xii of his Preface, that is out of keeping with the accurate and scholarly style in which he has executed his editorial task; and we are sorry that he has not reproduced the original plot of "Hamlet" from Saxo Grammaticus.

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14. — *L'Art d'être Grand-Père.* Par Victor Hugo. Paris: Calmann Lévy. 1877. 8vo. pp. 323.

Curiously enough, the essential trait of Victor Hugo's genius is precisely what popular criticism, British and American, denies to French poetry: it is power. M. Hugo is an elemental force in literature: this Frenchman and French poet displays the same grandeur and pettiness combined, the same beauty and extravagance, the same feral roughness and magical tenderness, and in the same profuse abundance, that we find in the greatest of the great masters of poetry from the beginning. Whether we like or dislike Victor Hugo's work, we cannot ignore him; he is not to be put aside any more readily than other elemental forces; his writing is the lashing of the wind in the forest, or of the sea upon an iron shore, or perhaps his genius suggests rather the power of the lion. One who has felt the touch of it will never forget it; and never, indeed, has such impetuous and ardent pressure as that of his poetry and prose been brought to bear upon French literary forms sometimes falsely called fixed or dead. From *Han d'Islande*, the despair of the critics of 1823, to the present delightful book, the pleasure of both the critics and the public, no genius has been in more active or flexible movement than his; and in these poems its tenderer side appears. They are for the most part studies of child-life, and of its reaction upon the writer, — of that subtile reflex influence by which the child teaches the parent; and the sketches of the ways and talk of children, quite as delicately drawn as anything in Wordsworth's "Sparrow's Nest" or "We are Seven," present also strains of humor and of philosophy that were beyond the scope of the English poet. The first verses under the heading *La Lune*, —

"Jeanne songeait, sur l'herbe assise, grave et rose,"

the scene at the menagerie, *Ce que dit, le Public*, and the little poem describing Jeanne *en pénitence*,

"Jeanne était sur pain sec dans le cabinet noir,"

are real masterpieces of child-nature, — flashes of insight into that world which early becomes a forgotten world by all but gentle or poetic spirits. The childhood that Victor Hugo draws is not the childhood that Wordsworth drew, at least in a thousand external features; but he seizes the internal element in its character, and his studies of its waywardness and charm, and particularly of the sentiments of age toward childhood, are new things in literature. Their results, as given here, are so abundant, as well as so good, that they give M. Hugo a clear and special title to be called the poet of childhood.

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15. — *Charlotte Brontë: A Monograph.* By T. Wemyss Reid. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1877. Square 12mo. pp. 236.

Mr. Reid fails to show any other reason for the publication of this little book than that it is always pleasant to talk about the Brontës. In his Preface and opening chapter, it is true, he conveys the impression that he has at his disposal a considerable amount of new material, collected from Charlotte's letters to her nearest friends; but as the individual letters themselves appear in the text, we find that many of them have already been in the hands of Mrs. Gaskell, who published other parts of them than are here given, or sometimes even left them unused altogether, apparently because they had too little importance or individuality as compared with those that she selected. Mr. Reid's monograph, therefore, only supplements what he himself calls "one of the most fascinating and artistic biographies in the English language" by adding to the number, rather than the interest, of the published relics of the Brontës, and by giving us his own opinion as to Charlotte's character and life.

Briefly stated, this opinion is that her character has been pictured as too "morbid and melancholy," and her life as much too "joyless." "That during the later years in which this wonderful woman produced the works by which she has made her name famous her career was clouded by sorrow and oppressed by anguish, both mental and physical, is," says Mr. Reid, "perfectly true. . . . . But it is not true that she was throughout her whole life the victim of that extreme depression of spirits which afflicted her at rare intervals, and which Mrs. Gaskell has presented to us with so much vividness and emphasis. . . . . Those

who imagine that Charlotte Brontë's spirit was in any degree a morbid or melancholy one do her a singular injustice." This is the case which Mr. Reid sets out to prove, and which, to our mind at least, he fails so signally in proving as to suffer his own citations to defeat him. We turn from the reading of his evidence with a renewed conviction that the author of the admirable and now fairly classic "Life of Charlotte Brontë" not only studied her whole subject with most rare exactness, but that her portrayal of Charlotte's character was aided and perfected by a keen and appreciative sympathy as well. Certainly, if the letters quoted here are valuable in any way, it is as confirmation of the judgment which Mrs. Gaskell had pronounced. She "set out with the determination," says Mr. Reid, "that her work should be pitched in a particular key." If this is so, it was because her artist's instinct showed her that that haunting minor was the key with which the life she wrote of had accorded.

There is, indeed, something curiously naïve in Mr. Reid's unconsciousness that it is he who is endeavoring to "make a case," not Mrs. Gaskell, and something more than naïve in the fatality with which he contradicts himself at every turn. What are we to make of his assertion that Charlotte, when young, was "a happy and high-spirited girl," beside his picture, a few pages later, of the "ideal life led by the forlorn little girl" at six, wherein her brain was filled with alternately fantastic and gloomy pictures, and her nervous fears clearly so morbidly sensitive as to make much of her life a torture? Or with his sketch of the "strange, lonely, old-fashioned children," who made of their fellow-scholars the pitiful request that they would "teach them how to play"?

There is but one other matter in Mr. Reid's "monograph" to which we need refer, — his theory that Charlotte's visit to Brussels was the "turning-point in her life, which changed its currents, and gave to it a new purpose and a new meaning"; and, further, that "the 'storm and stress' period of Charlotte Brontë's life was not what the world believes it to have been." We desire only to point out that, inasmuch as he does not bring an atom of proof to the support of this belief, but only hints and grows mysterious over it without other effect than to leave the reader in the dark as to his meaning, he commits a sin, as a biographer, beside which any "fixed determination" of Mrs. Gaskell's is but trifling. When he will tell us what that "truth" is which he says "must be told" about the sorrow of her life in Brussels; when he will show us how "her spirit, if not her heart, had been captured and held captive in the Belgian city," — he will do more than he has done between these covers to throw new light upon the life of the writer of "Jane Eyre."

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Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

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NOVEMBER-DECEMBER, 1877.

Art. I. — Resumption of Specie Payments.

Opinion of Hugh McCulloch.

All the great financial troubles which have occurred in the United States have been the result of a plethora of paper money, and the crisis has always been reached when its volume was the largest.

Up to the passage of the legal-tender acts, the protection against continued over-issues existed in the power of the States over their banking institutions, and in the force of public sentiment. In most, if not in all, of the States, banks forfeited their charters by suspension, and their suspension was tolerated for such a period only as was necessary to enable them to resume without too severe pressure upon their debtors, and too great disturbance to business. The suspension of the banks put a check at once upon credit and an end to over-trading and speculation. No such corrective power now exists.

Although the germs of mischief were contained in the legal-tender acts, they would have been comparatively harmless if a most important provision which they contained had not been repealed. They were a *war measure only*, and members of Congress justified the votes in their favor on the ground that the notes whose issue they authorized were absolutely necessary to "float" the bonds which were to be offered to the public. Hence the

notes were made convertible into the five-twenty bonds, which it was supposed would rapidly absorb them. So sound was the sentiment of Congress at that time that I hazard nothing in saying that, without this provision, the legal-tender acts could not have been passed; and it is worthy of remark,—so absorbed were the people of the loyal States in the prosecution of the war, or so engaged in the pursuit of gains which the enormous expenditures of the government placed within their reach,—that the act repealing this provision was passed without opposition, and had been for months upon the statute-book before one man in a thousand was aware of its existence; and yet that act was more far reaching and injurious in its consequences than any other act passed during the war. But for it the legal-tender notes would have been quietly retired soon after the close of the war, and the country would have been saved from that sea of trouble which subsequently overwhelmed it. But the movement in the wrong direction did not stop here. In 1869 the Supreme Court decided, in a case which had been for a long time upon the calendar, that while Congress had the right, under the Constitution, to issue notes and to make them a tender in all *future* transactions, it could not, without impairing the validity of contracts, make them lawful money in satisfaction of debts *previously* contracted. This decision, although a great surprise to all who agreed with Mr. Webster, that Congress had no power, under any circumstances or for any purpose, to make anything except gold and silver a legal tender, was not satisfactory to the head of the government. There were, at the time when this decision was rendered, two vacancies on the bench of the Supreme Court, and there can be no question that these vacancies were filled as they were, for the purpose of having that decision overruled. Nobody doubts the ability or integrity of the gentlemen who were appointed to fill these vacancies. They command, and rightfully, the esteem and respect of the bar and the public, and to such a degree that it is no disparagement to them that they are indebted for their appointment to the fact that they were already committed, by decisions made by them in State courts, to the full and absolute constitutionality of the legal-tender acts. The overruling of the decision which was so obnoxious to the President followed close upon their appointment, and the right of Congress to make irredeemable

promises lawful money in satisfaction of all contracts was definitely established. Fortunately, however, the *logic* of this second decision is against the power of Congress to authorize the issue of notes for circulation in a time of peace, and the country may yet be protected against continued issues of legal-tender notes by a decision of the same court that such issues are only lawful when necessity becomes superior to law.

But I am wandering from the consideration of the question upon which my opinion has been asked. Ought resumption at an early day to be attempted, and how shall it be effected? Although there are men of great intelligence who regard gold payments as a delusion, and all efforts to restore the gold standard as misguided, the sober sense of the people is undeniably in favor of resumption as soon as it can be effected without too great a strain upon industry and enterprise. The government is pledged to the redemption of its notes in gold on the first day of January, 1879. Can this pledge be made good? It is very certain, to say the least, that it was inconsiderately made. Before the late civil war the largest amount of paper money in circulation was $214,000,000. When the Act of 1875 was passed, the paper money in circulation exceeded $700,000,000; and it has not been much reduced, nor has the specie in the country been considerably increased since that time. It was unquestionably hazardous to pledge the government to a redemption of its notes at the time named, — heavily indebted as the country was to foreign nations, — without legislation calculated to improve its financial condition. Enlightened statesmanship would have dictated the adoption of measures for bringing about payment by the government and resumption by the banks without fixing the day. The same act which pledged the government to the redemption of its notes in 1879 prohibited it from reducing them below $300,000,000, and the indications now are that without further legislation the outstanding paper currency will not be reduced within the next fifteen months below $600,000,000. How much of the coin reported to be in the treasury is gold, and available for the purposes of redemption, I have no means of knowing, but I shall be greatly surprised if the 1st of January, 1879, finds the country in possession of $130,000,000.

It must be borne in mind that trade between nations is barter, — that if we sell largely we must buy largely. We have no right

to expect that any considerable amount of our exports will be paid for in gold. It is absurd for us to expect that this will be the case while some six or seven hundred millions of our securities of different kinds are held in Europe. The exchanges are now in favor of the United States, and our bountiful crops and the Eastern War may increase the balances. This fact, however, gives no assurance of any considerable inflow of coin. In place of gold we shall get securities, in many respects the most desirable of importations. Some millions of government bonds have been returned during the present year, and it is more than probable that this healthy current will continue. Our foreign trade is undoubtedly in a most satisfactory condition, but for this we are indebted to our bountiful crops and to the Eastern War rather than to legislation.

In spite of unwise revenue laws, and without any definite and intelligent financial policy, circumstances which could not have been foreseen or reasonably anticipated are clearing the way for the restoration of confidence and prosperity. Let us not, however, count too much upon our present advantages. The Eastern War may not be extended nor for any considerable period protracted, and the next season may be less favorable than the present has been to agriculture, our foreign trade less lucrative. We have a grand country, abounding in resources, the development of which is yet in its infancy, but in *acquired* wealth we are far behind the leading nations of Europe. Our civil war greatly impoverished us, and since the war we have suffered beyond estimate by the demoralization and wastefulness engendered by an irredeemable and dishonest currency. Let us not be deceived by the tide which is now setting in our favor, nor base hopes that may be disappointed upon its continuance. Let us bear in mind that nearly all the great manufacturing interests are still greatly depressed, and that it is mainly our bountiful harvests that is making us hopeful as we are in regard to the future.

What then shall be done? Shall the Redemption Act of 1875 be repealed, and the restoration of the gold standard delayed, until, without the reduction of the volume of paper money, it is brought about by the natural increase of wealth and population? Certainly not. The Resumption Act without supporting legislation was unwise, but the repeal of it would be more discreditable than the failure literally to comply with it. Although there can be no reliable

resumption until the gold coin in the country approximates much more closely than it now does to the paper in circulation, the indications are decided that before the 1st of January, 1879, the gold premium will be so reduced that a postponement of actual resumption will not prejudice the national credit. It certainly will not, if in the mean time such measures are adopted as will bring about the gradual but certain retirement of the legal-tender notes. Apt as the Democratic party has been in blundering since the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, it will excel itself in this direction if it take upon itself the responsibility of repealing the Resumption Act, and relieving its author (for which relief he would doubtless be profoundly grateful) from the responsibility he has assumed. The act ought not to be repealed, but measures should at once be adopted for funding the legal-tender notes. Under existing law these notes can be retired — not, however, below $300,000,000, — by sales of bonds for gold and sales of gold for notes. This is not only a roundabout process, but it clothes the Secretary with a power of disturbing the market which might be improperly used.

The legal-tender notes — a deception from the beginning — have been a most prolific source of mischief, and there will be no reliable soundness in our financial system, no cessation of political strife over the currency question, until means are provided for their absolute withdrawal. This can be done, and without prejudice to trade in any of its branches, by a simple re-enactment of the provision for the conversion of the notes into bonds, without which, as I have already remarked, the legal-tender acts could not have been passed. Bonds bearing four or four and a half per cent interest would gradually retire these notes, and, as retired, their place would be filled with gold. None but men of a highly sanguine temperament can expect that specie payments can be resumed and maintained with six hundred millions of paper money in circulation. To supplement the amount of gold in the country, I should favor an increased issue of gold notes. Fifty millions of these notes, properly distributed, might be safely held by the banks as a part of their reserve, very few of which would ever be returned for payment. In addition to such simple measures as these, a time should be fixed by law, say the 1st of January, 1880, after which United States notes should cease to be a legal tender.

There are, I know, many fair-minded men who are apprehensive that any steps which may be taken to reduce the currency must lead to a large reduction of prices. For this apprehension there is slight foundation. It exists especially in the manufacturing and agricultural districts, although there has never been a period in which the productions of these districts have failed to bring remunerative prices by reason of a scarcity of money. There have been periods of great depressions, but this depression has always been brought about by altogether different causes. Real estate and all the chief productions of the country have commanded higher prices than they now do, when the amount of currency in circulation was less than $ 200,000,000. The great decline in prices, commencing in September, 1873, has taken place in spite of the fact that money has been abundant and superabundant. I speak advisedly when I say that the great staples of the West command, and have always commanded, full prices, according to the all-controlling law of supply and demand. Nineteen-twentieths of the men who have been engaged in purchasing and shipping Western products to the seaboard and to foreign ports have not only failed to realize profits, but have been bankrupted by their operations. Low prices, business stagnation, hard times, follow financial disorder, and this disorder is born of inflation. The crash of 1873 and the depression following would not have occurred if the currency needed only for the payment of soldiers and sailors and the purchase of army and navy supplies during the war had been withdrawn at its close. Nobody now thinks that the country was prosperous during the war, or that the demand for money for a healthy trade was greater in 1866 than it was in 1861, and yet the amount in circulation was increased, as has been stated, during that period from two hundred millions to nearly seven hundred millions of dollars. The Secretary of the Treasury uttered only the words of truth and soberness when he said at Fort Wayne, twelve years ago, when municipal indebtedness was eight hundred million and individual indebtedness perhaps a thousand million dollars less than they now are: —

"We are measuring values by a false standard. We have a circulating medium altogether greater than is needed for legitimate business; the excess is used in speculation. The longer the inflation continues,

the more difficult will it be to get back to the solid ground of specie payments, to which we must return sooner or later. If Congress shall early in the approaching session authorize the funding of legal tenders, and the work of reduction is carried on resolutely but carefully and prudently, we shall reach it probably without serious embarrassment to business. If not, we shall have a brief period of hollow and seductive prosperity, to be followed by wide-spread bankruptcy and disaster."

But may not resumption be aided by the remonetization of silver? The answer to this question depends upon what is meant by resumption. If the payment of United States notes and bank-notes in silver according to the standard of the old silver dollar, or any standard which will be satisfactory to the advocates of a double standard, would be resumption, then all that is needed is remonetization. This effected, resumption would be an accomplished fact, and the country would have a paper currency so much better than the article into which it is convertible, that not a dollar of it would be returned for payment. If, however, it is expected that by a double standard the notes of the government and the banks could more easily be brought up to gold value, that expectation can never be realized. It was Mr. John Quincy Adams, I think, who said he could not see how teachers of phrenology could ever look each other in the face without laughing. It is more difficult to understand how gentlemen who advocate at the same time the remonetization of silver and resumption can meet each other with sober countenances. A double standard means a silver standard. The adoption of it would make gold an article of commerce, and drive it out of the country. It would be exceedingly damaging to the government credit, and put an end to funding its six per cents into bonds bearing a lower rate of interest. The commercial world has outgrown the use of silver as a standard of value. It exists as such only in Oriental nations, and in poverty-stricken nations of Europe and Central and South America. In France, where the double standard nominally exists, the coinage of silver is being restricted for the purpose of reducing the amount in circulation to what may be required in small transactions. Bismarck, the wisest and most far-seeing statesman of the age, at great national expense, and at no little disturbance to the money markets of the world, has sub-

stituted the single gold standard for the double standard heretofore existing in the states which his genius has consolidated into an Empire. Holland and Belgium are following the example of their powerful neighbor as rapidly as they can do it, without too great loss and inconvenience to their people. The higher law which makes gold the standard in all large commercial transactions, and silver a subsidiary currency only, is prevailing, and will prevail among the most enlightened nations, and the people of the United States will make a capital mistake if they stand in the way of it. The adoption of silver as a standard would perpetuate the disadvantages to which we have been subjected by the legal-tender notes in our commercial relations with countries which, like Great Britain, maintain, and must be greatly benefited by maintaining, the higher standard of gold. It would ally the United States with India and China, and prevent our commercial cities from competing, or even attempting to compete, with London in the business of international exchange. When and where will foreign bills on New York be salable, if they are to be payable in an article the value of which cannot be accurately estimated sixty days in advance? If we are wise, we shall aim to make the eagle what the sovereign has been to Great Britain, and thus to acquire among the nations the financial position which, as the greatest producing nation of the world, is within our reach. I have no time to argue this question, and I have already exceeded the limits to which I have been restricted. I should not have thus briefly referred to it, if I did not consider the heresy of a double standard, which finds its heartiest advocates among those who believe in *cheap money* as essential to individual and national prosperity, eminently dangerous. It is to be regretted that the position of the President and the Secretary of the Treasury in regard to a question so important has not been clearly defined.

HUGH MCCULLOCH.

Opinion of William D. Kelley.

THE space allotted to this article permits but an imperfect statement of the facts which preclude the possibility of resuming specie payments at the time fixed by statute, and of the terrible but

inevitable consequences of the relentless but ineffectual efforts of the government in that direction.

The paralysis of the industries and trade of the commercial nations of the world, except France and Italy, — the former of which uses as money gold, silver, and irredeemable paper, and the latter, whose foreign commerce, as we were recently informed by M. Lavaleye, is increasing more rapidly than that of any other nation, uses inconvertible paper money exclusively, — is due to the disregard by Germany and the United States of two primal laws: first, that it is labor that supports society and provides revenue for governments; and second, that market-values the world over adjust themselves to the volume of money in use by the commercial nations at any given time.

Secretary McCulloch disregarded these laws when he issued from Fort Wayne his threat of early resumption, and shortly after enforced it by an official letter to his European agent, Mr. George Walker, announcing that, by aid of his plan to absorb our paper money by converting it into long gold-bearing bonds, we should resume specie payments before the maturity of the 7.30 and compound-interest notes. These manifestoes were notice to capitalists that the money of the country was to be so contracted as to greatly reduce prices, and that they would, therefore, do well to postpone contemplated purchases and avoid investments in undertakings, the productions of which must be sold on a declining market; and, on the other hand, it was notice to debtors that, if they would have their encumbered property satisfy existing liabilities, they must sell before the shrinkage had made much progress. Under these menaces confidence withered, and those who had labor to sell found a constantly diminishing demand and rate of wages for their services.

The Resumption Act was the result of party caucus and parliamentary tactics. Had debate been permitted in either House, the laws referred to would have been brought to the attention of the country, and the immense number of citizens who were already suffering from the withdrawal of the many forms of certificates of national credit which had been legal tender and held by the banks as part of their reserve, would have made themselves heard, and would, I believe, have defeated the measure. To accomplish this, they had but to bring to the attention of Senators and members

the fact that the act proposed to pledge the country to the payment in gold, for silver had been demonetized, after the 1st of January, 1879, not only greenbacks and bank-notes, but all debts, whether due by the government, States, municipalities, corporations, or citizens. It is true that our national, State, and corporate bonds, so largely held by foreigners, are not due and demandable from the authority that issued them; but it is equally true that, as they may be sold in our markets and the proceeds be drawn for in gold, they are practically overdue, — a fact which in itself proves that the proudest nation, if unduly indebted to foreigners, is the slave of its creditor.

The draft by the Bank of England of but $7,000,000 in specie produced the bank suspension and financial crisis of 1857, and it cannot be believed that the people, remembering that fact, would have permitted their representatives to subject them to so fearful a liability as this law imposes. It is marvellous that the banks and bankers of the country did not protest against its passage. They held over two thousand millions of deposits, every dollar of which may be called for in gold on the day this law goes into effect. Whence are they to obtain the gold to make a plausible showing of ability to meet these liabilities? From the Treasury? Whence can the government hope to obtain it? Not from Europe, for when, by the operations of the syndicate, we were entitled to draw $21,000,000 of gold, we have it upon the authority of Mr. Boutwell, then Secretary of the Treasury, that the Bank of England interposed and threatened to destroy the British market for our bonds if the government did not pledge itself to abstain from taking bullion in settlement of the claim. He also told us that when the $15,500,000 due under the Geneva award were to be paid, the government of England, at the instance of the Bank, induced the State Department to interpose and prevent the Treasury from demanding payment in accordance with the terms of the award, because the abstraction from the markets of Europe of that small amount of bullion would produce a general financial crisis. But, as if to emphasize these examples, the London Times has, within a week, announced that the question as to whether the proceeds of the proposed $3,000,000 Indian loan will be exported in gold or disbursed at home in payment of Indian debts is exciting a perturbation in the market. Need I, in view of the petty amount of gold

held by the Treasury and banks, go further to prove that resumption on the appointed day is impossible?

The French method of approaching resumption is in strange contrast with ours. Hers has been to keep all her people employed in converting the raw materials she can produce into commodities with which to purchase bullion; while ours continues to be to deprive labor of remunerative wages or of employment, and to thus contract the ability of the laborers to maintain our home market for agricultural and other products. Had the French government pursued our method, it would have invoked revolution. The laborers at many of our industrial centres are idle, impoverished, discontented; the assessed value of real estate in our cities diminishes annually; our imports fall off to such an extent that a large increase in quantity in exports, but which is hardly appreciable when measured by the reduced prices at which they are sold, shows a large balance of trade in our favor, and our capitalists, except those whose investments are in bank-stocks, or who deal in government securities, are paying their taxes, national, State, and local, out of their principal, and not, as taxes should be paid, out of their current profits. Such are the inevitable results, foretold by sagacious men, of our attempt to reach specie payments by contracting a volume of legal tender which was, in the main, actively, legitimately, and profitably employed.

In his recent letter to the President, Henry C. Carey truly said: —

"Our people have in the short space of thirty months been taxed in destruction of the value of property to the extent of not less than $30,000,000,000, or thrice as much as the total cost of the recent war to both North and South, the shrinkage thus enforced having been accompanied by bankruptcy of savings-banks, insurance companies, and other moneyed institutions, to the utter ruin of thousands and tens of thousands of depositors and stockholders, men and women, wives and children; by a destruction of railroad property and impoverishment of its holders that counts by thousands of millions; by a collapse of that coal region which had given to the Union, in the time of its greatest need, nearly all the force required for maintaining the blockade, for running our mills and furnaces, for enabling our people to contribute to the revenue; by a destruction of demand for labor that causes hundreds of thousands of men and women to remain idle when they would

desire to be employed; by an almost entire annihilation of that immigration to which we ought at this moment to be becoming daily more and more indebted for importation of working men and women whose annual value to the nation counted by hundreds of millions; by a decay of moral feeling consequent upon the daily increasing difficulty of obtaining food, clothing, and shelter by any exertion of honest effort; by an almost entire disappearance of that activity and energy which prevailed among our people when they were animated by hope, — by that faith in the future which has now, by aid of successive finance-ministers who have followed in the footsteps of Secretary McCulloch, given way to an almost universal feeling of despair; and by a total disappearance of that national self-respect which had existed when, setting at defiance the threats of foreign bankers, our people in the days of its most serious trouble gave to their government all the aid it needed, and thus established a monetary independence such as we never before had known, and whose destruction has, by Secretary McCulloch and his successors to the present hour, been since so sedulously sought."

The question I submit is, Do not our financial methods tend rather to repudiation than to resumption?

WM. D. KELLEY.

Opinion of David A. Wells.

Can the obligations of the Resumption Act be constitutionally repealed or questioned?

The Resumption Act provides that, "on and after the 1st day of January, 1879, the Secretary of the Treasury shall redeem in coin the United States legal-tender notes then outstanding, on their presentation for redemption, at the office of the Assistant Treasurer of the United States, in the city of New York, in sums of not less than fifty dollars." This is a plain and distinct obligation, which runs with every legal-tender note as a negotiable instrument, — the evidence of a liquidated sum, — and which cannot be violated without a plain and distinct violation of the 4th section of the 14th article of the Federal Constitution, which declares that "*the validity of the public debt of the United States authorized by law, shall never be questioned*"; nor can any member of Congress, it would seem, vote for the repeal of the Resumption Act without violating his oath to support the Constitution, and committing an

open act of repudiation, unless some other method of redemption or payment is previously adopted and willingly accepted by the holders of the legal tender.

Furthermore, can the holders of legal tender — a recognized and liquidated debt — be constitutionally coerced to extend the time of their redemption beyond January, 1879, without payment of interest on such deferred payment? Lord Mansfield, in one of the standard English cases (2 Burr, 1077, 1086), lays down what may be considered as a recognized legal axiom. "Where money," he says, "is made payable by an agreement between parties, and a time given for the payment of it, this is a contract to pay the money at the given time, and to pay interest from the given day, in case of a failure of payment at that day." In the case of Thorndike *v.* United States (Mason, p. 1) the United States Circuit Court (Justice Story) held, that a Treasury (United States) note, payable in one year with interest, draws interest until paid by the government "in the same manner as a private contract." And in the case of Erskine *v.* Van Arsdale (15 Wallace, p. 77) the United States Supreme Court (Chief Justice Chase) said, "the ground for the refusal to allow interest [on the part of the United States] is the presumption that the government is always willing and ready to pay its ordinary debts." By all rules of law, business precedents, and precepts of morality, therefore, the Federal government, in case of unwillingness, inability, or failure to pay or discharge its obligations at an agreed time, is obligated and must be considered to have contracted to pay interest from the date of such failure or inability. The date of payment is obviously of the essence of the contract. The refusal to pay at maturity a six per cent promise, for a period of sixteen years, is equivalent to a repudiation of a sum equal to what was originally promised.

Failure to pay is either temporary suspension or bankruptcy; but in a case of temporary suspension, debts, by universal law and practice, draw interest from the date of nonpayment. Now, if from any cause the government shall be unable to meet its negotiable and adjusted obligations on the 1st of January, 1879, the obligation to pay interest from the date of failure would be in full force and effect (the same as in a private contract), and the validity of this obligation, according to the Federal Constitution, cannot be questioned. Clearly, therefore, there is no alternative

for the government, on the 1st of January, 1879, but to either redeem its notes, or pay an acceptable rate of interest upon them, or go into bankruptcy and unconstitutional repudiation. Fortunately for the country, the constitutional amendments forever prohibit repudiation; and it is fortunate, likewise, that President Hayes, in his letter of acceptance as a candidate for the Presidency, has clearly expressed his firm conviction that constitutional obligations and national honor require that all national obligations, including legal-tender notes, must be paid according to existing law. He says: "*I regard all the laws of the United States relating to the payment of the public indebtedness, the legal-tender notes included, as constituting a pledge and moral obligation of the government, which must in good faith be kept.*" And no true American, jealous of the honor of his country, a supporter of the Federal Constitution, and a believer in the sacredness of contracts, can, it would seem, do otherwise than demand that the Resumption Act be carried out, and support the President in case of the contingency of a veto of any congressional enactment looking to postponement or repeal of the promise of resumption.

If from any cause the Treasury is unable to redeem legal tenders at the designated time, it is certainly competent for Congress, and also its duty, to order the notes presented for redemption to be stamped, and bear the current rate of interest from the day of demand. This is the legal, constitutional, and honest course, unless we propose to walk in the path of repudiation. Will it be pretended that the obligation to pay interest on an overdue negotiable legal-tender note of the government is any less binding than on an overdue negotiable bond? Will any one assume that government has the right to postpone the payment of an overdue bond without payment of interest on the same? There is an old maxim equally applicable to government as to individuals, "that there is no person so poor that he cannot give his note with interest for his debts."

The propriety of funding, prior to 1879, legal-tender notes in given or unlimited amounts has been suggested as an aid to resumption, and such a measure may be considered desirable. But it must be evident, if the analysis of the law and the co-relative provisions of the Constitution as above given be correct, that the government has already agreed in the Resumption Act to fund, or,

what is equivalent, to pay interest on any part of the legal-tender notes, which it may fail to redeem on presentation at the time and place specified. The Redemption Act is, therefore, equivalent to a funding act under certain circumstances.

It is not probable, however, that a contingency of a default on the part of the government under the Redemption Act can occur. The Secretary of the Treasury has been given ample powers to "prepare" for resumption before the 1st of January, 1879, and to "provide" for resumption after that date. He is authorized to sell bonds to any extent necessary to carry the act into effect, bearing 4, 4½, or 5 per cent interest, at his discretion. Five per cent bonds are far above par now; and will undoubtedly command par in gold on and after January, 1879, if the policy of the government is free from all taint of repudiation. Under such a condition of things there is no way to prevent redemption under existing laws except for Congress to propose or enact measures injurious to the credit of the government. For if an unexpected amount of legal-tender notes should be presented at a given day for redemption, beyond the amount of coin at the immediate command of the Treasury, the credit of the government being unimpaired, the sale of bonds would proceed; giving ample means, within a brief period, for a renewed redemption: and thus, after redemption once commences, it must go on, as it were, automatically; the legal-tender notes, by the circuitous action of the sale of the bonds for gold, and the exchange of legal-tender notes for gold, being practically convertible into a five per cent ten year gold bond, if the government cannot obtain gold at a less rate.

The issue before Congress and the nation is, then, as follows: redemption under the present act, payment of interest from date of default, or repudiation to the extent of the interest refused; and repudiation cannot be brought about without positive measures on the part of Congress, which are sure to be alike condemned by the veto of the Executive and the judgment of the country.

The apprehension of the country in respect to the effects of specie resumption suggests the story of the man who, walking one evening in a deserted mining region, fell into a pit. Grasping, however, as he fell, a projecting root, he hung suspended in the dark over what he regarded as a terrible abyss, until his

strength failed him, when, saying his prayers, repenting of his sins, and commending his soul, he let go and fell — *about six inches.* His hair, nevertheless, is said to have turned white. If specie payments, by resolute, determined effort, were to be brought about to-morrow, everybody, the next day, would draw a long breath, and involuntarily exclaim, "Is that all?" And the day after they would begin to ask, "Wherein is the benefit?" The benefit would not be seen at once; national prosperity will not come back through resumption alone. But it would be as in the case of a workman who exchanges a bad tool for a good one. He would recognize the benefit of the exchange when he began to work, and found he could do more and better work, and with less effort, with the new tool than he could with the old.

DAVID A. WELLS.

Opinion of Thomas Ewing.

THE purpose of the Resumption Law is to destroy the greenback currency. It was hid by its author under the word "redeem." The law was framed in a caucus secrecy as profound as if the act meditated were a crime instead of a great measure of public policy. The part of a day permitted to the Senate for its consideration was spent in extorting from Mr. Sherman an indirect admission that to "redeem" meant to pay and destroy. This interpretation is approved by the Treasury Department in destroying the fractional currency when redeemed, — the same language being used in providing for redemption of that currency as for redemption of legal tenders. Secretary Bristow affirmed this construction in his report for 1875, saying that "*the faith of the government now stands pledged to the final redemption and removal from the currency of the country of the legal-tender notes as fast as they shall be presented for redemption*"; and Secretary Morrill reaffirmed it in his report for 1876, saying that by the Resumption Law Congress "*declared, in effect, a monetary system composed of coin and national bank notes redeemable in coin.*"

That the law will effect the early and complete destruction of the legal tenders is obvious. A very large accumulation of gold

in the Treasury is not necessary for the purpose. The amount of redemptions per day will no doubt be limited to one or two millions, which could be furnished by a patriotic syndicate in exchange for five per cent bonds. In fact, the New York gold ring alone could supply the most of the coin needed; for it would flow through the Treasury and back to Wall Street without disturbing the gold market much more than the water drawn through a mill-race disturbs the general course and current of the stream.

But will all the legal tenders be presented for redemption? The *people*, for whose use they were issued, do not want them redeemed, but do want them preserved as the best paper currency they ever had or ever will have. Yet, after resumption day the Treasury will be the great supplier of gold to the banks, to all who must ship coin to meet foreign debts or expenses, to importers, to the bulls and bears of the gold ring, to the curious and the cautious who want to hoard it. These large and incessant demands will send legal tenders to the Treasury for payment and cancellation as fast as the gold can be paid over its counters, until they all shall have been redeemed and destroyed.

Our currency will thus be contracted over one half; for it is obvious that no other currency can take the place of the legal tenders. The banks cannot supply their place with new issues redeemable on demand in gold. They have already in effect declared their inability to maintain even the whole amount of their circulation existing when the Resumption Law passed, by a net surrender of thirty-seven millions of their currency up to August 1, 1877. Nor will gold go into general circulation to supply the place of paper money redeemed and cancelled, for the very demands which will cause it to be drawn from the Treasury will still exist to send part of it abroad and keep the rest at home withdrawn from general circulation.

That resumption can be *reached* without further contraction is true; but it cannot be *maintained* without a rapid reduction of our effective circulation to one third or one fourth of its present volume. The reasons are obvious. We have not the coin indispensable to float a considerable volume of redeemable paper; we cannot get it; and we cannot keep it. We had two hundred and eighty-five millions of coin in 1860; our mines have supplied probably seven hundred millions since, and yet we now have but one hundred and

fifty millions left. It has nearly all been shipped abroad to pay coin debts and expenditures. We owe abroad each year about one hundred and fifty millions for coin interest on national, State, city, railway, and other bonds; and we expend for foreign shipping and foreign travel about one hundred millions more. In paying this annual interest and expense a favorable balance of trade sometimes helps us, though for the last seven years the balance has been against us, on an average, about thirty millions of dollars annually. This annual demand is paid in part by an average annual shipment of about fifty millions of coin and bullion, — more than the whole coinage product of our mines. The balance, amounting to from one hundred to two hundred millions a year, we pay by negotiating new loans abroad,— thus making wider and deeper the compulsive current which sweeps the precious metals from our shores.

In this situation — having not a third as much coin as any other great people; having three times as much paper currency as was ever yet maintained redeemable in coin by any country, however rich in the precious metals; owing and expending abroad vastly more than any other nation, and therefore utterly unable to keep coin if extracted from foreign markets — resumption can only be maintained, if at all, by an enormous contraction of our paper currency.

The premium on gold is no criterion whatever of the amount of contraction necessary to maintain resumption, or of the consequent fall in values. Mr. Sherman says it is. So said Ricardo, the author of this British-borrowed scheme for starving the workers and fattening the drones. But though the premium on gold was but four per cent when the British Resumption Law was enacted, its execution compelled a contraction of the bank currency of forty-five per cent, and a consequent shrinkage of all values on the island, whether of land, labor, or product, in the proportion of the contraction of the paper currency. Our Resumption Law has already caused a contraction by cancellation and by hoarding, and a consequent average fall of values, of full forty per cent.

Before this law was enacted, our business and values were adjusted to a volume of about $750,000,000 of currency. The amount was not excessive. It was but $17.50 per capita; while

France, the most prosperous nation on earth, has $45, England $34, and Germany $24. We need a larger volume than any of these nations, for they are mere patches on the earth's surface, covered with cobwebs of railways, and their exchanges are rapidly transacted; while we are spread over a vast continent, largely unimproved, and our exchanges are comparatively slow.

The effect of the contraction necessarily involved in the execution of this law will be to double and probably treble or quadruple all debts and taxes by shrinking in that proportion the value of everything with which money can be got to pay them.

We are already the most heavily taxed people on earth. We pay for the support of general and local governments $750,000,000 annually, or $17.50 per capita; while the British pay but $11.00, the French but $11.41, the Germans $9.34, and the Austrians $7.22. The reduction of values already accomplished by the mere threat of the law has almost doubled the tax burden, and the people are already sinking under the added load. In Chicago 200,000 pieces of real property have been forfeited for taxes this year; other debtor communities are suffering almost equally; and relief, or repudiation is at hand.

The fall of values consequent on this law has already nearly doubled all private debts, of which the aggregate is about $7,000,000,000, or three and a half times our national debt. The debtor class so-called are the chief workers of the land. This law robs them of their property, closes their mercantile and manufacturing establishments, and sets adrift with them millions of laborers to sink into pauperism, vice, and despair. It is estimated by "Harper's Weekly" that already three millions of wage people, men, women, and children, are in enforced idleness. Their loss of daily pay at an average of seventy-five cents is two and one quarter millions of dollars a day, or $700,000,000 a year. This is exclusive of many millions of laborers who still have work on reduced time or lowered wages, and are hanging on the ragged edge of the chasm into which their fellows have already fallen.

This law enacts a robbery of debtors, tax-payers, and laborers more gigantic than ever was perpetrated by a conquering on a conquered people. It ought not to be, and cannot be, executed. If permitted to stand, it will bring on a general destruction of business, and more dire and widespread woe than the great Rebellion

itself inflicted; and it will at last go down in a tempest which will shake our social fabric from turret to foundation-stone. Let it be forthwith repealed. Let us withdraw the threat of contraction and permit our industries to revive and prosper. Let us devise measures to bring home our foreign debt; issue legal tenders in place of bank-notes, and with the new issue buy up and destroy a part of our bonds; open our mints again to the free and unlimited coinage of the old silver dollar; bring all our money to one par by making it all equal legal tender except where otherwise provided by contract; and when our paper, silver, and gold dollars are of equal value, we need not fret about resumption of specie payments.

THOMAS EWING.

Opinion of Joseph S. Ropes.

THE real difficulty before us lies not in the resumption of specie payments, but in the re-establishment of the specie standard. The exchangeable value of money, like that of any other commodity, can only be permanently established by a long period of demand and supply, of production on the one hand and consumption or employment on the other. This is, of course, entirely distinct from what is ordinarily understood by the demand for money and its supply, which really means the demand for temporary loans of capital or of credit. When all commodities can be exchanged at will for gold and silver coin, or, which is the same thing, for paper promises which can be exchanged at will for gold and silver coin, an equilibrium is established among all commodities, the prices of most of which continue uniform and almost identical from year to year unless when affected by specific causes, such as the failure of crops and other influences too numerous to mention.

Now for more than fifteen years no such state of things has existed, and, consequently, no equilibrium of exchangeable values has existed. It is true that gold and other commodities have been continually in the market, and have been indirectly exchanged among themselves; but the medium of exchange, instead of being coin possessing the elements of definite and stable value, has been a multitude of paper promises, definite indeed in form,

as they all promise to pay dollars, and are issued in the name of a nation abundantly able to make good its promise, but which have been allowed to remain unredeemed for so many years as to make their ultimate payment a matter of serious question, and even to give rise to disputes and elaborate arguments whether they ever would be or ought to be paid at all.

During this prolonged period of uncertainty the wants of the community and the demands of civilization have had to be met, and, consequently, the various industries of the people, however depressed in some directions and unnaturally stimulated in others, have gone on, though in a way far from satisfactory and often ruinous in its result. Every commodity alternately raised and depressed in nominal value, every business pursuit alternately prosperous and disastrous in its character, every speculation both in its inflation and its collapse, has paid its heavy tribute to this vicious medium of exchange. And that it is not now doing as much mischief as ever is due not so much to the small curtailment of its volume as to the ruin which it has produced and the consequent inability or unwillingness of the public to be further deluded and impoverished by it. Assuming, as we may do, that all honest men who understand the situation earnestly desire the restoration of the specie standard of value, it becomes a most serious practical question. Can this object be effected, and if so, *how* can it be effected with safety to the community? To understand the danger involved we must remember that the habits of all communities are for the most part very uniform, and that their average supplies of commodities are but little in excess of their actual wants. A comparatively slight deficiency in the crops of bread-stuffs will cause a most disproportionate advance in their price. So a comparatively small curtailment of the quantity of money or of credit which answers the purpose of money may cause an almost incredible amount of suffering and even insolvency. For every debtor who fails to pay his debts takes away from the power of others to pay theirs. It is most desirable and important, therefore, that the amount of money or credit circulating in any community should neither be suddenly enlarged nor suddenly diminished. In the one case the result is sure to be wild and crazy speculation, as we have seen to our cost at home, and as Germany has seen to her cost within a few years. In the

other case debtors are distressed, property is needlessly depreciated, and the wheels of industry are clogged.

The amount of money circulated in any community is as rigidly determined by natural laws as the amount of corn or cotton or cattle or clothing or fuel. But when the place of this money is taken by irredeemable paper all natural laws disappear, and the problem both of quantity and of exchangeable value becomes a mere matter of conjecture depending on qualities too numerous and uncertain for circulation. We know, however, from statistics that before specie payments were suspended the banks of this country, with a practically unlimited power of issue, were able to maintain in circulation barely $ 200,000,000 of notes at par with gold, besides which there may possibly have circulated from $ 50,000,000 to $ 75,000,000 of gold and silver coin, besides the aggregate reserves of from $ 50,000,000 to $ 100,000,000 held by the banks. The amount of bank deposits, which is usually about equal to the total amount of notes and coin in circulation, was at that time some $ 250,000,000. Since then our population has increased at the utmost by one half, and we may therefore assume that from $ 300,000,000 to $ 400,000,000 of notes or notes and coin will circulate on a specie basis. All beyond this is mere supposition, without the shadow of a rational argument to support it.

It is often said, and with truth, that no one can tell how much paper currency can now be maintained in this country on a par with specie; but we may with equal truth assert that no prudent financier will undertake the responsibility of suddenly restoring the specie standard with $ 200,000,000 of circulating notes and nearly or quite as much of bank deposits equally redeemable in specie beyond the highest limit which the experience and analogy of the past warrants us in adopting for permanent circulation. Nothing is more flexible than money or credit when treated with caution and moderation; their volume may be enlarged or contracted with the utmost ease and safety, provided it be done so slowly as to give time for adjustment. But to assume that a huge pile of gold may be accumulated in the Treasury up to January 1, 1879, and then let loose to be scrambled for by an army of holders of bank-notes, greenbacks, and bank deposits without danger of most disastrous consequences, is surely to exhibit a lamentable ignorance both of the principles and practice of sound finance.

It is indeed often argued, or rather asserted, that when gold can be had in exchange for paper it will not be wanted, and therefore will not be called for; and the fact that the premium on gold has already declined below three per cent is urged in proof of this. But any banker knows that a premium of even one per cent or less, unless it could be overcome, would be sufficient to empty the Bank of England, and we have yet to learn by actual experiment how much it will take to bring our specie and paper to an equilibrium. The low rate of premium is no proof whatever that that equilibrium is nearly attained. Gold is now a mere commodity, and not in demand except in limited amounts for customs duties and occasional specific payments. The state of exchanges does not warrant its exportation to Europe, and like other surplus commodities it must be sold cheap or held patiently till it is wanted; but let France resume specie payments and go to war with Germany, or let England be entangled in a war, and how soon should we not see the premium on gold increased perhaps five or ten fold? It cannot be too emphatically repeated that in this matter we can trust to nothing but actual experience.

It remains only to indicate that we have in our hands a simple, easy, and most reliable method by which the conditions of the whole problem can be reduced to mathematical certainty. The one essential requisite of resumption is to reduce the volume of paper currency to a point at which it will stand on a par with specie, and to do this in a way so quiet and gradual as to produce no disturbance in the exchanges and financial transactions of the community. This can be done at once by authorizing the sale of four per cent bonds at par for greenbacks. This would be a partial fulfilment of the original promise made at the first issue of legal-tender notes and the violation of which is a standing disgrace to our government. There would be no danger of the process going on too rapidly, for if money became scarce the holders of greenbacks would find more profitable employment for them than funding at four per cent. But in truth money cannot become permanently scarce if this course is pursued, for all men will understand that the reign of inflation is over, and will take care to graduate their enterprises by their legitimate resources. It would be easy, moreover, to limit the amount so funded in every month.

This of course means contraction; yes, it does, — contraction of that which never ought to have been expanded, contraction of an instrument too weak to do its work, contraction of a promise too broad to be redeemed, of credit which has utterly discredited those who created it, of machinery powerless for good and potent for evil. *Nothing but contraction will ever bring us to specie payments.* We have our choice whether to contract gently and quietly from week to week and month to month until the parts of the financial machine slip almost imperceptibly into their place and the whole mechanism is again in order and at work, or we may stupidly pile up our bags of coin by scores of millions for fifteen months to come, only to see them disappear with the rush and destructive power of an avalanche or a mountain torrent.

JOSEPH S. ROPES.

Opinion of Secretary Sherman.

The editor of the North American Review lays before me several papers, prepared by gentlemen of distinction, upon the general subject of Resumption, presenting opposite views, and asks me briefly to comment upon them. This I could hardly do in a short statement, nor is it necessary, perhaps, as the mistakes and exaggerations of extreme opinions are sufficiently illustrated and answered in the opposite views of the writers of these articles. Perhaps the editor will be satisfied, in his commendable search after truth through discussion, with a brief reply to some of the general positions taken by the two opposing sides on this question.

Judge Kelley and General Ewing may fairly be said to represent the inflation or extreme paper-money view. The substance of their papers is an eloquent but rather overdrawn picture of the financial distress through which we have recently passed; but the great error into which they have fallen, and into which it is strange that men so acute of intellect as they are should fall, is to attribute this financial distress to the Resumption Act, instead of to its real and only cause, the unparalleled inflation of paper money and credits during and since the war. The losses by the Chicago fire of 1872, the still greater trouble that culminated in

the panic of 1873, all the losses, failures, distress, and embarrassment, the reckless and foolish accumulation of municipal debts, credits, devices, and frauds, the natural effect of inflated and depreciated paper money, — all these they absurdly charge to an act of Congress that was not passed until January, 1875. Only one provision of this act — that to substitute silver money for fractional currency — had been partially put in force previous to March last. No other important step under the law had then been taken, and since then in its practical results it has been one of the chief causes of our present improved and improving financial condition. It is strange that in the writings and speeches of these gentlemen they overlooked the fact that the panic of 1873, and all the wild and visionary schemes that preceded it, together with all the train of events that led to every failure that has occurred since, had been fully consummated before the Resumption Act was passed, and that the Resumption Act was the remedy provided by Congress to check and cure these evils, and is now in full tide of successful execution. Their eloquence is wasted, except to show that depreciated and inflated paper money has produced in our country, as it has produced in other countries, the same result of stagnation, distress, bankruptcy, and ruin; that war, which makes necessary a depreciated and inflated paper money, is the primal cause of these troubles; that it was so after the war of the Revolution, after the great wars in Europe, and would have been even worse in our own country but for its wonderful vitality and resources. If at the close of the war we had promptly taken steps towards specie payments, much of the evil would have been avoided, and the municipal and private debts which now burden our people would never have been contracted. The postponement of resumption was a great error, but was partly excused by the destruction of values caused by the war and by the exaggerated fears in the popular mind of contracting the currency to a peace standard.

My only reply to these gentlemen would be that the distresses they complain of were the direct, certain, and unavoidable result of the very policy of inflation which they favor, and that it would be just as idle now to keep up this inflation with the hope of prosperity as it would be to advise a drunkard to keep on drinking in the hope of reform.

To attribute failures and distress to the Resumption Act instead of to depreciated paper money is but a repetition of the complaint of the wolf against the lamb for roiling the water. It is like swearing at the doctor for causing pains in administering remedies for a raging fever. The homœopathic doses administered under the Resumption Act prior to March, 1877, had one virtue, if no other; they could do no possible harm, if they did not do any good. Since the 1st of March the steps taken for resumption have been so rapid and marked as to produce important direct results, but they have been constantly accompanied with advancing prosperity, increasing trade, and have given us the first broad glimmering of returning light after a period of distress and trouble.

The Resumption Act was intended by Congress as a remedy for the evils under which we were then suffering. It was passed seventeen months after the panic of 1873, and when we were in the midst of all the evils of inflation. The experiment of further inflation to cure inflation was fairly, though illegally, tried by throwing into the maelstrom $ 26,000,000 of United States notes that had been retired and cancelled. Every device for relief, as well for resumption as for expansion, had been fruitlessly discussed in Congress without agreement. The subject in every phase had been considered by the people during all that time. In the fall of 1874 public sentiment had crystallized in favor of some step towards the resumption of the specie standard. This led to the passage of the Resumption Act. This act was simply a declaration that we would restore the value of our paper dollar to the specie standard by the 1st of January, 1879. The mode and means by which this was to be done were not pointed out as they ought to have been, but the details were left to the Secretary of the Treasury, and the powers conferred were ample and definite. This remedy was the natural one, the one that all nations have prescribed, the one that our fathers followed after the Revolution, which England and France have more than once followed, and which every nation must follow that is driven for the time from the specie standard. No human device has ever sufficed to relieve a nation that adopts irredeemable paper money from the necessity of returning to the only natural standards of value,— gold and silver. This act was passed as the result of wide differences of opinion that could not be reconciled, and did not contemplate sudden changes or movements.

Four years were allowed to prepare and to provide for resumption. Thus far, prior to March last $ 28,743,318 silver was substituted for $ 17,074,317 fractional currency retired; no gold was accumulated, and greenbacks were retired only to the extent of eighty per cent, as national bank-notes were issued. This plan of resumption is confessedly not a perfect plan, and almost every one has desired to make amendments to it, but it is the only one that Congress would grant, and it is now demonstrated that under the provisions of that act the specie standard can be reached by the 1st of January, 1879. I repeat what I have said elsewhere, that resumption can be, ought to be, and will be secured if this law is not repealed by Congress.

And here I should refer to the papers submitted by Mr. McCulloch and Mr. Ropes, all very well stated, all very well written; and with many of their ideas I heartily agree. But what is the use of talking about other plans of resumption? The idea suggested by these gentlemen was advocated in Congress for years. A simple funding act was proposed by the Committee on Finance in 1866, and was pressed year in and year out. In the original draft of the funding act, now a law, United States notes were convertible at the will of the holder into four per cent bonds precisely such as we are now selling at par in coin. With this feature the bill passed the Senate, but the House refused to pass it. No proposition has been more frequently urged and acted upon adversely by Congress than that now advocated by Messrs. McCulloch and Ropes. What is the use of wasting ammunition on this? What is the use of delaying resumption until Congress will pass such an act? If Congress would pass such an act it would greatly aid and expedite resumption, and I cordially join with these gentlemen in the hope that such a bill will pass, and advise them, if they think they can promote it, to get into Congress as soon as possible to help. I have tried the experiment with much labor and no success. What, then, is the use of distracting attention by new plans of resumption? I receive on an average about one a week, some of which are wild, and some of which contain very good ideas. I could furnish from the files of the Finance Committee as many plans of resumption as there are cities in the United States. But it is manifest to practical men that no legislation can be obtained from Congress except some simple measure that will aid the execution of the present law, the

danger being rather that the opponents of resumption will be strong enough to arrest the movements already made in that direction.

Now, dismissing for the moment the extremes of opinion on resumption, the practical question is, What ought to be done now? Shall we abandon the progress already made towards a specie standard, and commence again the wild round of experiments on interconvertible bonds and paper money, without promise or hope of redemption? Shall we repeat again any or all of the financial fallacies which have marked the history of mankind, or shall we go steadily forward until we can base all our transactions upon that money which by the experience of mankind is proved to be the best possible standard of the value of all labor and productions?

Mr. McCulloch says truly, that if any party should undertake, in the face of the present movement towards resumption, now assured of success, to reverse that policy, it would do not only a wrong thing, but a very foolish thing. But is it not equally foolish for the friends of resumption to now dispute longer as to the best plan of resumption? If all the people were agreed as to the policy of resumption, we should have strength enough to divide as to the means, but when we have barely a majority in favor of resumption at all, is it not better to cling to the plan now in process of execution?

Many new questions are thrust into this controversy that ought not to embarrass resumption. Thus, General Ewing insists that resumption means the entire extinction of the greenback circulation. No doubt many persons are in favor of withdrawing these notes or repealing their legal-tender quality, but this is a question properly for the future, my own conviction being that, under existing law, after they are reduced to $300,000,000 and have been redeemed, they may be reissued, and that the national bank currency should be used simply to meet the ebb and flow indispensable to every good currency. But this may be determined by Congress either way without affecting the virtue of the law.

So the silver question, entirely within the power of Congress, may be made a most essential aid to resumption if confined either in the amount or mode of issue or in its legal-tender quality. If issued without limit upon the demand of a depositor of silver bullion, it is the substitution of a single silver standard instead of the

gold standard. Whatever decision Congress may arrive at on this question, the Resumption Law must stand, to prevent our paper money from falling below the specie standard fixed by Congress. At present paper money is worth more than silver, because the market value of silver bullion is greatly depreciated. The expectation of the redemption of our paper money in gold, with our demonstrated ability to do so, has brought it nearly to the standard of gold. If silver alone should be adopted as the standard, the paper will fall even below that standard, unless resumption in silver is provided for by law.

The existence and power of the national banks depend entirely upon the will of Congress. Banking is now free, and this provision of law is a happy and wise expedient to prevent any sudden contraction of the currency, or, as now, to meet an unusual demand for currency. The Comptroller of Currency is prepared to issue promptly any amount of bank-notes that will be required. The provision for the redemption and retirement of this currency is now in successful operation, and may be continued in specie-paying times as now, but Congress has power to further limit or restrain this issue, or to make any further provisions necessary to secure the prompt redemption of bank-notes.

These are all questions apart from the Resumption Act, which is intended to secure the free conversion of United States notes into coin, such as is now provided, or may hereafter be provided, by Congress.

There is only one other point as to the Resumption Act that it is necessary to mention, and that is the ability under it to secure resumption. This, I submit, has been demonstrated. The accumulation of coin and the gradual retirement of United States notes will unquestionably, if continued, produce specie payments before the time fixed by law. The rapid changes that have already been made in the value of United States notes by the policy adopted for the last six months have been marked and decisive, and this has been accompanied and followed by a great improvement in all branches of industry, and has been favored, no doubt, by Providence in the gift of a large crop, for which there is a ready demand.

The brightest lining of the dark cloud depicted by some of the writers of these papers is to be seen in the steady pursuit of this

policy of resumption. If the friends of resumption will only be content with the plan of resumption that is now upon the statute-book, securing only such additional legislation in aid of resumption as Congress, in its wisdom, may see proper to grant, there need be no fear of the result.

We need not raise the question presented by Mr. Wells, nor do I see that it would be effective, for, if a law is passed repealing or modifying the Resumption Act, there is no authority in our government that can restrain its execution. Nor is it to be presumed that Congress will do anything to impair the public faith pledged to any portion of its creditors. Popular commotion always stops short of this. There is no tradition of the national government more sacred than that which holds it to a rigid, faithful observance of the public faith. It is by this alone we are enabled to sell our bonds bearing four per cent interest at par in coin. The confidence thus inspired and thus evidenced is the best property of the nation, worth more in times of adversity than all the gold and silver that can be accumulated.

JOHN SHERMAN.

Art. II. — Cavelier de la Salle.*

The name of Cavelier de la Salle may fairly represent the type of the bold and undespairing explorer. It may not be flattering to national complacency that the most conspicuous actor in the discovery of the interior of our continent spoke another tongue than our own, and belonged to a race which, if it has largely mingled its blood with that of the Anglo-Saxon, did so by the force of conquest. La Salle sprang from those northern hordes of pirates, the apparition of whose ubiquitous galleys in the port of Marseilles threw a shadow of gloom over the last days of Charlemagne; whose beleaguering hosts filled Paris with terror; who seized one of the fairest provinces of France, mastered Sicily and Southern Italy, conquered England, and after carrying terror through all the coasts of Europe, grew with marvellous facility from barbarian hordes to leaders of mediæval civilization. He was a Norman, and a worthy offspring of that valiant and powerful race.

The qualities which formed the basis of his character have long been familiar; but until lately we have had no means of intimately knowing the man, and have not even suspected the susceptibilities which formed a strange contrast to the bold energies and undespairing constancy that are patent in his life. His enemies add their touches to the picture, and tax him with coldness, sternness, an unapproachable reserve, and finally with madness; but they never impugn his integrity, or deny that, tried by the ordinary standards of Christian morals, his life was a well-governed one. In all this we have only the outlines, truly or falsely drawn, of a strong individuality. The shade and color are wanting.

It has been known for some years that original letters of La Salle, written from the depths of the wilderness to his associates and allies in France, are still in existence, buried somewhere among

* Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale: Mémoires et Documents originaux recueillis et publiés par Pierre Margry. Vols. I., II.

the accumulation of documents in the archives of France. The contents of these letters were in good measure known through a long narrative compiled from them by one of the writer's friends, to serve as a report of his proceedings to the government, and this narrative has been used as one of the authorities for a recent American account of La Salle and his discoveries. La Salle's friend, however, in making up this report, took excellent care to put nothing into it which could compromise him. All personalities are suppressed. Long passages of the letters are given word for word, but when the writer, in the bitterness of his heart, speaks of himself and his woes, and by those touches of nature that make the whole world kin, reveals the suffering humanity that lay under the imperturbable surface of his nature, the compiler applies the shears without mercy. He was right. The letters were not meant for the eyes of a colonial minister and his secretaries.

Four years ago, at the instance of several literary men of the East and West, Congress voted an appropriation for publishing a collection of documents made by M. Pierre Margry, custodian of the archives of the department of the Marine and Colonies, at Paris. M. Margry had held for almost thirty years an official position in the vast depository of manuscripts of which he has now the chief control; and during all those years he has devoted such time as his duties allowed him, and such as he could rob from hours of sleep, to researches into the explorations, discoveries, and other enterprises beyond sea made by Frenchmen in both hemispheres. La Salle was from the first his favorite study, and he has accumulated concerning him and his fellow-explorers an immense mass of papers, the result of a lifetime of research, not only in the archives now under his charge, but in many other collections, public and private, in Paris and in the Provinces. These are in course of publication in pursuance of the vote of Congress. Two large volumes are already printed, and three more remain to complete the series. The first three will relate to La Salle, and the rest to Iberville, La Vérandrye, and other noted figures in early Western history. The whole work is to consist solely of original papers, which, so far as now printed, are admirably arranged, and form a documentary history of the explorer down to his fatal landing in Texas. If the rest of the work answers to the beginning, this publication will stand as one of the most important contributions ever made to the history of the West.

What concerns us here are the two volumes already in print. Nearly all the documents in the first of these have been used as material for the history of La Salle in the book to which we have before alluded, the "Discovery of the Great West," and this is also the case with a great part of those in the second volume; but the remainder, including the letters of La Salle, have never been used by any historical writer. We propose to give here some glimpses of the letters and of their author, as he appears painted, consciously or unconsciously, by his own hand.

This correspondence is addressed to persons interested, in one way or another, in La Salle's enterprises, and is in fact his account of what he was doing, rendered to associates who in some cases were personal friends. Most of the letters were written by the camp-fire, among Indians and bushrangers. They are what might be expected under the circumstances, hasty, rather crude in style, and not very consecutive; but bearing everywhere the stamp of the man and of his surroundings. The beginning of the first letter is lost, but, fragment as it is, it covers sixty pages. "I have written it," says La Salle, "at twenty different times and at twenty different places, and am more than a hundred and fifty leagues from where I began it. I close it now more from want of paper than of matter, for I have still a hundred things to tell you, but I must send off this canoe if I want my letter to reach you. It will not be easy for it to reach Quebec before the vessels sail, having more than three hundred leagues to make within a month." The canoe, in fact, seems not to have arrived in time, for the letter was more than a year in reaching France. Others were two years on the way, while some were lost altogether, by accident or design.

La Salle had embarked on an enterprise that raised all Canada against him, except a few individuals, fortunately including the governor, whom he had succeeded in enlisting on his side, and who had interests in common with him. His plans involved a virtual monopoly of the valley of the Mississippi, which he meant to occupy by fortified posts, and commercial and industrial colonies; and to that end the king had given him the exclusive privileges without which he could not have gained the needful co-operation. Money he must have, and in abundance; and he could have it only by the possession of a monopoly of which the real or apparent value would tempt capital. This advantage cost him a heavy

price, for it drew upon him the hatred of the Canadian merchants. The Jesuits were no less hostile to him. They aimed at making the valley of the Mississippi the seat of a vast mission, the counterpart of their mission of Paraguay. The Indians were to be gathered into "reductions" under the government of the fathers. It was a scheme of ecclesiastical settlement and trade opposed to the secular settlement and trade of La Salle. The two plans were inconsistent each with the other, and the brotherhood of Loyola did their best to thwart their rival. From these two causes rose most of the difficulties which made the life of La Salle one long battle with adversity.

Other difficulties rose out of himself. He was not at heart a merchant. His ambition was of another stamp, and if he was deeply involved in enterprises of trade it was mainly because without them he could not accomplish his cherished purposes. Wealth alone had not power to content him. He aimed at achievement and thirsted after greatness. The Fleur-de-lis flourishing in the wilderness was to tell his name to posterity; but the means by which he must pursue his objects were not very congenial to him, nor was he well suited to them. Considered only as a merchant, he dared too much and did not always dare with judgment. His heroic nature had other failings for which he was nowise answerable, but which deplorably lessened his chances of success. These will appear in the sequel.

When he wrote the letter of which we have given a short extract, he had finished the first stage of his great enterprise and reached a disastrous failure, due far more to his ill-wishers and his ill-fortune than to any fault of his own. He had obtained his patent from the king, raised money, hired men, established a post at Niagara, launched a vessel called the Griffin on Lake Erie, reached the portage of Chicago, descended the Illinois, built Fort Crèvecœur near the site of Peoria, and placed another vessel on the stocks in which to sail down to the unknown mouth of the Mississippi, and open a route for trade through the Gulf of Mexico. It was his purpose to plant a colony on the fertile plains of the Illinois, and connect it with the rest of the world by this new communication, of the practicability of which he had convinced himself by previous explorations. Here was an undeveloped world, teeming with latent wealth, and the home, it might be,

of future millions of Frenchmen. He, La Salle, would give it to civilization and to France.

Success hung for the present on one point, the safety of his vessel, the Griffin, which he had sent back to Niagara with a load of furs to satisfy his creditors and his partners, and which was to have returned immediately to Chicago with supplies that were absolutely necessary to him. Her time had long since passed, and she had not come. He waited till the last hope of her safety was almost dead; his men were deserting him, and if the enterprise was to continue there remained but one resource. This was to leave Fort Crèvecœur in charge of his lieutenant, Tonty, make his way on foot through a thousand miles of wilderness to his depot of Fort Frontenac, and return to the Illinois with the needed succors. "Therefore," he writes to his correspondent, "though the approach of spring and the thaws greatly increased the difficulty of the way, which was interrupted by rivers and marshes, to say nothing of the length of the journey, and the danger of meeting Indians of four or five nations through whose country we must pass, and also an army of Iroquois, who we knew were coming by the route we must take, and who, meeting us at night, would not fail to attack us; of suffering continual hunger; sleeping on the ground often without food; marching by day and keeping watch by night; carrying a load of baggage, such as blankets, clothing, kettle, axe, gun, lead, powder, and skins to make moccasons; sometimes pushing through thickets, sometimes climbing over rocks covered with ice and snow, sometimes marching whole days through swamps where the water was waist-deep and even more, at a season when the snow was not entirely melted,— all this did not prevent me from resolving to go afoot to Fort Frontenac, to learn news of my vessel and bring back the supplies we wanted." There is nothing, perhaps, in any of his letters so much like self-praise as this. He wrote it when the experience of that astonishing journey was fresh on his mind and on his frame. "It was the most arduous march ever made by Frenchmen in America," says the compiler of the official report. When, after sixty-five days of toil and misery, La Salle and the three men with him reached Niagara, all but he were overcome by exhaustion and disease. The following, from his own pen, will serve as an example of the ordeal they had passed: —

"At noon on the 25th [March] we resumed our walk through the woods, which were so matted with thorns and brambles that in two days and a half our clothes were torn to tatters and our faces so scratched and bloody that we hardly knew each other. On the 28th the woods were more open, and we began to fare better, meeting a good quantity of game, such as deer, bears, and turkeys, which we had not found before, so that we had often travelled from morning till night without breakfast." They were now crossing the southern part of Michigan. Indians were following them, and, to throw them off the track, they set fire to the dry grass of the meadows through which they passed to obliterate the marks of their trail. "We did this every night, which answered very well as long as we found open fields; but on the 30th we got into great marshes flooded by the thaws, and were forced to wade through them in mud and water, so that our tracks were seen by a band of Maskontins who were out after Iroquois. They followed us through the marshes during the three days we were crossing them, but we made no fire at night, merely taking off our soaked clothes, and wrapping ourselves in our blankets on some dry knoll, where we slept. But, as there was an uncommonly sharp frost on the night of the 2d of April, and as our clothes, which were completely saturated, were stiff as sticks in the morning, we could not put them on without making a fire to thaw them. This betrayed us to the Indians, who were encamped across the marsh. They ran towards us with loud cries, but were stopped half-way by a watercourse, which they could not get over, as the ice was not strong enough. We went towards them within gunshot, and, whether our firearms frightened them, or whether they thought there were more of us than there really were, or whether, in fact, they meant us no harm, they called out in the Illinois language that they had taken us for Iroquois, but now saw that we were brothers; whereupon they went off as they came, and we kept on our way till the 4th, when two of my men fell sick and could not travel." They were now on the banks of the river Huron, and a canoe was made for the invalids.

This is but one among a hundred examples of the energy of a man who, a recluse in early life, and nurtured among books, stood amid a hardy generation without an equal in moral and physical endurance. His mettle was tried to the utmost. A dismal greet-

ing awaited him at the end of his journey. His vessel, the Griffin, was lost with all her freight, and news of disaster after disaster fell upon him like an avalanche. His agents had plundered him, his creditors had seized his property, a band of laborers on the way to join him had been persuaded to desert, some of his canoes, richly laden with furs, had been lost in the rapids of the St. Lawrence, and a ship from France, freighted with his goods to the value of twenty-two thousand livres, had been totally wrecked. Yet every difficulty had given way before him; he had succeeded in collecting men, canoes, and supplies, and was on the point of hastening back as he had come, for the relief of Tonty and the men left with him on the Illinois, when two Canadians, despatched by that officer, brought him tidings worse than all the rest. Tonty wrote that nearly all his men had deserted, after destroying Fort Crèvecœur, plundering the magazine, and throwing into the river all the arms, goods, and stores that they could not carry off.

La Salle lost no time in lamentation. He presently learned that the deserters had passed Niagara, and were on the way to Fort Frontenac, where he then was, intending to kill him wherever they might find him, as the surest way to escape punishment. He did not wait their approach, but went to meet them with such men as he had, discovered them on Lake Ontario, and captured all but two, who made fight and were shot by his followers. He next bent all his thoughts to succoring Tonty and the three or four faithful men who remained with him at the Illinois. A deep anxiety possessed him. For some time past a rumor had been abroad that the Iroquois, encouraged, as he believed by his enemies, were preparing a grand inroad into the valley of the Illinois which threatened to involve in a common destruction the tribes of that quarter and the incipient colony of La Salle. The danger was but too real. He was but half-way to his destination when a host of Iroquois warriors fell upon Tonty and his Indian allies, and filled the valley of the Illinois with carnage and devastation. When, after a long and weary journey, La Salle with his followers reached the great town of the Illinois, where he hoped to find his lieutenant, he saw a ghastly scene. "On the 1st of December," he says, "we arrived near evening at the town, and found nothing but ashes and the relics of Iroquois fury. Everything was destroyed, and nothing remained but the stumps of burnt lodge-poles, which showed what had been

the extent of the village, and on most of which were stuck dead men's heads, half eaten by the crows. The fields were strewn with carcasses, gnawed by wolves. The scaffolds on which the dead had been placed in the cemetery were all torn down, and such of the bodies as had been buried were dug up and scattered over the ground. The wolves were tearing them before our eyes with strange howlings." La Salle and his men sought till night for traces of Tonty and the Frenchmen who had remained with him, but the search was fruitless, and darkness soon forced them to abandon it. They encamped on the spot. "I passed the night full of trouble, which you can imagine better than I can write it. I could not sleep, but tried in vain to make up my mind as to what I ought to do. In my ignorance of the fate of those for whom I was searching, and my anxiety as to what would become of those who were to follow me, if they came to the town and did not find me, I was met on all sides by difficulties and saw disastrous consequences from whatever course I might choose. At last I resolved to push forward, leaving some of my people with the goods, which it was not only useless but dangerous to carry with me." Accordingly, with four men, he followed the Illinois to its mouth, finding the most frightful traces of the ferocious conquerors, but none whatever of Tonty. It was not till long after that he learned that he had escaped the carnage.

His enterprise was ruined a second time; but not a thought of despair seems to have crossed his mind. He set himself again to his task, again overcame a thousand obstacles, and made at last one long step towards success by exploring the Mississippi to its mouth, and proving to others, what he himself had long believed, that it was navigable to the sea. Such was the indomitable nature of this man, whom no peril could deter and no failure discourage. So he remained to the end, battling against destiny with the same unflinching mettle. Fate hounded him to death, but could not shake his courage. A few passages from his letters will enable us to know him better in some respects than most of those to whom his features and his voice were familiar.

A correspondent had pressed him for the expected dividends. "You repeat continually," he answers, "that you will not be satisfied unless I make you large returns of profit. Though I have reason to thank you for what you have done for this enterprise, it seems to me that I have done still more, since I have put everything at stake, and it would be hard to reproach me either with fool-

ish outlays or with that pretended ostentation which is laid to my charge. Let my accusers explain themselves. Since I have been in this country, I have had neither servants, nor clothes, nor fare that did not savor more of meanness than of ostentation, and if there is anything with which either you or the court are disposed to find the least fault, I will give it up at once; for the life I am leading has no other attraction for me than that of honor, of which I think that enterprises of this sort are worthy in proportion to their danger and difficulty."

He goes on to answer the aspersions cast against him both in Canada and in France. "Above all, if you want me to continue this undertaking, do not compel me to answer all the questions and all the fancies of priests and Jesuits. They have more leisure than I, and I am not subtile enough to anticipate all their windy stories. I could easily give you the information you ask, but I have a right to expect that you will not believe all you hear, and will not require me to prove to you that I am not a lunatic. That is the first point to which you should have given attention before entering into business relations with me, and, in our long acquaintance, either you must have found me out, or else I must have had long intervals of sanity."

He begs his correspondent to send out an agent of his own. "It is not necessary that he should be very accomplished, but he must be faithful and indefatigable, and love neither gambling, women, nor good cheer, for he will find none of these with me. Trusting to what he will write, you will then take no further notice of what the priests and Jesuits tell you." And as a further inducement to send out the agent, La Salle makes the curious statement that he himself "has neither the habit nor the inclination to keep books, nor anybody with him who knows how," a strange admission for a man burdened with a vast pecuniary responsibility.

His correspondent had been alarmed lest other interests should distract him from the work in hand. "I am told that you are uneasy about the marriage which it was pretended that I had made. I had not even thought of marrying at the time, and I will not make any engagement of the sort till after I have given you reason to be satisfied with me. It is a little strange that I must render account of a matter which is free to all the world."

After his discovery of the mouth of the Mississippi, he returned

to Canada, to find himself the object of renewed accusations and intrigues. At this time he wrote from Fort Frontenac a letter to an associate in France, explaining the motives of his conduct and defending himself against the charges of his enemies; and it is here that he reveals the secrets of a nature prone above that of most men to veil itself in proud reserve. Answering a charge of coldness and severity towards his followers, he says: —

"The facility which I am said to want is out of place with this sort of men, who, in the main, are libertines, like most people in this country, with whom indulgence means the toleration of blasphemy, dissoluteness, and a license incompatible with any sort of order, without which success is impossible. I never maltreated a single one of them, except for blasphemies and the like crimes which, when committed openly, I cannot tolerate; first, because this compliance would give reason for much more just complaints against me; secondly, if I allowed such disorders to become habitual, I should find it hard to hold them to their obedience in what concerns the execution of my work; thirdly, the impurities too common with this rabble are the source of theft and utter neglect of duty; and, finally, I am a Christian, and do not want to bear the burden of their crimes. The twenty-two men who deserted and stole my goods by the instigation of persons who make excuses for them as a cover for their own fault are not to be believed on their word, being thieves and deserters. Martin Chartier, who was one of those who set on the rest to what they did, was never in my company, and the others concocted their plot before seeing me, and were but fifteen days with me before their desertion. Those who stood by me are the first I had in my service, and for six years they have never left me.

"I do not know what you mean by having popular manners. There is nothing different from the rest in my food, clothing, or lodging. All that is the same for me as for my people. How can it be that I do not talk with them? I have nobody else to talk to. M. de la Forest has often found fault with me because I stopped to talk with them too often. You do not know the sort of men one must employ here when you exhort me to make merry with them. Of that they are not capable, for they are only pleased when one gives free rein to their drunkenness and their filth. Bad advice, impunity, and the gains which the *coureurs de bois* can make without being constrained to obey anybody, are influences capable of debauching libertines with little sense of honor or duty, and I flatter myself that, among so much intrigue and treachery, other men would have found it hard to retain so many of them as I have done.

Everybody tries to make them desert. The humblest man on earth would have justice against a servant who had robbed him of five sous, while my followers receive assurances of impunity from our Intendant, who forgets that he ought to be their judge, and encourages them to do worse than ever.

"As for what you write me, that even my friends say I am not a man of popular manners, I do not know what friends they are. I know of no such in this country. To all appearance they are enemies more subtle and secret than the rest. I except nobody, because I know that those who apparently give me support do not do so out of friendship, but because they are in some sort bound in honor, and that in their hearts they think I have treated them ill. M. Plet can tell you what he himself has heard about it, and the reasons they give. I have seen it for a long time, and the secret stabs they give me show it very plainly. After that, it is not surprising that I open my heart to no one and distrust everybody.

"As for what you say of my deportment, I acknowledge it myself. But, *naturam expellas*, and if I fail in not being demonstrative and cordial towards those in whose company I am, *it is solely through a timidity that is natural to me*, and that has caused me to quit various employments where, except for this, I might have succeeded. Judging myself unfit for them because of this defect, I have chosen a life somewhat congenial to my solitary disposition, which nevertheless does not make me harsh towards my people, though, joined to my life among savages, it makes me perhaps less polished and complaisant than the air of Paris demands. I well believe that there is self-love in this, and that, knowing how little I have the habits of polite life, the dread of making mistakes gives me more reserve than at all suits my inclination. So I do not often expose myself to conversation with those in whose company I have reason to fear mistakes which it is hard for me to avoid. Abbé Renaudot knows with what repugnance I had the honor to appear before Monseigneur le Prince de Conty, and sometimes it took me a week to make up my mind to go to the audience. It is a failing of which I shall never rid myself as long as I live, often as I am on ill terms with myself, and often as I am angry with myself for it."

When La Salle made this confession, it was wrung from him by the pressure of new and heavy calamity. He had just returned, with shattered health, from the discovery that has given him a name in history, to find his patron, Count Frontenac, replaced by a hostile successor, his allies cast down, and his enemies triumphant. All the official power of Canada was thrown into the scale against him.

He might have carried his confession further. It is clear enough that to the painful shyness of which he accuses himself was added that unresponding temperament, or incapacity to express, and much less to simulate, feeling which is sometimes found in those with whom feeling is most deep and strong. He lacked that sympathetic power over others, the want of which is irreparable in a leader of men. This solitary being, hiding shyness under a veil of reserve, could kindle no enthusiasm in his followers. Few could comprehend him, and there were few indeed to whom he could open his heart. He lived in the purpose which he had made a part of himself, nursed his plans in secret, and seldom asked advice or accepted it. He trusted himself, and learned more and more to distrust others. It does not necessarily follow that he was naturally suspicious. Bitter experience had schooled him to distrust, for snares and pitfalls and intriguing enemies were always about him. He doubted even the associates and helpers who, under representations made by him in perfect good faith, had staked their money on his enterprise and lost it, or seemed likely to lose it. They pursued him with advice and complaint, and half believed that he was what his maligners called him, a visionary or a madman. It galled him that they had suffered for their trust in him, and that they repented their trust. His lonely and shadowed nature needed the mellowing sunshine of success, and his whole life was a fight with adversity.

All that appears to the eye is his dauntless battling with external foes; but the silent inward conflict of a nature at war with itself was perhaps no less arduous; the pride, aspiration, and bold energies that formed the basis of his character struggling with the superficial weakness that mortified and angered him. In such a man the effect of such an infirmity is to concentrate and intensify the force within. Discordant natures are common enough in one form or another; but rarely is the antagonism so irreconcilable as in Cavelier de la Salle. And the greater the antagonism, the greater the pain. Sometimes the sort of timidity from which he suffered is mated with no quality that strongly revolts against it. Such gentle natures may at least have peace; but for him there was no peace. He stands in history like a statue cast in iron; but his own unwilling pen betrays the man, and reveals in the stern sad figure an object of human sympathy.

FRANCIS PARKMAN.

Giurgevo
Slobosia
RUSTCHUK
Basarabo
Pirgos
Metelia
Kadikoi
Aidom R.
Tshelea
Islatx
Turna
Simnitza
Danube River
Perushtitza
Balik
Isker R.
Bres
Guljani
NICOPOLIS
SISTOVA
Novigrad
Obertini
Vid R.
Kuprivat
Strisheno
Junitza R.
Manastir
Kacelyvo
Osmankoi
Demirkeip
Ribno
Glawa
Tirstenik
Birolar
Verbitza
Sarivan
Pavlo
Bjela
Aglava
Sadona
RASGRAD
Turk Tirstenik
Bulgareni
Gorni Studen
Oponetz
PLEVNA
Dubnik
Oleegass
Radichevo
Grivitza
Poradim
Karaxin
Slamir
Ebeli
Yenikoi
Karamitha
Spagalar
Kesset
Pelisat
Tuicheutze
Oderna
Brestovec
Viadin
Karahassankoi
Radomirzy
Bogot
Karagui
Osinovxa
Armutla
Gagovo
Popkoi
Saltankoi
Jaslar
Slatina
Osma R.
Rushitxa
Slatar R.
Chali Dere R.
Osman Bazar
LOVATZ
Yola
Coruka
Kosaravica
Chalan
Vaila
Birstova
TIRNOVA
Plakovac
Slataritxa
Selvi
Yatarli
Kirova
Hereli
Malkotchu
Kaliferkoi
Elena
Debnevo
Dreñova
Valanitxa
Milichevo
Bebrova
Kaleytxa
Triuna
Junitza R.
Bilisider
Trojan
Gabrova
Hainkoi Pass
Starevka
Kasan

Art. III. — The War in the East.

PART III.

At the date of our last paper* the general positions of the combatants in Europe were about as follows: The army of the Cesarowitch rested its left on the Danube, close above Rustchuk, crossing the Lom near Bassarabo, and thence following, in general, the heights on the right bank of the Kara Lom, with outposts well forward, and the right not very far west of Osman Bazar. A bridge at Pirgos facilitated the passage of supplies and reinforcements, and secured a retreat, in case of disaster, in the direction of the Upper Lom. This army consisted of the twelfth and thirteenth corps, with the eleventh division of the eleventh corps. Its front was covered by the eighth and twelfth cavalry divisions, and one brigade of the eleventh cavalry division. Some of these troops were occasionally detached to meet emergencies elsewhere.

The headquarters of the Cesarowitch were at Bjela, where the main road from Tirnova to Rustchuk crosses the Jantra River. The centre of the army of operations was at Tirnova, under General Radetzky, and consisted of the eighth corps and the fourth rifle brigade.

These troops were to aid in the defence of the Shipka Pass, and also watch the roads towards Osman Bazar and Lovatz, as well as the passes debouching between Elena and Tirnova. Detachments held Drenova, Gabrova, Selvi, and other points, supporting the troops in the Shipka and Hainkoi passes. The country south of the Balkans had been already evacuated by General Ghourka, who retired by the same pass through which he originally crossed.

The Russian right held its position in front of Plevna, occupying Poradim and Tirstenik, and consisting of the fourth and ninth corps, with one division of the eleventh corps; one division of Roumanians had crossed the Danube, and were between Nikopoli and Plevna. The headquarters of the commander-in-chief were

* North American Review, September – October, 1877, p. 246.

at Gorny Studen, nearly midway between Bjela and Poradim, and about equally distant from these places and Tirnova. The fifth corps was at Gorny Studen. The Turkish right held Rustchuk, Rasgrad, and Osman Bazar. Their centre, under Suleiman Pasha, held Kissanlik, and was preparing to attack the Shipka Pass. The Turkish left, under Osman Pasha, held Plevna and Lovatz.

The Russian main army of operations, which appears to have been composed of seven army corps, in addition to the cavalry divisions, Cossacks, and other smaller organized bodies, such as one brigade of rifles, the Bulgarian legion, and sundry irregular corps, was in a central position with strong defensive positions on both flanks, the front covered by the Balkans, their base well secured between the mouth of the Osma at Nikopoli and that of the Jantra at Novigrad, — a distance of some forty miles.

From Sistova it is about forty miles in a direct line to Plevna, Tirnova, and Jaslar, on the Kara Lom, respectively; and about thirty-two miles from Tirnova to the Shipka Pass. From Tirnova to Osman Bazar is about forty miles in a direct line, and about the same distance to Lovatz. From Plevna to Nikopoli it is about twenty-five miles.

The Russians have shown extraordinary marching capacity, and their central position places it in the power of an able commander to concentrate the greater portion of the army upon the separated masses of the Turks, who are broken into three distinct armies, with no possibility of direct and prompt communication or mutual support. The tenacity of the Russian troops is so great that such a concentration could safely be made, even were it necessary to leave greatly inferior numbers for a time in front of one or more of the Turkish armies.

General Zimmerman's command in the Dobrudscha was about eight miles in front of Tchernavoda, where the headquarters were. It was stated to consist, about the middle of August, of the fourteenth corps and one division of another corps. Kostendgi was held by two regiments of infantry, with five batteries in position, and the harbor defended by torpedoes.

Zimmerman's command was entirely inactive, with the exception of Cossack patrols and expeditions frequently sent to the front.

The mission of this army seems to be to hold and protect the important line of the Lower Danube, and to be prepared to advance upon Silistria or Varna whenever events justify such a movement.

We left the Russians awaiting the arrival of reinforcements. The Turks seem to have had no general plan of campaign; if they had, it will appear, as we progress with our narration, that it has not yet been carried into effect.

Before proceeding it is well to refer again to some of the events already recorded.

The additional details received in regard to the movements of General Ghourka's column do not render it necessary to change the general description heretofore given, although they bring out in bold relief the great difficulties of the task, and the indomitable energy, prompt decision, and admirable skill of the commander. The exact composition of his command was as follows: Cavalry, half squadron of the guards, two regiments of dragoons, one regiment of hussars, three regiments of Don Cossacks, two squadrons of Ural Cossacks, acting as mounted pioneers; artillery, one battery regular horse artillery, two batteries of Cossack artillery, and two batteries of mountain guns, — thirty-two guns in all; infantry, one brigade (four battalions) of riflemen, four battalions of Bulgarians, two companies of Kouban Cossacks. The total force amounted to about ten thousand of all arms.

The movements of Ghourka do not appear to us, as some critics have maintained, ill advised, nor are the Russians wrong in holding the Shipka Pass as they are now doing. It was of the first importance to the Russians to obtain possession of at least one practicable pass through the Balkans before that line could be occupied in force by the enemy, so that when the country to the north was fully in the possession of the Russians, or the Turkish armies there were firmly held in a position to do no damage, the Russians might at once debouch upon Adrianople, and either cut off all the Turkish troops to the north of the Balkans or force them to fall back upon Constantinople by sea. The result of such a movement, promptly made, would probably be to give the Russians possession of Roumelia up to the line of Buyuk Chekmedgé.

Ghourka's movements upon Yeni Saghra and Eski Saghra were

necessary to cover his flank, to interrupt the railway communication, and to cause such a panic and uncertainty as to enable him to accomplish his real purpose with the least possible danger.

The mutual outrages and massacres of the Roumelian Christians and Mohammedans do not appear to have been necessarily a consequence of this movement, and might have taken place even if Ghourka had not crossed the Balkans. At all events, they could not well have been foreseen, nor were they approved by the Russians, and the evidence is that they did all in their power to prevent them. Those that occurred during their occupation took place outside of their lines. The withdrawal of Ghourka's advanced parties from the south of the Balkans took place about the 8th of August, when the result of the second attack upon Plevna made it evident that sufficient reinforcements could not be sent to continue the forward movement, or to hold the ground already gained beyond the mountains. As there was thus no hope of successfully opposing the advance of the overpowering force brought up by Suleiman Pasha, the Russians wisely fell back upon the mountains, and as wisely determined to hold the Shipka and adjacent passes as long as practicable.

The Shipka Pass was already fortified by the Turks against an attack from the north. As soon as it fell into their hands the Russians arranged for its defence in the opposite direction, and made the road from the north entirely practicable for artillery and trains.

The summit of the pass is about 4,400 feet above the sea, and 2,300 feet above the village of Shipka. The highest point in the pass is a rocky hill, on which is the fort to which the Russians have given the name of St. Nicholas; on either side are ridges nearly parallel with the Gabrova road. Diverging from the summit towards the south there are many ravines and valleys, which, although impracticable for artillery, permit infantry to turn any position between the summit and the base of the mountains. The same thing holds, looking towards the north. The summit, therefore, is the vital point for both parties. If the Russians retain it, they can, when the time arrives for them to debouch into Roumelia, easily turn any Turkish position towards the south. If the Turks gain it, they will be able to interpose a formidable resistance to the return of the Russians, and it will be difficult for the latter to prevent them from debouching into Bulgaria by some of the

diverging valleys referred to. So long, then, as the Russians retain the pass, and the country thence to Tirnova, they effectually prevent the junction of Mehemet Ali with Osman Pasha, and thus greatly strengthen their position, as it is easier for them to hold the pass with a small force than it would be to defend any position near Gabrova or Tirnova. If Suleiman had gained the pass he could debouch upon Tirnova, and thus connect Mehemet Ali with Osman Pasha, or he could co-operate with either one at pleasure. More especially was this the case when Selvi and Lovatz were held by the Turks.

On the 21st of August Suleiman commenced, with large forces, a series of desperate, bloody, and fruitless assaults upon the Shipka Pass, then held by eight companies of the Olowski regiment, three weak Bulgarian battalions, and sixteen guns. The remaining four companies of the Olowski were at Gradova, one battalion of Bulgarians at Tirnova, holding the difficult pass from Kissanlik to Drenova, east of the Shipka Pass, the fourth rifle brigade was at Tirnova, as well as one regiment of the Baruila brigade, the latter holding the Hainkoi Pass.

We should far transcend the proper limits of this paper were we to enter upon a detailed description of the varying phases of the desperate contest which raged so long upon the summits of the Balkans. It is said that Suleiman had with him many of the best troops of Turkey. This may well be so, for the reckless and desperate valor with which, times without number, they flung themselves against the Russian works is well worthy of those bygone days when with all the enthusiasm inspired by a new religion, careless of death, sure of wealth and empire if they survived, certain of Paradise should they fall, there issued from Arabia that mighty stream of warriors, which, like some great river increasing as it flows on, swept over Asia, and entered Europe in two great streams, which wellnigh united between the Danube and the Loire, and would have swept Christendom before them, save for that stern resistance offered by the steady valor of the Christian armies on the plains of Tours and under the walls of Vienna. The unburied corpses and untended wounded on the mountain-sides, and in all the four stricken villages from Shipka to Adrianople, attest the unimpaired valor of the Moslem.

On the other side of these blood-stained intrenchments stood a

handful of brave Muscovites, who, with patient endurance and unshaken courage, for three days — without sleep, almost without even bread and water — sternly and steadily repelled the savage attacks made almost uninterruptedly by fresh troops. On the afternoon of the third day, when the diminished numbers of the defenders were thoroughly worn out and their ammunition almost expended, the Turks were on the point of carrying positions on the flanks of the pass which commanded the Gabrova road. Just at this moment the Russian shout was heard rising from the valley in rear of the pass, and the advanced guard of the fourth rifle brigade, with Radetzky at their head, came rapidly up, mounted on Cossack horses. At once dismounting, these brave men threw themselves into the fight and checked the Turks until the remainder of the brigade arrived, when they attacked and carried the heights from which the Turks so seriously threatened the rear of the pass. Other reinforcements now came hurrying up, and the Turk's opportunity had passed. Nevertheless, for four days longer he continued his desperate but unavailing attacks. Then for some days nothing but desultory firing or unimportant skirmishing occurred, while Suleiman was bringing up more reinforcements and making new arrangements, until on the 14th of September he opened a severe fire upon the Russian works with eight-inch mortars. Having, as he supposed, made a decided impression upon the garrison, he suddenly assaulted on the morning of the 17th, and during the day made six furious attacks. The main attack was made upon Fort St. Nicholas itself. About three in the morning the Turks suddenly ascended the precipitous approach, and gained a trench in advance of the main work. For some three hours dense masses rushed up in support, under a terrific fire, bringing gabions and fascines with which to intrench themselves. Here they held on till noon, when they were driven out with terrible loss. The Russians found three thousand dead in the trench and on the approaches. The stubborn Russians lost about one thousand men on the 17th, but remained masters of all their positions. General Radetzky commanded in person.

The heroic and enduring courage with which the Russians repulsed so many assaults was varied by attacks upon the Turkish position, in which they displayed a headlong and impetuous dash quite equal to that of their foes.

Giving the troops and subordinate officers on both sides equal

credit for their conduct in this long contest, it must be acknowledged that the Russian generals displayed much greater skill than their antagonists. The defence appears to have been admirably conducted throughout. The same thing cannot be said for the attack. It was excusable in Suleiman to attempt to carry the pass by assault immediately after his arrival at Kissanlik, when the Russian garrison was weak; but, having failed in his first attempts, it was useless butchery to continue his attacks after the arrival of the Russian reinforcements. The only excuse for such a course would have been the case of a simultaneous attack in force by Mehemet Ali and Osman Pasha upon the Russians in their front; for then the persistent attacks of Suleiman would have weakened the defence elsewhere, or he would have had no reinforcements to contend against.

But it is now clear that no such general plan existed, or that no attempt was made to carry it out. The probabilities are that Suleiman's army would have been much more useful if pushed across the Balkans by the Slivno Pass, so that he could have united with Mehemet Ali between Starevka and Osman Bazar, and thus have turned the Shipka by moving on Tirnova or Bjela. If circumstances rendered it advisable to support Osman Pasha at Plevna, then Suleiman could have crossed by the Karaul or Orchanie passes, and moved, if by the former, through Trojan on Selvi or Lovatz. While his strategy was bad, his tactics seem to have been no better, for, instead of constantly hurling his masses of infantry against the front of the Russian trenches, he might have turned them early in the fight and perhaps prevented the approach of reinforcements. Instead of making good use of the very largely superior force at his disposal, and without the slightest necessity, he incurred enormous losses, — undoubtedly immensely greater than those of the Russians, — and accomplished absolutely nothing. One important result of this long contest is the fact that the Bulgarian battalions fought admirably, and proved that with organization and discipline they can hold their own against their former masters. It has been stated that Suleiman has gone to replace Mehemet Ali in command on the Turkish right, and that the remnant of his army is to remain on the defensive in front of the Shipka Pass.

Subsequent information in relation to the attack upon Plevna, on the 31st of July, does not materially affect the general con-

clusions at which we arrived. There would, however, appear to be reasons for believing that on the Russian right Krudener was not quite so inactive as at first represented, and that Schackoskoy exceeded Krudener's instructions in pushing as far as he did. We mentioned that the Russian left was covered by a brigade of cavalry and a battalion of infantry; this detachment was commanded by a man to whom in the course of this article we shall have occasion to accord a large meed of praise, and who has thus far shown himself one of the best and ablest of the Russian generals, that is, the younger Skobeleff, then a major-general. This officer, who is yet a young man, first attained distinction in Central Asia, when, upon a certain occasion, a Russian corps was retreating before a largely superior force of the enemy. Skobeleff, then a colonel, or perhaps of even a lower grade, was placed in command of a small rearguard to cover the retreat; a service regarded as desperate, and shunned by officers of higher rank who had a reputation to lose. Skobeleff, of his own volition, turned upon the pursuers during the night, attacked with his small force, and completely routed and dispersed the enemy. On a larger field he has had several occasions to prove his merit and capacity. In the battle of Plevna, on the 31st of July, with his small force he worked in so close upon the Turkish right flank as to render it probable that with a larger force he would have carried the place. He materially aided in the withdrawal of Schackoskoy, and, alone of the Russian commanders on that day, brought off all his wounded, who, thanks to his skill and care, were not numerous. Before recurring to the subsequent operations against Plevna it will be better to follow the movements of the Cesarowitch and Mehemet Ali, in the direction of the Lom and the Jantra. About the middle of August the Cesarowitch occupied the general position already described, having in front of him the army of Mehemet Ali. By this time Rasgrad was strongly intrenched. Mehemet Ali's right was commanded by Eyoub Pasha, who, in addition to the garrisons of Rustchuk and Rasgrad, is said to have had a disposable field force of forty thousand men. The left, under Mehemet in person, is stated to have consisted of sixty thousand men available for field operations, after deducting the garrisons of Shumla and other places. It is probable that the Egyptian contingent, from Varna, under Prince Hassan, was

included in the number given above. It seems clear that the Cesarowitch was for a long time uncertain as to the direction of his antagonist's real attack, and the object he had in view; that is to say, whether in connection with, or independently of Suleiman, he intended to advance from Osman Bazar upon Tirnova, or whether his line of attack would be in the direction of Kacelyvo, Bjela, and Sistova. He therefore seems to have thought it necessary to break up his force into comparatively small detachments in order to observe and partially defend the whole of the long line he occupied, and at the same time hold his left as near Rustchuk as possible.

From about the middle to the 29th of August various small affairs took place on or near the upper course of the Kara Lom, as, for instance, at Jaslar, Sultankoi, Kezlar, Kerecim, etc. Some of these were the result of reconnoissances made by the Russians for the purpose of ascertaining the position and intentions of the enemy; others were Turkish attacks, as a part of their plan for driving in the Russian right, and forcing them entirely across the line of the Lom. In all these affairs the Russians were in much inferior force, and displayed great tenacity, always holding their positions for a long time, and to the last moment, and retiring in good order. On the 23d the Turks attacked Jaslar, and were repulsed; later in the day they returned to the attack in large force, when the Russians, after a sharp contest, withdrew to Sultankoi. The Turks intrenched at Jaslar, and showed a considerable force there.

On the 29th Mehemet Ali attacked the Russians at Karahassankoi, and finally drove them over the Lom, where they took position near Popkoi on the left bank.

The Turks did not follow up this success, but moved a portion of their troops up the right bank of the Kara Lom, and effected a junction with Eyoub Pasha, coming from Rasgrad. On the 4th of September a detachment from the garrison of Rustchuk attacked the Russians at Kadikoi but were finally repulsed.

On the 5th the Russians at Kacelyvo — five battalions, eight squadrons, and some artillery — were attacked by about three times their numbers; they resisted the attack for nearly six hours, when, the Turks being heavily reinforced, they were driven across the Lom, and fell back to Ostritza. At the same time a Russian detachment

at Ablava was attacked by a large force, but held its ground. On the same day the Turks made fruitless attacks at Popkoi and Kadikoi, on the extreme right and left of the Russians.

The result of the affair at Kacelyvo appears to have been that the Russians abandoned the line of the Kara Lom, above the mouth of the Banicka Lom, which comes in from the southwest about six miles below Kacelyvo, and took up new and more concentrated position, or, to express it more accurately, they drew in their outposts and occupied the position prepared in advance for the contingency of an attack in force by Mehemet Ali.

The left of this line rests on the Danube in the vicinity of Metcka, about fifteen miles southwest of Rustchuk, and is near the intrenched camp of Tristenik, occupied by the twelfth corps, on the direct road from Bjela to Rustchuk.

Hence the line extends in front of Obertini and Monastiv to the Banicka Lom near its mouth, and follows the line of that stream to a point south of Cherkovna and Cavikoi, and thence tends back to the Jantra. The important points of this position are stated to be strongly intrenched, and there is ample force to hold it.

Several affairs of outposts and detachments now took place, but none of any importance until the 20th of September, when the Turks in considerable force attacked the Russian position near Cherkovna, endeavoring to secure a foothold on the left bank of the Banicka Lom. They were completely repulsed with considerable loss.

Since the battle of Cherkovna no fighting of importance has taken place. It seems to be established that on the 24th of September Mehemet Ali fell back to the line of the Kara Lom. It is fair to infer that he found the Russian left and centre too strong for attack; it remains to be seen whether he will renew the attempt further on the Russian right, or remain inactive on the Lom until in his turn assailed by the Russians.

If it be true that Suleiman has replaced Mehemet Ali in command of the Turkish army of Shumla, we may expect that his advent to the command will be marked by some very desperate but not well-arranged attack upon the Cesarowitch. But the latter has his army well in hand, in good positions, and must be by this time strongly reinforced, so that he would rather court than avoid the contest.

The operations around Plevna have assumed so much importance that it is desirable to give a short description of the region in which it is situated. The field of operations of which Plevna is the central point of interest is bounded by the rivers Osma and Isker on the east and west, by the Danube and the Balkans on the north and south. It is about sixty-five miles in length, from north to south, and varies from twenty-five to fifty miles in width

This area is divided into two nearly equal parts by the river Wid, whose general course is nearly north and south, and it is in the valley of the Wid that Plevna is situated. From the foot-hills of the Balkans to the Danube the ground slopes gradually down, terminating in crests or bluffs of considerable height above that river. The Osma, Wid, and Isker all rise in the Balkans, and each is formed by the union of several branches, draining as many valleys of the main and foot hills. In their course to the Danube each of these rivers receives many small streams, which, in the course of ages, have excavated deep valleys and ravines in the sloping plateau. The consequence is that the region in question is much cut up by valleys, deep ravines, and lofty hills, and abounds in strong positions which offer great advantages to an army on the defensive. The main streams, which run nearly north and south, with their bounding ridges, present great obstacles to the attack of an army moving east or west, while the smaller branches often afford good protection against attacks upon the flanks of the main position. The nature of the country westward from the Isker towards Widdin is such that numerous strong positions present themselves for an army operating to cover the latter place, and so long as the Turks hold the line of the Balkans in that direction, these positions become stronger as you proceed westward, for the reason that the Balkans continually approach the Danube, and thus shorten the defensive lines. But any of these positions west of the Wid, and more particularly west of the Isker, would be of little avail to the Turks for the reason that they would be too far away to threaten seriously the Russian lines of supply and communication through Nikopoli and Sistova.

Herein is the chief value to the Turks of their position at Plevna, that it is so near the Russian lines of communication that the latter must either drive them back, or leave a large force in their front to hold them in check, while they operate elsewhere.

As the Russians and Roumanians practically hold the line of the Danube from Pirgos to the immediate vicinity of Widdin, all of the positions we have referred to can be turned by crossing the Danube in force in their rear, or by the entrance of Servia into the contest. Whether the Russians will avail themselves of their reinforcements to gain the rear of Plevna remains to be seen. The upper courses of the streams mentioned above cut through mountains and high hills, traversing deep gorges and narrow valleys; here the population is sparse, supplies are rare, and the country very difficult, if not impracticable, for masses of troops, with their artillery and trains, except by the roads. Before reaching the latitude of Plevna the valleys widen and become fertile and populous, while the plateaus between the main streams become more open and quite practicable for the movement of armies, although still abounding in very formidable defensive positions.

Plevna is not immediately upon the banks of the Wid, but about four miles to the east, in a large valley, on a branch formed by the union of the Grivitza, Radichevo, Tutchenitza, Bogot, and other small streams. The valleys of these streams have between them, or on either side, the high ridges or plateaus upon which are the great redoubts and lines of works which have so well withstood the fierce attacks of the Russians. The most northerly of these branches is the Grivitza, whose course is nearly at right angles with the Wid. Just north of the Grivitza is a high ridge bordering the stream from its head to Oponetz on the Wid. On this ridge, close by the head of the little stream, is what has been called the central redoubt of Grivitza, not long since captured by the Russians; just west of this, on the same ridge, is the second great redoubt, which the Roumanians are now attacking by regular approaches; from this there extends along the summit of the ridge a line of works reaching as far as Oponetz. The capture of the redoubt now being attacked by the Roumanians will go far towards making this line of works untenable. South of the great redoubt, which occupies a strong salient in the general line, and on the ridge between the Grivitza and the Radichevo is another work, and between the Radichevo and the Tutchenitza still another. These works, from the Grivitza to the Tutchenitza, will probably also be untenable when the second redoubt falls, and so will be a portion of the remainder of the line, which after crossing

the Tutchenitza bends square to the west, reaching the Wid near the mouth of a small stream which joins it near Dubnik. Within this portion of the line is a second line, facing also to the east. This forms a species of citadel, leaving the town of Plevna outside. On the left bank of the Wid, quite near the stream, are three or four small works looking westward.

Our knowledge of the defences of Plevna is necessarily imperfect, but such as it is, it leads to the opinion that the fall of the second Grivitza redoubt will carry with it the greater part, if not the whole, of the outer line of defences, and at once enable the Russians to throw a larger force in rear of the position.

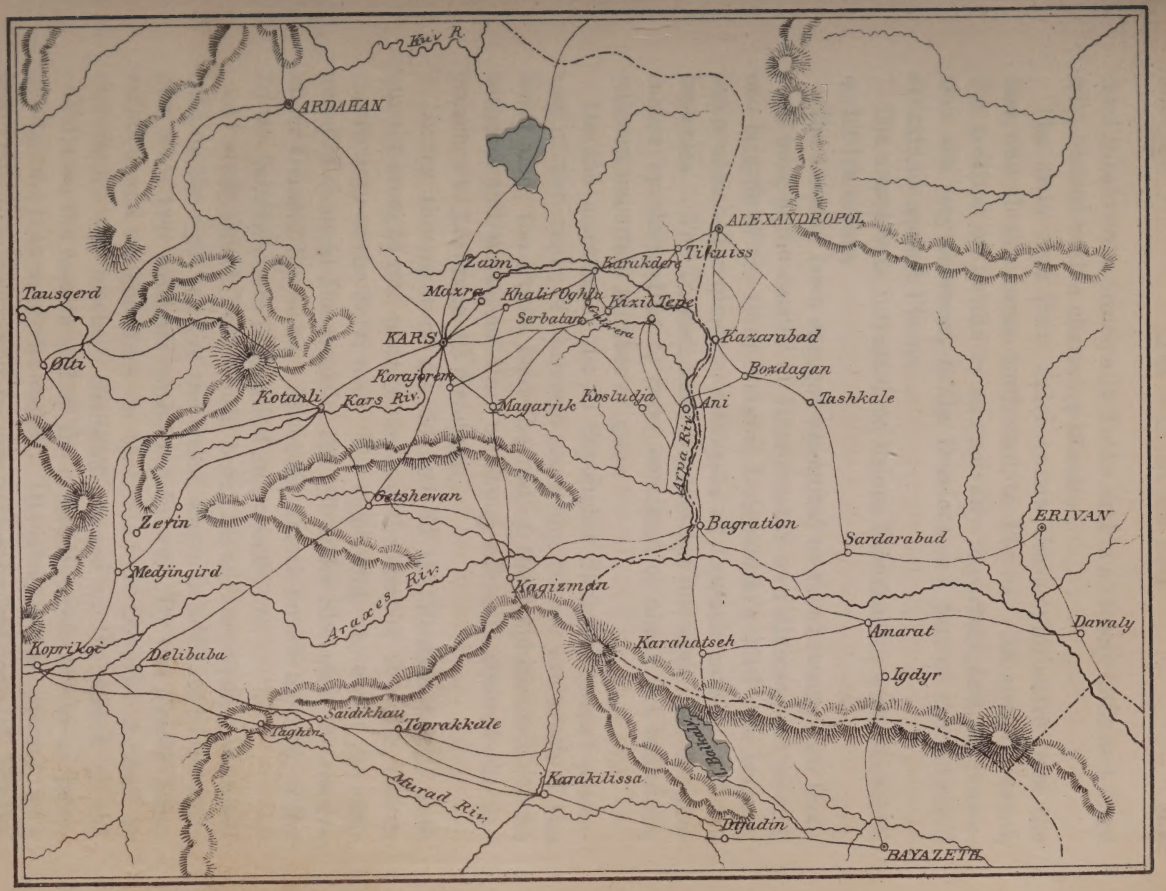
Outside of the immediate position of Plevna, Lovatz is a point of great importance. It is in the valley of the Osma, and is the meeting-point of several important roads; for instance, one from the Karaul Pass through Trojan, others from minor passes to the west, roads leading from the Orchanie Pass, and others leading to the west and north in rear of Plevna. From Lovatz roads also lead eastward to Selvi, Tirnova, and Drenova, and northward to the flank and rear of the Russians in front of Plevna. The possession of Lovatz by the Turks enabled them to threaten the left flank and rear of the Russian army of Plevna, and facilitated their junction with Suleiman, had he forced the Shipka Pass, or, with Mehemet Ali, had he moved from Osman Bazar upon Tirnova..

Now that the Russians hold it, the Turks have lost these advantages, and its possession permits the former to operate against the right flank and communications of Osman Pasha. Its capture was a great advantage to the Russians and a serious loss to the Turks. Selvi, although not literally within the immediate theatre of operation, we have described, is very closely connected with it, and is of great importance to the Russians. To the westward Orchanie, at the northern end of the Balkan pass of the same name, is a point which the Turks will naturally intrench and hold for the purpose of securing the retreat of Osman Pasha, should he be driven out of Plevna. The possession of Lovatz enables the Russians to reach it with their left wing before the main Turkish force at Plevna can do so. Radomirzy, where the main road from Plevna to Orchanie and Sophia crosses a branch of the Isker, is a point which the Russians may reach from Lovatz or from the

north, and which may play an important part before the end of the siege of Plevna, or in the operations to prevent the supply and relief of the place.

Soon after the middle of August the Russians were reinforced by the second and third divisions of infantry, and the third brigade of rifles, all of which were moved in the direction of Plevna and Lovatz. A large number of recruits also arrived about the same time to fill up the regiments which had suffered most severely, especially in the ninth corps. On the 22d a Turkish force advanced from Lovatz upon Selvi, but were repulsed without the aid of the reinforcements sent in that direction On the 25th the main body of the Roumanian army commenced the passage of the Danube. On the 31st Osman Pasha, with twenty-five thousand men, moved out of his lines at Plevna and attacked the Russian outposts in the vicinity of Pelisat. He carried the latter place, and advanced somewhat beyond it, when, encountering the Russians in force, he was driven back. He held Pelisat with great determination, but was finally driven out of it, and back into his lines with heavy loss. The Russians regained all their positions. About the 1st of September Prince Charles of Roumania was placed in command of the combined Russian and Roumanian troops operating against Plevna; there is some uncertainty as to the exact powers intrusted to him, but the weight of evidence appears to be to the effect that he has the direct command, under the general orders of the Grand Duke commanding in chief. On the 3d of September Lovatz was successfully attacked by the Russians: the importance of this position, and the very creditable manner in which the attack was conducted merit a brief description.

Lovatz is on the Osma River, in a circular valley surrounded by hills rising gently to the height of some six hundred feet. The bottom of the valley is about three fourths of a mile in diameter, while it is some miles from crest to crest of the encircling hills, whose gentle slopes, intersected by ravines, and well covered with crops and trees, afford good cover for troops. The bottom of the valley is crossed by a southeast and northwest ridge, some hundred feet high, through which the river has cut its way. On the extremities of this ridge are the redoubts forming the key points of the Turkish position. Lovatz has about twelve thou-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Koprikoi
Delibaba
Karahutseh
Igdyr
Sadikkau
Teprakkale
Taghan
Karakilissa
Murad Riv.
Diadin
BAYAZETH

sand inhabitants, principally Turks, and is a closely built and dirty city, blessed with a charming situation.

The main road from Selvi enters the amphitheatre from the east, and thence turns northward to Plevna. As already stated, the position of Lovatz is strategically important, and its possession was very necessary to the Russians as a part of the projected operations against Plevna.

The attack was intrusted to Prince Imeretinski, with Skobeleff under his orders.

The Russian force engaged amounted to about twenty-two thousand men, and consisted of Imeretinski's own division, the second, one brigade of the third division, Dobrovolski's third rifle brigade, some detached regiments, a brigade of Cossack cavalry, and ten batteries. The Turkish force is somewhat uncertain, but is represented by themselves to have consisted of about ten battalions, with an uncertain number of guns.

On the morning of the 2d September Skobeleff gained possession of two peaks of the crest encircling Lovatz just north of the Selvi road; the Turks held the rest of the amphitheatre. Some redoubts and numerous lines of strong rifle-pits covered the approaches to Lovatz in all directions.

During the night of the 2d and 3d the Russian troops were quietly brought into position behind the crest of the hills, and in the vicinity of the Selvi road. The right wing was under the command of General Dobrovolski, the left under Skobeleff, the reserve under General Engmann. About six o'clock on the morning of the 3d the batteries were in position and opened fire.

At seven o'clock Dobrovolski began his advance upon some small hills on the right bank of the Osma, where in addition to the rifle-pits were two redoubts without artillery. By ten o'clock these redoubts and all the lines on that side were carried. As soon as this result was reached, Skobeleff moved to the attack of the redoubt on the eastern end of the cross ridge referred to as intersecting the bottom of the valley. His advance was covered by a heavy fire of artillery, and by one o'clock he had complete possession of the redoubt, and with it of the town of Lovatz. There now remained the strong work on the western end of the cross ridge.

At half past two the preparations for attacking this work were

complete. To reach the base of the ridge on which it was situated, it was necessary to cross a plain about half a mile wide, most of it entirely open. But under cover of their artillery the Russian infantry advanced rapidly under a very heavy but ill-directed fire.

After several feints to withdraw the attention of the Turks from the true point of attack, the final rush was made, and the work carried. The defenders held out bravely, and few escaped. The whole of the Turkish position was now in the hands of the Russians, whose loss was less than one thousand men, while that of the Turks was much heavier; the Russians state that they buried twenty-two hundred Turkish dead. The slight loss of the Russians was due partly to the fact that the Turks fired too high, but mainly to the skilful handling of the Russian generals, who, far from repeating the blunders of Plevna, never exposed masses to a heavy fire. The capture of Lovatz was very important, not alone from its strategical value, but from the proof it affords of what Russian troops can do when well handled.

On the following day Osman Pasha attempted to recapture Lovatz, but was readily repulsed.

The operations against Lovatz were preliminary to the renewal of active operations against Plevna. During the night of the 6th and 7th of September the Russians placed several batteries in position, and on the morning of the 7th opened a heavy fire upon the Russian works. This fire continued during the day. During the following night the batteries were brought nearer to the front, and kept up the cannonade all day; on the afternoon of the 8th the second and third divisions, on the extreme Russian left, occupied the heights south of Olcagas with moderate loss.

During the forenoon of the 9th the Turks made a sortie against Imeretinski and Skobeleff on the extreme Russian left, but were repulsed with heavy loss. During the same day the Roumanians, coming from Verbitza, closed in from the north, occupying the ground from the Wid to the Russian right near Grivitza, so that Plevna was now completely hemmed in on the eastern side of the Wid. The positions of the allied troops were then about as follows: the third, fourth, and second Roumanian divisions, in the order named, extending from Bivolar to the vicinity of Grivitza; the fifth Russian division east of the great redoubt, the thirty-first south of the fifth, the thirtieth with its left at Radichevo, the sixteenth on

its left extending to the Bogot stream, the third and second divisions prolonging the line towards the west as far as the Karagui stream. Headquarters and the reserve at Poradim. During the night of the 9th and 10th new batteries were established by the Russians still closer to the Turkish lines, and the artillery fire was well maintained during the following day.

On the 11th the assault was made upon the great redoubt at Grivitza, and upon the redoubts south of Olcagas, commanding the Turkish line of retreat by the Sophia road.

The attack upon the latter was intrusted to Skobeleff, who had under his command four regiments of the line, four battalions of rifles, and some twenty guns. In order to place his men in position to attack the redoubt in his immediate front, it was necessary to occupy a hill not far from the work. While engaged in effecting this, the Turks made a desperate attack, which extended considerably to Skobeleff's right. After severe fighting this attack was repulsed, and the hill occupied by the Russians, who now brought their guns within short range, and opened a very rapid fire upon the works. Late in the afternoon he ordered forward two regiments of the line, and two battalions of rifles, with directions not to fire, but to rush for the redoubt. With music playing, the line advanced rapidly, closely watched by Skobeleff. The fire was terrific, and the assaulting party began to hesitate; at once he threw forward another regiment, and thus carried the line still farther toward the redoubt. Again the line hesitates, and he throws in his last regiment, which carries it nearly to the edge of the ditch. Here they waver again under the murderous fire, when Skobeleff puts himself at the head of the two remaining battalions of rifles, and with the most conspicuous gallantry leads his command over the parapet into the work. Few of the garrison escaped, but the hillside was covered with some two thousand dead and wounded Russians.

Meanwhile other partial attacks had been made without success, but in the vicinity of Grivitza very serious fighting had occurred.

About one o'clock a division of the fourth corps assaulted one of the large central redoubts, near Grivitza, but was repulsed. At four o'clock twelve battalions renewed the attack, reached the ditch, and at one time even entered the work, but after displaying

the greatest courage, they were at length driven back with heavy loss. About the same time the Roumanians had three times assaulted the great central redoubt in vain, though they fought splendidly.

Finally, about seven o'clock a fresh column, consisting of six Russian and one Roumanian battalion, renewed the assault upon the central redoubt, and carried it.

Thus at nightfall the Russians, at heavy cost, had carried the Plevna lines at two points, that where Skobeleff attacked being probably the more important, as having a bearing on the Turkish line of retreat.

Next day the Turks attempted the recapture of the central redoubt, but were repulsed by the allies, losing heavily in the attempt. Several desperate attacks were made upon Skobeleff, who early declared his position untenable without reinforcements, and advised that he should be strengthened sufficiently to enable him to carry the neighboring works. Five times did he repel the Turkish attacks, with great losses on both sides. Unfortunately for the Russians no reinforcements reached him, except one single regiment, reduced to a thousand men, which arrived too late. The inactivity of the Russians on other points permitted Osman Pasha to concentrate large numbers of fresh troops against Skobeleff, so that about five o'clock in the afternoon a sixth assault terminated in driving the exhausted remnant of the Russians out of the work they had won so gallantly and held so obstinately.

It is clear that his superiors did not appreciate the value of the position he had carried at such a fearful cost. It is clear, also, that the previous repulses had not yet taught them the folly of recklessly throwing away the lives of brave men by dashing them against earthworks held by troops armed with breech-loaders. Since the occurrences we have so briefly described, the allies seem to have settled down to the work of a regular siege, and as the able and experienced Todleben has been called to the front, we may reasonably expect that the bloody errors of the past will be redeemed in the future by all that skill can accomplish. The only event of importance near Plevna since the 12th of September has been the entrance of at least one reinforcement of ten thousand men, with a large convoy of provisions and ammunition.

It is so strange that this has been permitted by the allies that

we hesitate to comment upon it until possessed of more ample information. With the reinforcements stated, probably with truth, to be daily arriving on the Danube, it is still possible for the Russians to take advantage of their fine central position, and strike heavy blows before the winter sets fully in. But so many gross blunders have been committed, so many golden opportunities lost, that it is more than idle to speculate upon the future.

The more complete information received since the middle of August in regard to operations in Armenia already described contains nothing to impair the substantial accuracy of the statements made in the September number. The opinion that the Russians undertook the offensive in insufficient strength, that they divided their forces too much, and that the affair of Zevin was ill-advised, is confirmed. It appears to be fully established that in the affair of Taghir the Russians took the initiative, and, advancing upon the Turks, who were preparing to attack them, utterly routed them, inflicting great losses, and capturing many guns and prisoners with slight loss to themselves.

In the battle of Eshek Kalias, on the 21st of June, Tergukassoff had only eight battalions against nineteen attacking under Muktar Pasha. The Turks were repulsed with heavy losses. The Russians held their position until the afternoon of the 27th, when their rearguard abandoned it, without being at all disturbed by the enemy, who did not even pursue them closely enough to ascertain what road they had taken. It is now clear that Tergukassoff's retreat was caused by the news of Melikoff's repulse at Zevin, and the threatening attitude of the force besieging Bayazeth in his rear.

With admirable skill the Russian kept the vastly superior force of his pursuers completely out of reach, carried off all his supplies, all of his wounded and material of all kinds, and also escorted the Christian families fleeing from the merciless clutches of the Turkish irregulars. The Turkish official accounts to the effect that he abandoned his stores, weapons, ammunition, and animals, and that he buried his guns, were absolutely false, as were also their accounts of cutting off numerous stragglers.

The retreat was conducted with perfect order, in a leisurely manner, and with complete success, through Karakillissa and

Dijadin, upon Igdyr. Here Tergukassoff placed the Christian refugees in safety, replenished his supplies, and received a small reinforcement from Erivan.

Ismail Pasha, the commander of the pursuing force, now encamped at Mousin, on the western shore of Lake Balykly, apparently under the impression that he had finally disposed of his antagonist.

Meanwhile Bayazeth, garrisoned by two Russian battalions and some twelve hundred Cossack cavalry, had been approached, on the 14th of June, by Faik Pasha, who brought from Van six regular battalions, two batteries, and from eight thousand to ten thousand irregular horsemen, principally Kurds. On the 19th the Russian commandant, leaving two companies in the citadel, moved out with his small force to Topanich, some ten miles to the south-east, but was soon compelled to retire. The infantry reached the citadel in safety, but the Cossacks, surrounded by an overpowering force, surrendered. Hardly had they laid down their arms when the greater part of them were murdered in cold blood by the Kurds; the remnant being taken towards the Van, after being badly maltreated, and more of them murdered on the way.

The garrison being now confined to the citadel, the Kurds entered the town, where they ruthlessly murdered the men, women, and children of the one hundred and sixty-five Christian families residing in Bayazeth; it is stated that, including Cossacks, twenty-four hundred people were killed and left unburied, after their bodies had been subjected to mutilation too horrible and revolting to be described. It should be remembered that these accounts do not come from Russian sources, but from English officers and civilians in positions to ascertain the truth. The garrison of the citadel held out most gallantly, notwithstanding the privations which fell to their lot.

Tergukassoff marched out of Igdyr on the 10th of July, and at dawn of the 13th appeared in front of Bayazeth with eight battalions, twenty-four guns, fifteen squadrons of Cossacks. and four of dragoons. A portion of the investing force held a line of heights commanding the town; this position was at once attacked and carried by the Russians. The retiring Turks were now reinforced by a brigade of eight battalions, eight hundred cavalry, and a battery sent from Mousin by Ismail Pasha. This combined

force was at once attacked and driven away in disorder. The result was that the Turks lost four guns, five hundred killed, and eight hundred prisoners, besides a large number of wounded. The Russians now withdrew the garrison of the citadel, with all the sick, wounded, and material, blew up the works, and on the next day returned unmolested to Igdyr.

The more complete information now in our possession in regard to the operations of General Tergukassoff confirms the impression previously expressed in regard to his high qualities as a soldier.

Nothing is to be added to the account already given of the battle of Zevin-Dooz, except that the Russian losses were much less than at first supposed, probably not much over a thousand. That the Turkish success was not very decided may be inferred from the deliberate manner in which the Russians fell back upon Kars. They remained two days within two miles of the field of battle, and then proceeded by short marches, with an occasional day of rest, until they rejoined the troops in front of Kars.

The Turkish official statements that they defeated the Russians at, and drove them out of Mellidooz, Sara Kamysch, Beghli Achmet, etc., in succession, are said, by the London "Times" correspondent with the Turkish army, to be absolutely false, as the Turks did not even come in sight of the enemy at any of these places.

The only explanation of Melikoff's retreat, after Zevin-Dooz, is to be found in the supposition that the Russian commander-in-chief at length came to the conclusion that he was attempting too much with insufficient forces, and that Tergukassoff was too weak to advance and unite with Melikoff, and that he therefore determined to fall back towards the frontier, concentrate his scattered forces, bring up reinforcements, and inaugurate a new campaign. It is difficult to believe that the repulse at Zevin was in itself sufficient to account for the complete change of plan.

On the 26th of July the army of Melikoff had taken up its new position at Kurukdere, Gulweren, and Tashkah. Tergukassoff was still at Igdyr. Muktar soon occupied and intrenched a position opposite that of Melikoff, and not far distant. We have not been able to obtain any definite and satisfactory information in regard to the reinforcements which may have reached the Russian armies in Armenia. It appears that, notwithstanding the Turks

have evacuated the points they held on the coast of the Black Sea north of Batoum, the insurrection of various mountain tribes continues, and must still cause no little embarrassment to the Russians.

Frequent skirmishes have taken place in front of Kars and near Igdyr, few of them of any importance.

On the 18th of August Melikoff advanced towards the Turkish positions, and withdrew after a good deal of cannonading and some infantry fighting; from the description given the affair seems to have partaken more of the nature of a reconnoissance than a real attack.

On the 25th the Turks carried the height of Kizil Tepe, one of the advanced Russian positions. According to the Turkish account the hill was held by five battalions, and carried after a short struggle. The account from the Russian side is that, in consequence of the departure of a division sent to reinforce Tergukassoff, the hill was held by a single company without artillery. Information had been received at the Russian headquarters of the attack intended by the Turks, and orders were given that a battalion and a battery should be sent to strengthen the garrison during the night, but the order was not carried out. Meanwhile the Turks had learned the Russian countersign, and, availing themselves of this, they surprised the small garrison and carried the hill. Whichever may be the true account, it is certain that the Turks gained the position and kept it, in spite of the efforts of the Russians to regain it during the day.

The latest news from Armenia is to the effect that serious fighting occurred in front of Kars on the 2d and 3d of October, but the reports are so contradictory and there is so complete an absence of details that it is as yet impossible to form an opinion as to the result. It has been definitely stated that the force of Tergukassoff has been reduced to twelve or even eight battalions, which indicates a concentration in front of Alexandropol for some important movement, of which the affairs of the 2d and 3d were probably the result.

Tergukassoff still holds his own at Igdyr, guarding the approaches to Erivan against the vastly superior forces of Ismail Pasha. Ardahan is still held by the Russians. Since the withdrawal of Suleiman from Montenegro, the gallant mountaineers

have again taken the offensive. On the 9th of September Niksich at last fell into their hands, and since that time the Duga Pass, controlling the approach to Niksich from Herzsogovina, has likewise come into their possession.

Unless the combats of the 2d and 3d of October prove more important and decisive than now appears probable, the condition of affairs in Armenia is practically the same as it was in August, except that the Turks have probably withdrawn some of the troops from Batoum to reinforce their European army. In the Trans-Caucasus the Turks have evacuated Soukhum Kalé and the other points on the shore of the Black Sea which they held during the summer, thus relieving some of the Russian troops, and permitting them to act more decisively in repressing the insurrection among the mountain tribes.

In Europe the Russians have lost men and time; on the other hand, they have received reinforcements, have demonstrated their ability to hold the Shipka Pass, and in front of Plevna, as well as in the direction of the Lom, are in better position to resist attack or to strike heavy blows. As in Armenia, so in Europe, they entered upon the campaign with means inadequate to the end in view. It is probable that that error is now rectified on the Danube, but, remembering the exaggeration of their original force, it is wiser to suspend judgment on this head until events have demonstrated the true state of the case. The chances of success are still decidedly in their favor, if their leaders, like Skobeleff, Tergukassoff, Imeretinski, Ghourka, Radetzky, and a few others, prove that they have the ability to use aright the admirable qualities of the Russian soldiers.

GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN.

OCTOBER 12, 1877.

P. S. The information received since this article went to press appears to establish the fact that the Russian army in front of Kars has gained a success which is decisive of the campaign in that quarter, and will, if the season permits, possibly lead to the fall of Kars and Erzeroum before winter sets in. The probabilities of important successes for the Russians in Europe are still great.

OCTOBER 20.

Art. IV. — The Functions of Unbelief.

Mankind are divided by nature into believers and unbelievers almost as distinctly as they are into males and females. It is the propensity of some minds to doubt, as it is of others to have faith, and while some immediately accept, with childlike confidence, whatever is told them, others as promptly question it and demand proof. That this is not the result of wilfulness, but a constitutional trait which asserts itself instinctively, is shown by its manifestation in matters of every-day occurrence. One man will be contented with barely being told, for example, that the weather is cold or rainy, while another will ask for particulars, such as, how cold it is, or how much it is raining, and what opportunities his informant had for knowing the fact he relates. One will read a piece of news in a single newspaper, and rely upon it as true, whereas another will insist on seeing several versions of it, and even if it be favorable to his wishes, will not accept it till he has canvassed it with more or less thoroughness, and come to some kind of a conclusion respecting it other than that derived from a first impression. Wall Street veterans say that a man is a "bear" or a "bull" in stocks, not by choice, but by necessity. He has either a natural disposition to trust or a natural disposition to distrust, and operates accordingly. We need only to watch the conduct of our friends and associates to discover that the distinction is of wide prevalence, and that it holds good in all the business of life. It is true that the majority of people are naturally trustful, and that the doubters constitute the minority. The fact that false witness is forbidden by Divine commandment, and that the telling of lies is visited with social reprobation, indicates this preponderance of belief over unbelief. Were most men disposed to doubt, it would not be so great an evil to tell them untruths. They would investigate for themselves and detect the attempted imposture. But as, on the contrary, they are prone to give credence, they must be protected against being deceived. Nevertheless, the unbelievers are sufficient in number for unbelief to be an important factor in human development.

The form of unbelief which has made itself most conspicuous in all ages is that which relates to matters of religion. Most people being, as we have said, believers by nature, accept without question the religious ideas presented to them by persons they have been taught to confide in, and as religion deals with supremely important topics of life, the dissenters from established opinions in regard to it would be noticeable, even if they did no more than dissent. When, in addition, they express their doubts by the voice and by the pen, as they are prone to do, and raise all sorts of troublesome questions for believers to answer, they become also objects of dislike. It is the wind blowing against the tide, and rough water is the result. By as much as the concerns of the soul and of eternal life surpass those of the body and this world, by so much does a disturbance of what are conceived to be truths essential to one's spiritual well-being produce a disagreeable impression. It has thus come to pass among Christians, as among Mohammedans and men of all other faiths, that when a person is said to be an unbeliever, it is commonly understood that he is an unbeliever in religion, and that when unbelief is spoken of, it means unbelief of accepted religious doctrines. The odium, likewise, in which both the men and the thing are held is based almost exclusively upon their antagonism to religion, scepticism upon other subjects being little regarded. But, if unbelief is a bad thing in religion, it is bad in everything else, and if in everything else it is not bad or is even useful, it is not necessarily injurious and may be useful in religion. Believers, it is to be feared, have lost sight of this truth, and, in their vivid perception of the mischiefs wrought by unbelief, have failed to acknowledge as they ought its redeeming qualities. These, as we shall presently see, are by no means inconsiderable, and should reconcile us to its existence, though they may not commend it to our esteem.

As to the assertion often made, that unbelief is not a merely intellectual habit, but results from moral perversity, and that, if not a sin in itself, it leads to sin in other respects, it is hardly necessary to refute it. It was once a favorite argument with divines and religious writers, but latterly they have almost given it up. Indeed, they are now busy rather in repelling the accusation brought by sceptics against them, that their own principles are immoral, and the cause of immorality in practice. So far as

experience can settle the question, it shows that the lives of Benjamin Franklin, John Stuart Mill, Harriet Martineau, Theodore Parker, and other unbelievers are as little open to reproach as those of equally eminent champions of faith, while the revelations, of which we have had so many of late, proving that the profoundest religious feeling and the most decorous piety are not incompatible with pecuniary dishonesty, effectually dispose of the allegation that religion and morality are inseparable. As the Italian bravo on his way to commit a murder drops into the nearest church to implore the blessing of the Virgin Mary and the saints upon his undertaking, so the American church-member, in the midst of his embezzlements of money belonging to widows and orphans, does not intermit in the least either his family prayers or his attendance at public worship. It is not hypocrisy on the part of such men, but the simultaneous expression of two independent principles of their natures. The bravo assassinates and the dishonest trustee robs for pecuniary gain, and both engage in acts of devotion in obedience to their emotional impulses. They are none the less believers for being wicked, nor less wicked for believing. So a man may be upright in his conduct while lacking in religious faith, and neither will his integrity give him faith nor his want of faith destroy his integrity.

The precise functions of unbelief will best appear if we consider what would be the result of its suppression. Supposing that the state of affairs which many good people sigh for in regard to religion were to prevail both in regard to that and to all other subjects, and that there were no doubts, no questionings, no critical investigations, but a universal implicit acceptance of every assertion made by authorized teachers in every department of human knowledge? Would not the intellectual progress of the world come to a stand-still? If the scientific as well as the religious doctrines now held by the great majority of mankind could by some omnipotent decree be henceforth and forever shielded from objection and discussion, would not a stop be put to new discoveries? The Church of Rome did, indeed, once try the experiment, and succeeded in at least repressing the utterance of unbelief in what it had decided to be scientific as well as religious truth. It punished as a sin doubts of the Ptolemaic cosmogony as it did those of the inspiration of the Bible, and declared attacks upon the

Aristotelian philosophy to be attacks upon the foundations of faith and religion.* But to the extent that it accomplished its endeavors, it also produced a paralysis of the human intellect, and had it fully triumphed, stagnation and death would have overspread the intellectual world. Fortunately, unbelief was too strong to be thus silenced, and to its exertions we owe our present liberty. But the evil from which it delivered us then is the evil against which it guards us now, and a condemnation of it now as noxious or even as useless is ungratefully to deny its past benefits. More than this, unbelief is a conservative agency which prevents the spread of imposture and fanaticism. It has arrested the career of many an attempted fraud which would otherwise have triumphed. Without it Mormonism might have been as extensively received as Christianity, and Joanna Southcote had as many followers as Wesley. The vagaries of the Millerites might have taken their place by the side of the Thirty-nine Articles, and the wild dreams of Dr. Cumming have been received as sound expositions of prophecy. Unbelief submits to examination all these vain imaginings, and exposes their true character.

It is unquestionably vexatious to people who have made up their minds on any subject for others to come and suggest disquieting doubts, and what is more, to support those doubts by arguments which cannot be easily replied to. It is like being turned out of bed after one has settled down comfortably for a night's sleep. No wonder that in less civilized times such disturbers of the peace were treated with severity, and silenced by physical force; that the ancient Brahmans waged war with the innovating Buddhists, that the Jews stoned blasphemers to death, and that their priests crucified Christ, that Socrates was poisoned and Protagoras banished, and that the progress of Christianity during so many ages was marked with bloody persecutions of the enemies of orthodoxy. Even so late as the last century unbelief in religion was a political disability, and treated as a social crime, while the feelings with which many excellent people now regard such men as

* In 1624 three students were censured by the Faculty of Theology at Paris, and banished by the Parliament from the city, for sustaining in their theses propositions "quæ ex professo contra doctrinam Aristoteles, omnium philosophorum sine controversia principis, communemque omnium Academicorum consensum et usum militabant, et non nihil periculi adversus fidei principia involvere videbantur." — Epinois, *Procès de Galilée*, p. xix.

Arnold, Huxley, Tyndall, and Darwin in England, and Draper, Fisk, and Abbott in this country, need only stimulus and opportunity to burst forth into flames like those of Smithfield and Madrid. They forget that they are possibly roused, not from a wholesome repose, but from a torpor that leads to death, and that the disturbance they resent may be healthful and life-giving. They fail to see, too, that the doctrines for which they are ready to contend so zealously are based upon a denial of opposing doctrines which were once defended with equal zeal, and that in religion as in science they are now enjoying the benefit of work done by the unbelievers of a former age.

In fact, it may be said that every advance which the world has made in religious enlightenment it owes to the efforts of men inspired by a sentiment of unbelief in the accepted doctrines of their time. The doubts of the Jewish populace in regard to the authority of the Scribes and Pharisees prepared the way for the teachings of Christ, and his disciples had to brave not so much popular sentiment, as the hostility of ecclesiastical magnates. Paul, in turn, assailed the cherished belief of the original twelve Apostles in regard to the obligations of the Mosaic law, and was nearly torn in pieces for it at Jerusalem by a mob of their partisans. The Roman Empire did not accept the gospel until after its philosophers, poets, and satirists had destroyed all reverence in the people for their ancient gods and goddesses, so that even the priests and augurs, when they met in the street, laughed at the traditional absurdities they continued to perform. The work, however, was not effectually done for several centuries. The historian Gibbon relates that when the Emperor Theodosius, in the year 389, sent his Christian soldiers to destroy the temple and statue of Serapis at Alexandria, they hesitated to undertake the task, fearing the vengeance of the god, and that when, finally, one of their number, bolder than the rest, mounted his colossal image with an axe, and struck off its head, they gave a sigh of relief that no earthquake followed, and that no thunderbolt fell from heaven. Indeed, they still feared that the annual fertilizing inundation of the Nile would be withheld as a punishment for the sacrilege, and the occurrence of that event as usual removed a great weight from their minds. Christianity, having been fully established, its corruptions were assailed in turn by unbelief, and the Protestant Reformation, which had its beginning

in the denial of the efficacy of indulgences, was the result. The orthodox of the present day, again, reject much that was precious in the estimation of Luther, Calvin, and Melanchthon, and the process of elimination is not yet finished. Within the past few years, even, marked changes have taken place in religious opinion which are explainable only by the continued action of sceptical criticism.

To illustrate more particularly this modifying influence of unbelief upon religion, we need only recall the sentiments expressed, by the pulpits and the religious press on the occasion of the railroad disaster at Norwalk, Connecticut, in 1853, and those which have been elicited from them by recent calamities of the same character. Then there was a common cry that the terrible loss of life and limb, which plunged so many families into mourning, was an expression of Divine displeasure with the railroad company for running trains on Sundays, and the suggestion that the immediate sufferers had no part nor lot in the desecration of the Sabbath thus visited on their unlucky heads, was scorned as an argument of infidelity. Three years ago, however, the boiler of a Staten Island ferryboat exploded in New York on a Sunday afternoon, killing and maiming hundreds of Sunday pleasure-travellers; but, though the circumstances were aggravated far beyond those in the Norwalk case, no preacher nor writer of eminence ventured to suggest that God's wrath had been displayed in the occurrence. Again, when in 1865 Abraham Lincoln was shot in a theatre, his being in such a place was severely animadverted on, but the burning of the Brooklyn theatre last winter, with the loss of hundreds of lives, was suffered to pass without comment. Once, too, it was the regular practice to offer up prayers for rain in time of drought, but it so happened, not long ago, that a worthy Episcopalian bishop, having claimed a certain fall of rain as an answer to prayers to God made under his directions, he was met by the secular press with an array of news telegrams showing that this same rainstorm had caused floods which destroyed millions of dollars worth of property and many human lives. Since then we have heard little or nothing in this quarter of the world of praying for rain, and the practice here may be regarded as obsolete. These facts indicate how, under the influence of sceptical criticism, religious faith has been purged of the notion of a partial and pliable God,

and received in its stead the juster conception of a Being too wise to be taught by us and too good to dispense curses and blessings in a spirit of revenge and favoritism. That religion has gained by the change is evident, and it owes the gain to the efforts of unbelief.

No less an improvement is to be remarked in the prevalent ideas of religious people concerning their fellow-creatures. At the beginning of the present century they were taught that all human beings were under a curse which rendered them incapable of virtuous impulses or of righteous conduct, except by special dispensation from on high. The consequence was gloom and misery, a disregard of human happiness and the means that promote it, and a general harshness of behavior which made life to the tender-hearted a burden. The characteristics of a professor of religion were a sad countenance, ascetic self-denial, and a constant anxiety about his personal salvation. Some even went so far as to hold that a willingness to be damned was a prerequisite to being saved. All sorts of games and recreations were discouraged. Dancing was esteemed a deadly sin, and cards denounced as the Devil's picture-books. Even musical instruments were looked upon as snares to be avoided. Sunday was a day for strict repression of all customary employments, and marked by an unusual solemnity of deportment. Take it altogether, religion was made as uninviting and repulsive as possible, and that it now wears a more cheerful aspect is due entirely to the criticism of its former absurdities which it has received from unbelievers.

The great services which unbelief has rendered to science have already been mentioned, and they are the theme of too many tongues and pens to need further recounting here. Its benefits in political affairs are no less conspicuous. We celebrate annually the declaration of our independence of Great Britain, a step which was the outcome of a long and persistent war upon a political orthodoxy which taught that kings govern by divine right, and that the powers which be are ordained of God. Our whole political fabric is in like manner the fruit of successive rebellions against established political dogmas, and the sentiments of our most conservative citizens would appall even the radicals of Cromwell's time, and be pronounced dangerous by the moderate reformers of the last century. The same wholesome influence has modified our criminal

jurisprudence. Instead of punishing with death scores of minor offences, we enforce that penalty for murder alone, and even for that we are gradually substituting imprisonment. Sorcery and magic, which were once the pretext for so much cruelty, are treated with a wise neglect. An ermined sceptic, Sir Matthew Hale, sitting in the Court of Exchequer, put an end to the hanging of witches in England thirty years before the pious inhabitants of Massachusetts were taught by the extravagances of Salem to abolish the practice. During the whole of the controversy over the matter the advocates of the humane and enlightened view of it had to encounter the charge of being disbelievers in revealed truth, and carried their point against the combined influence of all the conservative elements of society. So, vaccination for the small-pox was introduced by questioners of the dogma that sickness and death were Divine dispensations which it was impious to seek to avoid; and the employment of ether and chloroform to mitigate the sufferings of women in childbirth owes its prevalence to the triumph of the same sagacious incredulity.

In assailing the long-cherished doctrine of the survival of the soul after the death of the body, and the continuance of its life in a future world, it would seem that unbelief had shown a wanton destructiveness which had no redeeming quality. But even in this case it has not been so useless as at first sight appears. If the doctrine of immortality be true, criticism cannot destroy its truth, but will, on the contrary, make it more apparent. In so far as unbelief, by calling it in question, teaches its advocates to demonstrate it more clearly, it does a good work; and so far as it proves it to be false, or even less well founded than is commonly supposed, it still does well. What men are concerned to know is not so much whether a life beyond the grave would or would not be a pleasant thing, but whether there be such a life at all. Unbelief does not assert that there is not, but only that there is no evidence that there is, and therefore that it is wiser for us to make the best of the life we have, and patiently await further revelations. Its criticisms have undoubtedly weakened the confidence of many in the certainty of a future existence, but they have, at the same time, diminished the abuses of which that confidence has been the cause. Instead of despising this world and its opportunities for happiness, and neglecting the blessings that lie within their reach,

men are gradually learning to do the divine will here and now, and to put into present practice those rules of conduct which they have been treating as only applicable to a future state. They see that even if there should be no heaven beyond and above this earth, it is possible to have a heaven upon the earth, by bending their energies to its creation. For, since true happiness is consistent only with obedience to the laws of our being, it is but reasonable to expect that by learning those laws and conforming to them we may attain happiness as surely in this stage of existence as in any which may be yet to come.

A similar comment may be made upon all the destructive work of unbelief. Sophistry can neither make nor unmake truth, and its efforts to demonstrate the existence of that which is not, or the non-existence of that which is, must necessarily prove futile. Sound argument alone can permanently establish any proposition, and if that argument be found to be opposed to hitherto accepted ideas, honesty requires that we acknowledge it. A cause that cannot endure assault, and to which the acknowledgment of a single defect is fatal, is not worth contending for. Religious doctrines, like all others, must necessarily partake of the imperfections of human nature, and whatever tends to correct and purify them is a benefit and not an injury. If in the process of examination some of them are found to be worthless, and are therefore rejected, it is no loss, but a gain. The discussions which are now going on so actively in Europe, and have begun to attract attention in this country, concerning the existence of a personal Deity, his work, if any, in creating and sustaining the universe, the relation between religion and ethics, the value of prayer, and all the connected class of subjects, can only tend to the final discovery and recognition of principles upon which mankind may repose with confidence. We have already seen what this process of inquiry has done in a few respects, and we may reasonably expect that its continuance will be equally useful in others.

All this, however, does not render unbelief in itself a more desirable state of mind, nor the lot of the unbeliever more enviable. He prides himself upon his enlightenment and liberty, but at what a price has he bought his so-called emancipation! The faith which to him is mere superstition is to the believer a source of unutterable peace and comfort. While he is anxiously inquiring and

investigating, and living like a stormy petrel upon a sea of perplexity and doubt, the believer is in a safe harbor taking his rest. He is forever seeking to know mysteries which cannot be revealed, neglecting the happiness that lies on the surface of things and is visible to the simple in heart. The Greek or Roman peasant, for whom every tree had its dryad and every brook its nymph, to whom the thunder was the voice of Jove and the sunshine the direct gift of Apollo, who poured out libations daily to the family deities, and offered the first fruits of the earth to Ceres and Pomona, was no less happy than the eager disputant of the Athenian schools who ridiculed his simple faith. So, the unquestioning Christian of the present day, who regards his Bible as containing the very words uttered by God, who feels that his daily life is hedged round by a supernatural guardianship, and who expects another life after this one is ended in the grave, enjoys a contentment which the sceptic may wonder at, but which he ought not to despise. Both are what they are in obedience to the laws of their mental natures, and while those laws compel them to differ in their views, neither has any right to revile the other.

THOMAS HITCHCOCK.

Art. V. — The Southern Question.

The words at the head of this article have exercised the public mind in the United States without any definite ascertainment of what they meant, at least for the unreflecting multitude. Has there ever been in a specific sense a "Southern question"? What was it? What is it? What will it continue to be? What will be its duration? What was its origin? What will be its solution? What is its present importance, whether it be still alive with its primitive vigor or turning into the yellow leaf of decay? What were and what are its effects and influences in a national point of view, assuming the complete and undisputed existence of our nationality to be established, after having been also a *question* for so long a time in which was involved, deeply laid within it, the other one, — the Southern question; for they became the *major* and the *minor* of a syllogism, with a *conclusion* ever to be remembered on this continent. These are the points which I intend to glance over in a necessarily short article, — short when compared to the magnitude of the subject, — to which full justice cannot be done without the development of considerations of political, civil, and social economy which would embrace a diversity of matters extending over too large an area.

The Southern question germinated on the first day when a slave was introduced into the thirteen North American colonies of Great Britain. It would have been the Northern or the Western question if slavery had been established in a remunerative form, and had taken such roots and such proportions as to have become a social, financial, and political institution in those sections, instead of the Southern part of the country. More than the artificial barrier between the Puritan and the Cavalier, more than the climate, more than the peculiarities of the productions of the soil, more than the antagonism of commercial or other interests, it made the South distinct from the North and West. The masters being whites, and the slaves blacks, there necessarily sprang up a domineering and proscriptive aristocracy in all its relations with the inferior class,

free or not, which belonged to the African race, whether their skin retained its original ebony color, or whether through several mongrel generations it had so approached the ivory complexion as to protect those who possessed it from detection by an inexperienced eye. But, although an implacable aristocracy in one sense, it was in another the broadest social democracy; for all the whites, poor or rich, ignorant or educated, were on a footing of equality. The proudest planter with a princely estate would hardly have ventured, at least in Louisiana, on refusing to seat at his table the humble pedler who stopped to sell his wares, and claimed his hospitality; if he employed a white mechanic, that mechanic ate with his own refined and delicately bred family. No Caucasian was ever sent to the kitchen, for that would have assimilated him to the black race, and put him on a level with slaves. The position, if attempted to be given, would not have been accepted, it would have been a forfeiture of caste, and would have been resented as an insult. There was a nobility in the white skin more sacred and more respected than the one derived from the letters-patent of kings. Thus the slavery of the blacks constituted a white aristocracy, and the equality resulting from the possession of that privileged complexion made of that aristocracy a democracy. It was a singular compound which had never existed before, and which made of the Southern people a peculiar one, difficult to be understood. It was the realization of the Janus face with its two different and antagonistic physiognomies; it was the typical double-headed eagle, but with only one big heart glowing with pride and defiance. It was a superiority of social position, and that superiority was resented with ill-dissembled impatience in those States where it did not prevail.

The writer of this article remembers a French nobleman saying to him after a sojourn of several months in Louisiana: "With you alone the feudal age still exists. With us it is a thing of the past. There are in Europe dukes and marquises, it is true. But what does it signify? It is an empty bawble, a vain title. What is a marquis without a marquisate? You Southern planters, you are high barons in reality, although not in name. You have vassals over whom you reign with absolute sway. Therefore you have all the virtues, qualities, defects, and vices of an aristocracy. Hence you are the born rulers of your country, because you have

from the cradle the instinct of command, and you inherit from generation to generation that intellectual and physical organization, that knowledge of human nature, that captivating refinement of tastes, that confiding geniality of manners, that innate self-possession and self-confidence which characterize you, with a natural tendency, besides, to those studies and pursuits which are productive of a race of statesmen, such, for instance, as are to be found in England. Therefore, as long as you retain your peculiar institution, you will remain what you are, and, although numerically in the minority, you will control the destinies of the Union." The sagacious Frenchman was not the only one who arrived at these conclusions. There was in them a logic which gave rise to the true "Southern question." The causes which procured for one section of the country a predominance over the rest were to be destroyed, cost what may. It became the most ruthless of all questions, — the question of power. It lay in a nutshell, but that shell was destined to explode with the force of a pent volcano. It soon swelled into a political Vesuvius, and showered upon the broad face of our country that irresistible lava of destruction, which has removed all landmarks, and perhaps will be found in the future to have changed the sectional aristocracy and sectional democracy, which operated as salutary checks and counter-checks upon one another, into a concentrated national despotism, that will run its predestined course.

At the North and West, the existence of the condition of things I have described not being found, there was a political democracy of whites, as with us at the South, but within that democracy there was a social aristocracy that did not recognize within its exclusive precincts the equality of the white skin. At the South the "white trash" claimed and enjoyed social equality with the wealthy, — an equality which sometimes asserted itself, not only in the courts of law, but also in the courts of honor, the jurisdiction of which was seldom declined by the parties interested, and there was no exception taken on the ground of rank and education. The "white trash" had its pride of birth, based on its Caucasian origin, which enabled it to look down on the inferiority of a much lower class. At the North and West the poor whites — I will not say the "white trash," the expression not being in use there — were compelled to bow to a more favored class, superior to them

by the accident of wealth, and with whom they could claim no social equality by virtue of a nobility of complexion. The cobbler would not have ventured to sit at dinner with the millionnaire at whose country mansion he had sought hospitality. Thus, at the South there was a democracy within an aristocracy, and at the North an aristocracy within a democracy. But the two aristocracies and the two democracies were very different. The aristocrats of the South were real ones. They were, or entitled to become, the masters of men. The aristocrats of the North were spurious; they assumed to be what they were not and could not be, from the very nature of the circumstances in which they were placed. They were wealthy merchants, shopkeepers, mechanics, manufacturers, speculators, brokers, bankers, but they were not barons after the fashion of the South, to use the expression of the Frenchman whose language I have quoted. It was evidently impossible that commonwealths so antagonistic in their fundamental organization should form a confederacy, without there being an incessant struggle for a reciprocal modification of their status. Hence the prediction of an "irrepressible conflict" which fell from the lips of a celebrated American statesman. In the South the population was divided into two parts, — the whites, who, rich or poor, ignorant or educated, constituted the privileged class, the Caucasian nobility, like the Magyar element of Hungary; then, the blacks who were slaves, and who, proud of their daily intercourse with the superior, the godlike race in their eyes, and exulting in a sort of good-natured familiarity in which they were indulged, were conscious at the same time of the importance which they derived from the social position of their masters, and enjoyed a protection and an exemption from the anxieties of life which made them look down upon the free negro, of pure or mixed blood, with a sense of great superiority. It was with contempt and derision that these were called "free niggers" by those who remained in servitude. The free colored man was the Pariah of the Southern commonwealth. He was the lowest step of the social ladder. It must be admitted, however, that some of that race, who had been emancipated, or had been born free, had risen, particularly in Louisiana, to wealth and to respectability in the estimation of the whites. Yet they occupied a status resembling that of the Jews in the mediæval ages, and it was a crime punishable with death for one of that

degraded class to strike a white man, however lightly he might weigh in the social scale. Hence, for a long time, to be bought by and to be the slave of one of that class was the most abject degradation into which a poor African could fall. If this statement be true, — and it will hardly be denied by anybody conversant with the South, — the different strata of the social body with us might be thus classified: the whites, the black or hybrid slaves, the black or hybrid freedmen, and the slaves of the freedmen.

Such was the condition, as I have briefly described it, of the aristocratic South and of the democratic North and West. The latter soon complained of the undue influence of the former in the affairs of the Union. Why undue? It was intellectual and not physical. The Southern States were inferior in population and in wealth. It cannot be material force that compels five able-bodied men to obey one. If it be true, as said by De Tocqueville, that the reign of democracy is the reign of mediocrity, and that aristocracies have always surpassed in statesmanship all the other forms of government, as witnessed by the histories of Rome, Venice, and England, the secret of Southern influence is found out. It arose from the peculiar institution which gave the South all the prestige and advantages of an aristocracy. This assertion, far from being refuted, is proved by the example of Athens, whose influence is still felt in the whole civilized world. What is called the democracy of Athens was aristocratic like the democracy of the Southern States, and much more so; it had nothing in common with modern democracies, as generally understood. Attica was a slave country. The Athenians, individually and collectively as a community, held slaves who worked, some for their masters and some for the commonwealth which owned them for the common welfare. Athens was not a democracy of plebeians, but rather of nobles, and I might say of demigods, for many of them claimed descent from the gods. They did not proclaim that all men were born free and equal, and recommend the amalgamation of races. They proclaimed the reverse. They thought themselves far above the rest of mankind, and they were. No foreigner could be naturalized among them, not even a Greek. As to the other nations, particularly the Asiatics, they were looked upon as utter barbarians. Nay, no one could be an Athenian except one of pure and unadulterated Attic blood through both sides of the house, and the son of Peri-

cles and Aspasia, the Ionian Greek, was not an Athenian, although born in Athens. It required a special law voted by these intense aristocrats to make him one of them, — that is, one of the gods of the earth who boasted of being the favorites and almost the companions of the gods of heaven. I am not here advocating or attacking aristocracies or democracies. I am merely stating facts, which the philosopher will admit, if they be denied by the politician or demagogue.

The clamor against the complained-of undue influence of the South over the affairs of the Federal government grew stronger at the North and West, in proportion as President after President from the South succeeded one another in Washington, and her statesmen asserted their authority in the halls of legislation at the national capital. The North and the West became more and more restive, and wondered at the cause of this phenomenon. What was the cause of it? It was instinctively felt, no doubt, although the masses who acted upon the impulse of that instinct did not admit the fact to themselves, and perhaps were not conscious of it, that the Southern preponderance, which created alarm and jealousy, was due to the peculiar institution. What other cause could there be for the Southern people being the masters in the Union as they were the masters of their slaves? Hence arose the slavery question, which was really an entirely political one under its humanitarian mask, at least for the leaders, and which it is not necessary here to present in all the phases and aspects which it assumed. There were many questions which agitated the North, the West, and the South, but they never went by the name of the Northern, the Western, or the Southern question. There never was but one purely sectional question,— emphatically known as the "Southern question,"— and that was the "slavery question"; it sprang in full armor from the Jupiter brow of the love of power,— a love of power which, through open or disguised attacks, by front or flank movements, aimed resolutely and incessantly at destroying the institution that produced a social, moral, and political idiosyncrasy in the South which was thought incompatible with that of the North and West. It was intended to have, as much as possible, a perfect assimilation between all the parts of the great republic. This could be done only by the abolition of slavery, which was the source of a white aristocracy, and then the South would cease to be dangerous, troublesome, and domineering.

The Missouri Compromise, the Fugitive Slave Law, and all the other measures adopted or rejected, which convulsed the people of the United States, and which were so fiercely and eloquently discussed in Congress, in the State legislatures, and in popular assemblies, were but incidents of the slavery or Southern question. They were eruptions on the surface of the national epidermis, for which political physicians prescribed, without daring to look into the cause which was buried in the entrails of the social body, and constituted the *real question.* Presidential elections turned upon it, and a gigantic war of four years' duration resulted in abolishing slavery, which empirics deemed a national evil, because of its producing Southern preponderance and solidification. What of the South at the present moment? Is it more or less solid than before? What of the Southern question? Has it perished with slavery? No, it has survived, say the North and West, more full of importance and vitality than ever. Why? The writer of this article may be permitted to answer: Because it is fanned into life from its ashes by the North and West; otherwise it would die a natural death, if let alone, as it has no natural cause of existence. The North and West should now be contented with the destruction of what they considered the cause of Southern predominance in the Union, and fold their huge democratic arms. Antæus has conquered Hercules, instead of being smothered by him; the Titans have pulled down the gods from high Olympus, and brought them down to the level of the sons of mother earth. The hated and envied aristocracy of the South has been so ploughed up and consumed that the strongest microscope could not discover a remaining vestige of it. From Maine to Florida the Tarquin rod has established a dead level of equality, and the oak is no longer permitted to tower over the reeds of humanity. Mediocrity is enthroned, with very few exceptions, in the seats of power all over the United States. The Washingtons, the Jeffersons, the Madisons, the Monroes, the Jacksons, have become antediluvian and the fossil productions of distant ages. The North and the West should be satisfied, for it is hardly to be expected that the South will continue to excel them in statesmanship, and control the destinies of the Union, as heretofore, by the superiority of its fitness to govern. Unfortunately for the hopes of the North and West, and for the expectations of those who thirsted for peace and its fruits, another question has sprung from the pre-

ceding and dead one, like the phœnix from its funereal pile, and it is a more difficult and startling one than the slavery question. It is the free-negro question and its solution. It is bound to solidify the Southern States more than the slavery question, because it is no longer a mere question of property, of individual or sectional wealth, or of political power, but a question of self-preservation, of civilization, and of the maintenance of the purity of a superior race. It is still the Southern question *par excellence*, but under a more terrible form. The creeping worm has been transformed into the winged insect of destruction.

Let us laconically consider the condition in which the war left the Southern States. Their white population had been more than decimated, and the greater portion of those who survived found themselves deprived of all their former civil and political rights, with which their former slaves were now invested. Those slaves were spontaneously transformed into a real aristocracy, proclaimed to be the wards and pets of the conqueror, whilst the former aristocrats had been reduced to be the servants of servants. It was a return to first principles, according to the Darwinian theory. The closest resemblance to ancestry may have given to those who possessed it the right to govern those who had departed the most, mentally and physically, from the original type. On that score the primogeniture of the negro could not be contested, and may have been the cause of the superior rank which was allotted to him. Not only were the whites trodden down into unsurpassed humiliation, but they were also ground into the most abject poverty. The whole surface of the Southern States was no longer invaded by armed hosts, but by what was worse, — hordes of plunderers, who came to help the negroes with their superior intelligence in gleaning what was left, that is, as an English writer said, "the top-boots and the breeches of the Southern planter." All the honesty and intelligence of the country were driven out of sight into nooks, corners, and rat-holes, and the Southern States were delivered to the merciless legislation of ignorant negroes, acting blindly under the guidance of white leaders, the majority of whom will be eternally gibbeted in history under the appellations of carpet-baggers and scalawags. A recapitulation of the pecuniary losses of the South would stagger the imagination, and would swell too much the proportions of this

essay. Suffice it to say that the reputed indolent and helpless Sardanapalus of the South accepted his fate without unmanly murmurs, and went to work as if he had done nothing else since his infancy. His effeminate soft hand grasped the plough with more energy than had ever been done by his former slave; and the stately matron went with a serene smile to the kitchen and to the washtub. Blood will tell, notwithstanding the levelling doctrines of a mad age. I knew a lady in Europe who, when shrouded in costly lace and ablaze with diamonds, always wore on her breast a twopenny copper pin. During the French emigration which had preceded and followed the horrors of 1793, her noble father, too proud to beg, had supported life by manufacturing pins and huckstering them in the streets of the cities of Germany. At the restoration of the Bourbons he brought to his daughter one of those pins, and it was the one she wore, saying to me, "It is the most precious of all my jewels." Like the French nobleman, the South, in her adversity, has been manufacturing twopenny copper pins, which I hope will also be exhibited with pride by her posterity, when the days of prosperity shall return. All that she asked, in the mean time, was to be let alone in her humble struggle for bread. For twelve years this boon was refused. What was the consequence? What was bad grew worse every day, until, a better feeling prevailing at last at the North and West, military rule in the South was gradually relaxed, and is now entirely removed. This is auspicious, and promises halcyon days.

What is, however, our present condition? Not only are we desperately poor, but we have been sick so long that it is impossible to entertain any hope of a prompt convalescence. Industry is paralyzed, property is of no value, the taxes for the support of government can hardly be paid, commerce is at a dead stand, agriculture is hardly remunerative, and demoralization is rampant everywhere. In the midst of all the calamities they have gone through, during such trials as were seldom inflicted on the human family, if the population had been homogeneous and entirely of the noble and unconquerable Caucasian race, which has been created to take gradual possession of this globe, and carry civilization around its circumference, and whose fortitude is equal to any of the extremes of adversity, still the condition of the people of the

South would be such as to deserve to enlist the sympathies of the world in general, and particularly of our sister States at the North and West. What crimes could have been committed which had not been expiated by our long tortures? But this was not enough. When reduced to the last extremity of distress, when, panting and exhausted, we are left to find our way, unimpeded now, through a labyrinth of woes, we are called upon to meet the climax of them all, and to struggle against the most terrible curse which can afflict a country, — that of having face to face two races which are as different as day and night, and which can never fuse into a natural and harmonious whole.

The question of races is now the only Southern question. It came to life on the death-bed of the late Southern confederacy. To give a clearer view of it by narrowing the area which the eye is to embrace, let us confine it to Louisiana, with the remark that what will be said of Louisiana applies with more or less force to the other Southern States. From the surrender of General Lee to the hour when the Federal troops were withdrawn by President Hayes, the destinies of the State were in the hands of the emancipated negroes, whose only claim to pre-eminence was, that they constitute a race which it was intended to favor, and with which coalesced a band of white adventurers who had come to the subjugated South like vultures to the battle-field. The Federal government, in the hands of the Republican party, adopted the negroes, insomuch as they were a race, as its wards, passed laws for their special protection as a race, and in reality subjected the white race to the black. The former slaves had become a privileged class and domineered over their former masters. The State was delivered to the organized pillage of the blacks, and the whites were driven to desperation. To maintain this condition of things it was necessary that the Federal government should, in open violation of constitutions, laws, and vested rights, stretch its mighty arm to keep the weaker race on the top of the stronger one. Hence the social body was inverted; the feet were up and the head down. There was such a bubbling up of scum to the surface of the boiling caldron as had never been seen before, and Swift's fictitious story of the Yahoos became a reality. This language is not too strong. It is impossible to find in history that a conqueror systematically took the most ignorant portion of a conquered pop-

ulation, — the ploughmen, the stable valets, the scavengers, — whose intelligence and habits were of the lowest, to make them governors, legislators, judges, and the rulers of wealthy provinces. When Caracalla made his horse consul, it was intended probably as a contemptuous sneer at the Roman people. The noble quadruped could do no harm in his office. But when bipeds hardly superior to Caracalla's horse were armed with judicial, legislative, and executive power in the South, it was a terrible, stubborn, living fact, not an idle jest, and we are still suffering from the consequences. Socrates, proclaimed by divine authority the wisest of mankind, is reported to have said that "he who attempted to be the ruler of men without having the necessary qualifications was a great deal worse than a parricide." It means, I suppose, that if it be monstrous to give the withering and slow-killing poison of the Borgias to a father, it is still more horrible to administer it to a whole people. But the poor negro, when he left his field and his hut to enter the halls of legislation and to preside in courts of justice, had not sense enough to know what he was doing. Therefore he is not to be blamed. The dagger which strikes is guiltless; it is the hand that wields it which is criminal. The conqueror, therefore, who used these instruments of darkness and ignorance to rule civilized communities, after the fashion he did, committed a crime worse than that of parricide, according to Socrates. Two motives only can be assigned to the unprecedented cause which he pursued: first, to gratify a deep-rooted resentment against the States which it had cost him so much to subjugate. An ocean of blood and an ocean of gold had been called up from their vast reservoirs, and had combined to submerge a resistance which threatened the North and West with appalling ruin. Hence the angry flood of chastisement was to be as sweeping as the magnitude of the crime was supposed to be, and every vestige of a resistance and of resources which had inspired such terrors was to be forever removed. Popular wrath, more terrible than that of God, which is always tempered by mercy, and which is perhaps mercy itself in disguise, seemed to have pronounced the celebrated words, *Delenda est Carthago*, as much as possible. This may have been one cause of action. The second was, according to the evidence found in the Draconian record of facts known to all, the settled and inflexible determination of the victorious Republican

party, North and West, to secure the continuance of its domination over the South, destined to be, as it fondly believed, the impregnable citadel of the power which it intended long to exercise over the whole Union. Five millions of blacks, whom it claimed to have set free from the gushing impulse of the broadest philanthropy, and not from the stern necessities of war, or the sordid calculations of self-interest, were to be solidified into a unit for the profit of the Republican party, and that solid faction could be kept together only by the cohesion of plunder cemented by irresponsible power, however reckless in its exercise. Of course, gratitude was kept out of sight by the experienced manipulators of the scheme.

It required no supernatual gift of vision to foresee what would be the result of the conqueror's resentful and over-ambitious policy for the States where it was to be implanted, particularly in Louisiana and South Carolina, where the dark element of misrule predominated. In these two States there was such a topsy-turvy condition of things as to baffle description and defy belief. It was a pandemonium, not of those grand spirits described by Milton, who had waged war against the Almighty, and bore on their haughty and unbending foreheads the marks of his blasting wrath, and had yielded only to the thunderbolt of Omnipotence, but a kitchen uprising of impish dwarfs, of creeping things used to the chains of servitude, crouching under the flagellation of centuries, and relying for their support on outside power; for in themselves there was nothing. There was flesh and blood, such as it was, but no intellectual and moral entity whatever. The excesses perpetrated under this reign of insane power are such, that they will have to be softened by the historian, because truth would appear too much like exaggeration to be believed by posterity, and the indicted culprits would derive protection and gain acquittal because of the very enormity of their crimes. Nothing can be more painful to an American than to relate, that these saturnalia of the most brutish appetites, that this domination of ignorance over knowledge, of barbarism over civilization, of matter over spirit, lasted fully twelve years under the flag and bayonets of the United States. Admitting that rebellion against the best of governments was an unpardonable crime, was not the punishment disproportionately severe, and has it not recoiled on those who inflicted

it? What could be a more heinous sin than the rebellion of the first man against his Creator? We know the decree of God against him and his posterity. It was not that of subjection to the gorilla. Even in the works of the imagination there is a poetical justice to be observed. Shakespeare would have violated its rules, and shocked the delicate sense of propriety which is more or less developed in our nature, if he had made Ariel the slave of Caliban instead of Prospero.

I mention these things, not in a harsh spirit of recrimination, but to explain the open and occult resistance which they met at the South. The probing of a wound is a painful process, but is necessary for its cure. If the North and West wish to analyze and understand the Southern heart, they must permit the South to tell them frankly and calmly, for the purpose of enlightening, not of offending, the feelings which prevail in that region and its view of the treatment to which it was subjected. If the South is wrong, if it is morally and intellectually diseased, the diagnostics of that infirmity must be ascertained correctly, in order to provide for the remedy. I shall therefore proceed with the diagnosis of the Southern question. Oblivious of animosities which should be things of the past, as are those acts which produced them, the North and West should only think of that bleeding member of their family who lies prostrate at their feet, and who, being prostrate, ought to be safe from further blows at the hands of an alien foe, and, with much more reason, of a domestic one. Justly or unjustly, the North and West struck the fatal blow. If they wielded the lance of Achilles, — and no other could have conquered us, — they ought to remember that it cured the wounds which it inflicted.

If the statements I have made are true, — and there are, indeed, very few Southern men who will not swear to their truth, — the policy of the Federal government since the collapse of the "lost cause" could not but have met at the South with the most determined resistance on the part of those who suffered from it, and that resistance culminated at last in the gubernatorial struggles between Nicholls and Packard, Hampton and Chamberlain. But these struggles were mere episodes of the Southern question; they were not *the* question. Thus, the lightning that rives the thick-ribbed oak is not the storm, but proceeds from it. It is an effect, and the details of the effect may amuse curiosity. The

main point, however, is to prevent the storm, or to control it. The long series of secret societies rioting in blood, of assassinations and outrages of all sorts alleged to have been committed, were the eruptions of smoke, rock, flame, and lava, which indicated the throes of the now slumbering and now active volcano. They are in themselves unworthy of being dwelt upon; it is the volcano which is to be extinguished by removing the cause that gave it life. At last it was discovered that this warfare against the principles of government on which the United States rested could not be kept up any longer. The common-sense of the people, North and West, awoke from its lethargy, and it became a political necessity to restore self-government to Louisiana and South Carolina, as it had been re-established in the other Southern States, one after the other. The pressure of the Federal foot has been withdrawn, a deep sigh of relief has heaved out of the breast on which its iron heel had been placed, the whites have been re-enfranchised and have risen to perfect equality with the blacks, whilst both populations are enjoying together, in apparent contentment, the milk and honey of the Fifteenth Amendment under the broad fig-tree of the Constitution of the United States. Is the Southern question settled? Not at all. It is more difficult of solution than ever, for it is no longer, how the slaves shall acquire their freedom, but how, being free, they shall live in harmony with their former masters. This turns on another question, — the question of races, which has attracted for so many centuries the attention of the historian, the physiologist, the philosopher, and the statesman.

I will not exhaust the lores of history to show the interminable conflicts of races when they attempt to settle in the same country, as long as the weaker does not merge into the stronger, or consents to be subservient to its interests or prejudices, in an acknowledged condition of inferiority, nor shall I dwell on that mysterious law of Providence which seems to compel certain races to move from their cradles, when the predestined hour has struck, and go onward in the pointed direction, to hunt as it were after other races which that Providence had originally placed at a long distance, and which in the end it brings together, in order that one should wipe the other out of existence. The annals of the earth, written and unwritten, existing in traditions and history, or inscribed as it

were by the finger of God on the very rocks of the globe, testify as to those human waves succeeding one another with the same uniform effect of submerging what they encountered, and sometimes sparing only strange relics and unaccountable monuments which are silent witnesses to the past existence of those who left no other record. The same organized system of destruction of the weak by the strong is admitted to prevail among all animated nature. Animals, birds, insects, fishes, the dwellers of the air, of the land, and of the sea, even the innumerable families of the vegetable kingdom, — all are subjected to the same progress, the same securing decree, — inferiority never being permitted to cohabit amicably with superiority, but perishing under its inimical contact, to make room for higher organizations. *Dura lex*, it may be, *sed lex*. It is the law; man may retard, but can he prevent its final execution? This is the difficulty we are called upon to meet, and this the problem to solve in the South, and particularly in Louisiana. We are expected to do what has never been done before. We have now in this State two races as distinct as nature could make them, equal in numbers and in the possession of the same political and civil rights, gradually and strongly squinting toward social equality. Is not the magnitude of our task, and, I may say, the horrors of the experiment forced upon us, sufficiently appalling, to enlist sympathies and assistance, instead of detraction and opposition?

I have described the condition of the whites since the war; I now proceed to do the same for the blacks. Their emancipation has made the two races more distinct and antagonistical. When slavery existed as an institution, there was a kindlier feeling than now on the part of the whites for the population of color, in bondage or free, because their superiority was not questioned. On one side, at least, there was not the memory of inflicted wrong, and the resentment resulting from adverse pretensions. The majestic oak looked complacently upon the thriving shrubs below its broad canopy, but when the undergrowth aspired to rival the towering proportions of the monarch of the forest, the frown of the royal displeasure manifested itself. In the days of the acknowledged inferiority established by long usage and by law, the consequences of familiarity were not so much to be avoided by the superior race, and the indulgence of the master for his slave was much

greater than any that ever was granted by the master to his hired servant in free countries. The want of respect and subordination frequently exhibited, with the boldest freedom of language and manner, could be only tolerated by conscious and undisputed superiority, resting, as it was then thought, on the strongest of all laws, — the laws of nature, by which was established the immense distance existing between the white and black. Notwithstanding that distance there were many instances of culpable sexual intercourse between the white man and the black woman, as testified by the existence of a population marked by the variety of the hues of its complexion. Gentlemen occupying a high position were known to have colored families, to which they bequeathed large fortunes. Thus there arose by degrees a considerable population, neither black nor white, but composed of hybrids, in whom the white blood predominated more or less. Those in whose veins it was the most abundant prided themselves upon that circumstance, and considered themselves as superior to those who had not that advantage to the same degree. Gentlemen of culture, and even filling the first offices of the State, associated with the female part of those families, but not with the male; brothers, for instance, were not permitted to be in the parlor where their sisters flirted, nor to go to the balls where those hybrid beauties met their Caucasian admirers. They stopped at the door, not possessing that aristocracy of sex which was a passport. Nothing of the kind any longer exists. A gentleman living conjugally with a colored woman, or even indulging in flitting amours, would be tabooed, and the woman would be repudiated by those of her class. No longer are black nurses allowed to kiss or spank white children; no longer are old black men and women greeted by white youths with the endearing appellations of *uncle* and *aunty*. The black servants refuse to sleep under the roof of their white employers, — I will not say masters, that would be offensive, — but have their rooms elsewhere. They have their clubs and societies like the whites; and except the few who are Catholics, refuse to worship God in the same temples with the other race. They have their own churches and their own ministers. If, as workmen, they strike for higher wages or less labor, it is in the name of *their race;* and whatever they claim politically and civilly it is *as a race.* Exceedingly gregarious, they are tenacious of their habits and

peculiarities *as a race;* and, being remarkably feeble-minded and dependent individually, they feel that it is only by their associated strength *as a race* that they are anything. In addition to these natural dispositions on their part, the political and civil rights with which they have been invested since their emancipation having been exerted by them in a manner which has generally been thought offensive, and almost always dangerous to the whites, it has alienated the latter, and driven the two races more apart. The credulous presumption of the negro exceeds belief. When he was set free he really thought, in a vague and confused manner, that there had been at last discovered in his race some hidden excellence which he could not precisely account for to himself, but which had become too patent to be denied; that, being a negro, it was natural that he should be put above his former white master, who, in his opinion, could not have made a living without him, although he was convinced, nevertheless, as an article of faith, that his Southern master was far above any Northern or Western man, whom he would always whip in a fair fight. He believed that he would be pampered in idleness by the liberating government; that he would work no more, or very little; that he would at least have forty acres and a mule assigned to him, with provisions, out of the possessions of the subjugated whites; and that the former slaves were called upon to rule in their turn, because they had served before. Even after years of patient and fruitless waiting for the happening of something which will supply them, without the necessity of labor, with all they need, they still crowd densely around the State House whenever the legislature in which figure negro representatives is in session. Fixing their eyes steadfastly on the walls of the building, with gaping mouths, in the vain hope that some celestial manna may fall into the aperture, there they stand the whole day, braving cold and rain, and returning on the next morning to gaze vacantly at the same imaginary object. Strangers passing by wonder at this sad spectacle of idiocy. As to the women, they soon became *ladies*, and would not labor either in the field or in the household. Even at the present day those whom the necessities of life have compelled to resume their former menial occupations do it with reluctance and as a favor bestowed; refusing, as I have already related, to sleep under the roof of their employ-

ers. That, in their uncouth ideas, would be a badge of servitude. So resolute are the men to assert and maintain their equality, if not their supremacy, as a race, that they claim the right to supply us with governors, United States Senators, and fill every office, no matter how far above their capacity. The blacks are as numerous as the whites in Louisiana, and aspire to half of the offices in the gift of the State and of the Federal government within the State, because of their color and race. They ignore the Fifteenth Amendment, which they consider to have been adopted as a stumbling-block in the way of the whites. Of course it does not apply to them, and it is understood that there must be a secret, if not an open, discrimination of race and color in their behalf. Without their assistance the Rebels could not have been subdued, and therefore too much cannot be done for them. This difference must be particularly noticed between the two races. On every occasion the negro asserts his race as a robust fact, giving him title to what he claims, independently of right and capacity. It is not so with the white man. The reason is that the negro does not know what official capacity, fitness, or adaptation means; and I am inclined to believe that there is hardly one of them who, being informed that he had been elected President of the United States by some incomprehensible hocus-pocus, would not enter upon the duties of that exalted office without the slightest misgiving.

This negro element contains within itself another element, *imperium in imperio*, which is the hybrid element, much the smaller, but most potent for action and influence. I have already stated that the negro, when a slave, looked down with contempt and aversion on the mulatto, whom he considered as not of pure blood like himself, and whom he called a "mule." On the other hand, this "mule," proud of an admixture of nobler blood, despised the black dray-horse of labor, and in this way the mulatto or quadroon, or whatever was his degree of hybridity, acknowledged the superiority of the race from which he partly proceeded, and which he hated and taxed with injustice because rejected from its ranks, forgetful, as he was, of the stern logic, that if he (the hybrid) was superior to the black because of the admixture of Caucasian blood, he (the Caucasian) had the right to keep aloof from his inferior (the hybrid) because of the admixture of African blood, the hybrid being thus judged according to the law laid down by himself.

The hybrid is right in one respect, which is, that, inferior in muscle and brute force, he is far superior to the black in intelligence, and more susceptible of a higher degree of civilization in proportion to the quantity of Caucasian blood which he has in his veins. The hybrid is therefore convicted, on his own testimony, of acknowledging the superiority of the white race. If that is the case, what right has he to complain of the superiority over him claimed by the white man, who has no other fluid in his veins than that blood of which a mere portion is the title of the hybrid to a higher rank? Surely a bottle of half wine and half water never was equal to a bottle of pure wine. Of that class there are about a hundred in Louisiana, who have made themselves conspicuous by the ambitious pruriency of their pretensions. Without them the negro element would be perfectly quiet and manageable. The negro, as a race, has never aspired, nor will ever aspire, to an equality with the white race. Nature, which is a kind mother, has put infallible instincts within every created and animated thing for self-preservation, and the negro instinctively feels that equality or the coveted fraternal embrace of the white man would be the rugged and deadly hug of the bear. What he wants is kind words, a smiling face to greet him, reasonable wages, as little labor as possible, indulgence of sensual appetites, and a hot sun to bask in. But he is goaded into a feverish state of unnatural ambition by designing white men and by discontented hybrids, who, for interested purposes, call themselves the representatives of a race which they abhor, because the blood of that race is the innocent cause of their humiliation. How a hybrid can be the representative of any race on the ground of blood, is what common-sense cannot understand. The hybrid, I know, says to the white man, It is because you reject me, that I throw myself into the ranks of the blacks. But would his adoption make him a representative of the white race? Certainly not, no more than the adoption of a white man by the blacks would make him a representative of their race. If it means merely that the hybrid, having by blood more affinity with the negro, is a safer representative of his feelings and interests than the white man, it would be agreed to, if it was not known beyond controversy that the hybrid is more anxious than the white man to keep himself aloof from the negro, and has more repugnance for association in good faith with him, on a footing of equality, than ever was enter-

tained by the haughtiest Caucasian. No; the truth is, that the negro is the black screen behind which the hybrid moves onward from the enjoyment of political and social rights to social equality, oblivious, in the intense selfishness of his desire, that if there should be social equality for him, there must be the same for the negro. He openly says, it is true, that, as there is no social equality among the whites, he does not claim it as between himself and his ivory-skinned fellow-citizens. But the example or comparison cited does not apply. The rough uneducated white man does not pretend to social equality with the men and women of culture of his race, and does not repine at not obtaining it, because the reason of the exclusion is not galling to him. He or his children may in time attain to that boon by qualifying themselves for it. But the negro or hybrid, who is ostracized from that magic circle of social equality, can never hope to enter it, because no degree of refinement or education can entitle him, or his posterity, if traceable to their origin to overleap the insurmountable barrier of exclusion. This alone would convert Eden into hell for him. Hence he raves when mixed schools are opposed, and is willing that his children should sit on the academic bench with the darkest negro lad on one side, provided a white boy should sit on the other. It might be the cradle, as he hopes, of social equality, not, be it understood, between the hybrid and the negro, but between the white and the hybrid, and the proof of it is, that should there be distinct schools for the distinct races, the hybrid says, with a voice choked with indignation, that he will rather murder his children than send them to the black schools, and yet he claims politically to be the representative of the black race; and although the hybrids are comparatively a handful in Louisiana, they obtain a much greater number of offices from presidents and governors than the pure race. It is an unjust farce. It was, however, the same thing in St. Domingo, where the hybrid made a tool of the full-blooded African, and it is the same thing everywhere else, whether it be Indian, Mongolian, or African hybridism, proceeding from sexual intercourse with the white race. The superiority of the Caucasian blood, even in infinitesimal doses, always tells.

Of that injustice the black man begins to complain, and asks to be represented by himself and not by the hybrid, and as he is twenty times more numerous than the hybrid, what will become

in the end, of that unfortunate class, neither white nor black, hanging like Mohammed's coffin between heaven and earth, and rejected by the two races from which he proceeds? It is impossible to have too much pity for the condition in which they are; nothing could be more cowardly than to outrage their feelings voluntarily; they are entitled to address well-merited reproaches to their Caucasian parents. It must be admitted that nothing can be more bitter for the created than to be disowned by the Creator for no other reason than the humiliating recollection of the mode of creation. But let them remember that it is the law that we should be cursed for our parents' sins, whites and blacks. So far as I am personally concerned, I have no hesitation in saying, so intense is my love for intellect, honesty, and high-mindedness, that I would rather breakfast, dine, and sup, and even sleep, with a noble-hearted, refined, and classically educated hybrid than with a dishonest, ignorant, and brutish white man. Nay, in my paroxysm of admiration for those attributes of the head and heart which elevate civilized man above the condition of the savage, I would much prefer seeing as governor of Louisiana, or as President of the United States, a full-blooded negro, as dark as Erebus, with Hyperion's beauty of intellect, if not of physical form, than a Caucasian as white as mountain snow, but deformed in mind and heart, giving an incessant lie to the expected excellences of his race, and rejoicing, as it were, in being a cheat to others and to himself. After having said as much, I will insist, for the interest of both the black and white races, that they be kept as distinct as possible, and more distinct than ever; and the hybrids should insist on it more strenuously than I do. Let them set their faces against the increase of their unfortunate class by the cohabitation of the black with the Caucasian. Should they steadfastly adhere to this resolution, and make it an inflexible rule; should they separate themselves more and more from the black race, instead of falsely asserting to be its representatives; should they faithfully obey the instinct which prompts them to do so, their temporary sacrifices of wounded pride and of flitting interests will be rewarded in due time, if not in themselves, at least in their descendants. They will not, it is true, break open by violence the gates of the lofty range of the mountains of the Caucasus, at whose summits in the distance they look with so much envy, but they

will gradually, as many families of their class have done before, climb stealthily, under the friendly winking of the sentinels and through secret paths, to the snow-capped region they covet, after having patiently assimilated themselves to its occupants. May it be the fate of the last of the hybrids, and may thus the recollection of wrongs be forever obliterated! It must be the result of the masterly inactivity of patience. Patience! I know it is a hard word, but it works wonders. Have not the Jews waited eighteen hundred years under much worse afflictions? This advice will probably be angrily received. I am conscious, however, that it is given in all kindness, and with it I dismiss all further remarks on a class among whom there are many who, it is a pleasure to me to declare, are entitled to the highest tribute of respect and esteem.

I have said already, and I repeat, that the white race and the black race are drawing farther apart every day, notwithstanding the time-serving asseverations of politicians to the contrary. The negro insists that, in the distribution of State and Federal patronage, so many offices should be reserved as belonging to his race, in proportion to its numbers, and in these pretensions it is to be regretted that he is encouraged by governors and presidents, who, in so doing, have certainly not the intention of perjuring themselves, but who, nevertheless, give a violent twist to their official oath. Constitutionally, it is a violation of the Fifteenth Amendment; morally, it is an outrage to the spirit of our institutions, which requires that merit only should be the basis of reward and preferment; as a matter of policy, it is wrong, because it is nothing but an expedient; statesmen worthy of the name do not deal in expedients, but in the application of principles founded on the rock of truth.

Before the abolition of slavery in the manner it was done, right or wrong, and before the Federal Government meddled with that question, the United States contained the most prosperous people on the world. How different is their condition now! It is asserted that in the North and West of our grand Republic there is on an average a pauper out of every ten souls, and in the richest portion — the State of New York — one in every thirteen souls, to be supported by its government! There is a general paralysis from Maine to Florida, and the Federal debt, the indebtedness of the States

respectively, of the municipal and private corporations, and of individuals, produce a total that may be said to constitute a mortgage larger in amount than the public and private property throughout the United States; and that property itself has diminished one half in value. If it be true that to be in debt is to be in bondage, then out of forty millions of Americans, there are thirty-five millions of white slaves, and five millions of free blacks; the blacks being the only ones among us who are not in debt, — for a very good reason, because they have no property and no credit. If this has been the result of the solution of the slavery question, ought it not to make the North and West more cautious as to meddling with the free-negro question? The sooner to settle it, and the safer way of proceeding, is to leave it entirely to the Southern States, in which the evil lies. There is no reason why it should rise to the dignity of a national question, and therefore it should not be allowed to be made a party question; for all party questions are bound to be more or less national, and if the poor negro should much longer be made the pivot of national strife between thirty or forty millions of whites, it is evident that it will not be long before he will be ground to dust between the upper and the nether stone. In mercy to our amiable, gentle, and docile black fellow-citizen when he is left to himself and to his proper sphere, we earnestly beg the blind philanthropists of the age not to shove him like a log of wood into the hot furnace of political cremation. We do not wish him to be consumed into cinders, but we kindly intend, if permitted, to nurse and to guide him, for he requires careful nursing and guiding into as useful and happy a condition as his nature will allow. With that benevolent end in view, let the negro question be no longer a political one; let it be what it should really be, — a mere police question. That question itself is sufficiently difficult to be treated with all the skill of which the South is susceptible, and with all the moral assistance and encouraging sympathy it has the right to expect from the North and West. Need they be told that they cannot but be vitally affected by a cancer even in the most distant part of the great Federal body to which they belong?

The truth must be plainly, firmly, respectfully told. The Southern man owes it to himself to say emphatically, that he will keep forever distinct the white race from the black, in obedience to the

law of God which has established that distinction. This sense of duty is in the soul of every Southern man and woman; it springs in the heart of every Northern or Western man, and of every European, six months at furthest after having settled among us, although, for considerations of policy, a different sentiment may find passage through his reluctant lips. There never will be peace and prosperity in the Southern States as long as Caucasian supremacy shall be opposed there. Force may temporarily bend the white man's proud head under negro rule, — his own free will, never; for it would be one of those crimes which the French call *contre nature*. What, then, does the Southern white man intend to do with the black race? Oppress or annihilate those weak beings? Neither the one nor the other. The black man did not come to us; our ancestors went to him, and brought him here by force. His presence has turned out to be a curse, but it is a curse of our own hatching, and we must not make it worse by perpetrating a greater crime than our predecessors did. We were, in general, kind masters, and they, on the whole, were dutiful slaves, even affectionate to a certain degree. During the war, and after, they behaved to us as well as could be expected. We have no resentment to entertain against them, but for the sake of the negro and of ourselves we must maintain our supremacy. We cannot justly be called upon by blind benevolence or ignorant fanaticism or party dictation to do what could not be expected from any other people. Suppose our negroes were transported to Massachusetts, and composed half of the population of that Commonwealth, would the sons of the sturdy old Puritans melt into such tender philanthropy as to permit those negroes to occupy half of the offices of that State, and claim one of the two Senators and half of the Representatives in Congress? If half of the population of England were composed of Hindoos, would half of its government be granted to men whom every Englishman would consider his inferior? Surely there is no country that carries so far as France the crazy doctrine of universal equality and fraternity, and yet should five millions of negroes migrate to France, and, on the ground of their constituting one sixth of its population, arrogantly claim one sixth of the civil and military offices of that most liberal of all commonwealths, not by virtue of capacity, but of the black or bronze color of their skin, what Gallic explosion would there

not be, scaring the timid sons of Ham out of their little wits forever? This is not the way we are disposed to solve the free-negro question.

The Federal bayonets having been withdrawn, self-government having been restored to us, and trust put in our humanity and statesmanship, we intend to control the negro vote by superior intelligence, by persuasion, and not by violence. It is to the white man that he confides his private interests. It is he whom he takes for his agent, his representative, his adviser, and his protector in all the transactions of life. It is particularly the Southern white man, and above all his former master, that he will prefer intrusting with his money, or consulting about the disposition of it. If left to his own instinct or judgment, and not biased by the misrepresentations and slanders of certain demons of discord, he will also trust his superior white friend with the management of his political affairs, and he will have his share in the general prosperity that will be the result of peace and reciprocal good-will between the two races. It is not improbable that, such being the case, there will be an attempt from Northern and Western quarters to curtail or abolish entirely the franchises forced upon the negroes against the will of the Southern whites. The strange and anomalous spectacle may then be presented to the world, of these very whites stoutly defending and maintaining the rights of the blacks.

It is to be hoped that the solution of the free-negro question will be left entirely to those who best understand its difficulties and are the most interested in surmounting them to the satisfaction and welfare of whites and blacks. The Federal government may retain a general supervision over the practical workings of the question, and interfere in case of manifest necessity. Mere supervision is not feared by the South; it purposes to violate no rights. Equal opportunity for education ought to be given to the blacks as well as to the whites. If education — that is, what goes by that name — should operate on the negro as spirituous liquors on the Indian, and, by rendering him more worthless, as predicted by many, hasten his destruction, no reproach will attach to the South. If, on the contrary, the negro should improve in morals, in intellect and industry, we shall be benefited by this desired change. If in that state of gradual improvement he continues to be inferior to the white race, his diminution in number will be less rapid, whilst en-

joying in his subordinate pursuits the protection of a more powerful race, with which there will be no cause of conflict. Should the black man die out in the end, as he probably will, of weak lungs and from the want of congenial air in the more elevated region to which he has been raised, and to which he cannot be acclimated, let it not be recorded that it is due to bad treatment on our part. But if, contrary to the teachings of history and science, the negro should rise to an equality of intelligence and energy with the Caucasian, should the struggle for power inaugurate a war of races, the Trojans and Greeks having the same weapons and being matched in courage and skill, the conflict will be intensified, and become more terrible. In the end one of the two, more favored by adventitious circumstances,— and it is easy to foresee on which side those circumstances are to be,— will destroy the other, according to all known laws and precedents. The love of power, like the love of woman, cannot be shared; it is implacable in its jealousy,— no two men, no two nations, no two races, ever divided it in peace. President Lincoln, in his first allocution to a negro deputation, after his Proclamation of Emancipation, warned them that they could not aspire to live on a footing of equality with the whites. He predicted that the attempt would be fatal to their race. The advice was the unpalatable one of a true friend. The prediction may yet be that of a true prophet.

Every century has had its question. Those questions have settled themselves, — most of them in an unforeseen manner. The free-negro question is a terrible one for us of the South. But it will have a solution also in the course of events. The Fates weave slowly the web of destiny for individuals, for families, and for nations. In the mean time let us do like a skilful physician. When he is perplexed by the disease of his patient, he confines himself to careful nursing, and, refraining from hazardous remedies, relies on the curative powers of nature. Let us also rely on that Providence which has a solution for everything. There are crises where the cry of wisdom should be, "Hands off, mortals!" *Ecce Deus.*

The author of this article would not have written it, if his determination had not been to speak "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," as he understands it to be. If, with President Lincoln, he predicts to the black race that it will never live in peace with the white on a footing of equality, whilst possessing

equality of number, and claiming the exercise of the equality of political, civil, and social rights, — the latter of which is the complement of the two former, — it is not from a feeling of hostility to the inevitably doomed, — doomed like the Indians, doomed like many other races. His object is to guard the weak against aspirations and efforts which will end in disappointment and hasten a more active and deadly struggle. The writer was just and friendly to the free colored population, when, in 1831, a mere youth then, he made in the State legislature a report against a bill ordering their expulsion, and providing that no slave should be emancipated, except to be sent by his master to Liberia. It was a popular bill which was defeated only by the most strenuous efforts. In 1863 the author proposed to set free all the negroes who should take up arms for the South, and advised a treaty with England and France, by which the Confederate States, in consideration of these two powers recognizing their independence, should bind themselves to a gradual and final emancipation of their slaves, and should join their moral influence, after their complete independence, to that of France and England, with a view of inducing Spain and Brazil to abolish African bondage, so that contemporaneous with the appearance of the Southern Confederacy in the family of nations would be the abolition of slavery throughout the civilized world. On those occasions, as on this, the motto of this writer was the one adopted by this Review: —

"Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur."

CHARLES GAYARRÉ.

Art. VI. — Michelangelo and the Buonnarroti Archives.

The Cavaliere Cosimo Buonnarroti was the lineal descendant of Buonnarroto Buonnarroti, the younger brother of Michelangelo, and the possessor of the house which had belonged to him in the Via Ghibellina at Florence. He died on the 12th of February, 1858, bequeathing his house and the Michelangelesque Museum contained in it to the city of Florence. In truth, the collection of memorials existing there might well be called a Museum. Not only was the mass of manuscripts extremely voluminous, but there were many works of art from the hand of the master, models especially, and first ideas for several of his larger works, especially one most interesting first sketch in wax of the "David," besides other relics, — his chair, his walking-stick, his writing-desk, and the like.

The house and all its contents, as has been said, were left by the Cavaliere Cosimo, who had been Minister of Public Instruction under the last Grand Duke, to the city of Florence, to the exclusion of certain collateral relatives, who, it was known, would have dispersed and sold the collection. But in consequence of a curious circumstance the city did not enter into possession of the property under the will. The Tuscan law required (and the Italian law may still require, but there were differences in the legislation at that time); that the witnesses to the execution of a holograph will, such as that which the Cavaliere Buonnarroti made, should be in the same room with the testator at the time of his making the will in question. Now the Cavaliere Buonnarroti being very ill, and suffering much from the heat in the room in which he was dying, in which there were several persons, a portion of those present were requested to pass into an adjoining room, communicating with the sick-man's room by large folding-doors, which were open. Several of those present did so, and the persons who subsequently signed the will as witnesses were among the number. Hence it was afterwards objected, on the behalf of those who were the heirs-at-law, and would have inherited the Buonnarroti house and its

contents but for the will, that the document was invalid on the ground which has been mentioned. The case was brought before the courts, and was given against the city, which, however, succeeded in compromising the matter by the payment of a large sum to the heirs-at-law.

When the papers had become public property, the task of editing the letters was intrusted to the Cavaliere Gaetano Milanesi; the task of writing a new life based in part on the new materials was assigned to the Commendatore Aurelio Gotti, while Count Luigi Passerini, the librarian of the National Library, undertook to prepare a Michelangelesque bibliography, with an addition thereto of a list of all the engravers who have produced engravings from his works. Previously, however, it was arranged that an English translation of the "Life" should be executed by Mr. Charles Heath Wilson, a well-known artist and man of letters, long resident at Florence.

Born in 1475, in the lovely district of the Casentino, the upper valley of the Arno, — that lush and green valley which Dante has described so well and so fondly, — where his father was serving the office of podestà or chief magistrate of the little town of Caprese, the infant Michelangelo was carried, at the expiration of his father's six months' tenure of office, to Florence, and was placed with a wet-nurse, the wife of a stone-cutter in the village of Settigrano, amid the quarries on the hillside above the Arno valley, not far from Fiesole. The circumstance is not without interest. The woman from whose breast the infant Michelangelo was nourished was the wife, and doubtless the daughter, of a stone-cutter, in all probability the descendant of a long line of stone-cutters; for all the people at Settigrano are stone-cutters, and some of them were sculptors, equally calling themselves *lapicida*. For the hierarchy of art had not in those days shaped itself into any defined table of precedence; and it would have been difficult, if any one had dreamed of attempting it, to draw the line between the artist and the artisan. With what degree of mastery and deftness the fathers of her whose breast supplied the elements of growth to the great artist may have cut the Settigrano stone there is no saying, but that they were engaged in that art from time out of mind may be reckoned as certain; and physiological theorists may make a note of it.

As usual, the tradesman-father wanted to make a tradesman of his lapicida-suckled boy, and as usual failed. Little Michelangelo would do nothing but draw and model. Wiser than many another father suffering from the same misfortune, the elder Buonnarroti soon gave up the struggle, and placed the boy in the workshop of Domenico and David Ghirlandaio. At the age of fourteen he had already so distinguished himself that Lorenzo the Magnificent was attracted by his unmistakable genius, and made him a member of his family, where among other advantages he had that of the literary instruction of Politian. In 1496 (aged twenty-one) he goes to Rome at the invitation of the Cardinal St. Giorgio, and remains there nearly five years, executing a variety of statues and groups, and increasing daily in reputation. In 1501 (aged twenty-six) he returns to Florence at the request of his father, and we find cardinals and municipalities at once bidding for his services. But in 1504 he again goes to Rome on the invitation of Pope Julius II., becomes dissatisfied with that headstrong and masterful Pope's caprices, returns to Florence, and refuses to obey the Pope's summons to go back to Rome, but at length does so on the receipt of a new invitation in the year 1508; and in that same year, the thirty-third of his age, begins the immortal works in the Sistine Chapel, which are completed in 1512. Pope Julius dies in 1513, and Michelangelo continues to labor, sometimes at Rome, sometimes at Carrara, and sometimes at Florence, chiefly for Pope Leo X., during the whole of his reign. And if the historians, who are continually claiming the toleration and indulgence of mankind for this Pope, and other "art-loving" popes and princes, on the score of their patronage and protection of artists, would make themselves a little better acquainted with that back-stairs view of such transactions, which are only to be come at in the records and familiar letters of the patronized, it is probable that the world would feel less enthusiasm of admiration for the "magnificent" popes and princes in question!

In 1523 Clement VII. succeeded to the Papal throne, after the very short reign of Adrian VI., which divided that of Clement from that of his relative, Leo X. And Michelangelo continued to work for Pope Clement. In 1529, however, when Pope Clement, in disgraceful alliance with Charles V., is besieging his ancestral city, the great artist is found on the popular side, and is appointed by the city director of the fortifications. After the restoration

of the Medici to Florence, Michelangelo is "pardoned" for his patriotism and continues to work for the Pope. In October, 1534, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese succeeds Clement as Paul III., and he in his turn employs Michelangelo in the great works with which he hoped to associate his own name. Immediately on his accession the new Pontiff determined to employ the greatest artist of his day; but it was not till the September of the year 1534 that Michelangelo, now in his fifty-ninth year, and formally named chief architect, painter, and sculptor to the Apostolic palace, began the great fresco of the Last Judgment in the Sistine Chapel.

It was during these same months, while the negotiations connected with his appointment to the above offices, and the preparations for the execution of the great fresco were in progress, that one of the most interesting episodes in the life of Michelangelo took place. This was his acquaintanceship and friendship with Vittoria Colonna. She was then a widow, and had only been prevented from becoming a nun, in her despair at the untimely death of her husband, by the absolute prohibition of the Pope. She retired, however, to the nunnery of St. Silvestro in Capito, in Rome, and there, in the words of Mr. Heath Wilson, "in acts of devotion and of active charity, in study and the exercise of her highly poetical feeling, writing verses and religious hymns, she gradually recovered her serenity of mind, and resumed her intercourse with society. Amongst the men and women she attracted, endowed like herself with high qualities, was Michelangelo, who formed a friendship for her marked by the depth and grandeur of his character in its devotion and vitality; and returned by her with an admiration of his gifts and talents which was unbounded. In the relationship which subsisted between them it is pleasant to contemplate her appreciation of his genius and works, and the happiness which her gentle influence brought to the hitherto solitary self-tormentor, who saw too much of the sad side of nature, and whose undoubted trials were intensified by his constitutional melancholy. His life was now illumined by a pure ray, to which he turned with all the goodness and love which were in his nature hidden under its rugged exterior. The intercourse between Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna forms a bright and beautiful episode in a life the history of which is so sombre as to

be almost ceaselessly painful in its aspect, illustrated by his works, in which there is hardly a trace at any time of a smile suggestive of happiness or peace."

Vittoria Colonna has, in every generation since her own, been felt to be a figure standing out from the sufficiently dark background of those times with a vividness of relief which makes her an object of special interest to us. And the incident of her friendship for Michelangelo is perhaps the most interesting episode in her career. There is no doubt that at one period of her life she was strongly attracted not so much perhaps by the doctrines as by the purity of life and moral excellence of the little knot of Italian men and women who, though they were for the most part not prepared to go the length of secession from the Church of Rome, were anxiously hoping for some change which should render the spirit prevailing in that church less grossly pagan, and less entirely divorced from all tendency to promote morality of life. And the testimony thus given to the characteristics of her mind is of much interest in connection with the marked influence which she and the great artist mutually exercised over each other. She was a poetess of no mean order, as the volume of her sonnets and *canzoni*, which have been frequently republished, testifies. The earlier portion of these works turns mainly on her passionate love for her husband, the Marchese di Pescara, and was chiefly composed during his absences from her, while fighting the battles of Charles V. But the verses which belong to that latter period of her life, when she became acquainted with Michelangelo, are almost, if not quite, entirely religious in character. Michelangelo had also been, during the greater part of his life, a maker of verses; but the best and the most numerous of his productions in this kind belong to the time when Vittoria Colonna was exercising her influence over him.

During the same period the scope and character of his verses undergoes a marked change. From being mainly love poetry of the old kind, filled with classical allusions, with far-fetched conceits, with intricate allegories, and indeed with anything save truth and genuine passion, after the manner of that time, they take a religious tone in unison and accordance with hers. Sometimes he addresses his verse to her, and puts on record the influence her character had exercised on him; as in the fifty-seventh

sonnet, in which he tells her that she has formed the poet as the sculptor forms the marble, shaping it to the expression of his own imaginings. A pretty little edition of Michelangelo's poems was published in 1858 in the same volume with the life by Condivi, and a few of his letters. The poems occupy one hundred and eighty-two small pages.

Here is the passage in which Condivi relates his affection for Vittoria Colonna. It is well worth quoting. "Specially he had a devoted affection for the Marchesa di Pescara, of whose divine mind he was enamored, being in return loved of her with an immense love. He treasures many of her letters [this was written while Buonnarroti was still living], full of sweet and pure love, and such as might be expected to proceed from such a heart as hers. He also wrote to her very many sonnets full of ingenuity and sweet affection. She was wont to go often to Viterbo or elsewhere for amusement, and to pass the hot months away from Rome, whither she would often return for no other purpose than to see Michelangelo. And he requited her affection with so much love that I remember to have heard him say that he only regretted then, when he stood by her side as she died, he had not kissed her on the forehead, as he had kissed her hand. I have seen him often altogether lost in the violence of his sorrow, and as one amazed at the thought of her death."

Michelangelo was not, one would have said at first sight, the sort of man to inspire so loving a regard in a still beautiful woman, whose birth and position in society and beauty had placed all the courtier world, among which she had lived, at her feet. He was not only a decidedly plain man, rugged, broken-nosed, harsh-featured, bony, and angular, but was, unlike many of the better-known artists of his day, singularly careless of his appearance, and always shabbily attired. Though ever largely generous to his father as long as the old man lived, and to his ever-needy brothers afterwards, his own habits were penurious to excess; while his self-assertion towards the great and powerful, and his absolute refusal of the expected tribute of adulation in his conversation and dealings with them, rendered his path through life a rugged and thorny one. Clement VII., who knew the nature of the man well, used, when conferring with him, to open the conversation by commanding him to sit down and put on his hat, "for," said

Clement, "I know very well that if I did not tell him to do so, he would do it without, and that would be worse!" All the more honorable to Vittoria Colonna was it, that she was able to appreciate the diamond in the rough, and recognize the value of the grain wrapped in so coarse a husk.

The artist finished that great and wonderful work, the fresco of the Last Judgment, in 1541, when he was sixty-six years old. During the remainder of Paul's life he was more or less uninterruptedly engaged on the great works projected and in large part executed by that great Pontiff. And in the latter part of his life his work seems to have been more important as an architect than as either a painter or sculptor. Paul III. died in 1549. Julius III., who succeeded him, died in 1555, and was followed by the saintly Marcellus, who, to the infinite and lasting misfortune of Christendom, reigned only three weeks. He was succeeded by Paul IV., who died in 1559, and was succeeded by Pius IV. A greater contrast than that between all these three last and Paul III. cannot well be imagined. They were very widely different from each other. But the difference between them and Paul III. was one involving and illustrating a great change in the whole body and temper of the times, and may be said to have been equivalent to a transformation in the spirit of the Romish Church. But the works upon which Michelangelo was engaged were, if not perhaps equally dear to the heart of the latter pontiffs, yet very much so. And the rapid succession of masters does not seem to have made any very great difference in his position or his occupations. To this period of his life belong his plans for the building of St. Peter's, and the partial execution of them; of which we may find space to say something further before the close of this article.

The greatest work of Michelangelo's old age is the Church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, built within the ruins of the Baths of Diocletian. The sixteen wonderfully noble monolithic columns of red Egyptian granite, of perfectly startling proportions, belonged of course to the construction of the Roman Emperor; but the present design and arrangement are Michelangelo's own. "Nothing exists in architecture," says Mr. Heath Wilson, "which exceeds the plan of this church in beauty and variety of form. The general proportions are so harmonious, the lines of the plan so

gracefully disposed, the form of the whole so original, that without looking at the elevations, the eye is delighted by the evidence on all sides of the imagination, taste, and skill shown by the venerable architect in this superb work."

The latest letters in the Buonnarroti archives indicate, as Mr. Heath Wilson says, that the evening of Michelangelo's life passed peacefully. He was surrounded by devoted friends and pupils, who regarded him with the strongest affection and respect. There was an idea at Florence that he was neglected, or rather, perhaps, as a somewhat intimate knowledge of the mental habits and ways of mind of the descendants of those sixteenth-century Florentines leads the present writer to suspect, there was a feeling of jealousy and Florentine hatred against the Romans, which prompted the suspicion that the old and now comparatively rich old man was plundered, or at least made profit of, by others than those who would fain have had all such pickings to themselves. His nephew Lionardo, who was to be his heir, seems to have written to him manifesting feelings of this sort, and drew down upon himself the following characteristic reply. I give the letter in Mr. Heath Wilson's translation. "Lionardo, I see by thy letter that thou givest faith to certain envious and sad [the original word no doubt is *tristi*, which it would have been better to translate *good-for-nothing*] fellows, who, not being able to get me into their hands to rob me, write lies to thee. They are a set of greedy ones, and thou art foolish to lend them thy faith, as if I were a baby. Get rid of them as scandalmongers, envious and evil livers. With regard to my suffering from bad service, I say to thee that I could not be better served nor more faithfully; and as to being robbed, I tell thee that I have in my house people in whom I can peacefully confide. Think of thine own affairs, and not of mine, for I know how to take care of myself when needful. I am not a baby. May it be well with thee!"

Some of the letters to this Lionardo, of whom Mr. Wilson says that he was evidently a selfish and cold-hearted man, are full of kindness. His aged uncle's thoughts seem to have been very much occupied with him and his welfare; and several of his letters concern his nephew's choice of a wife, a subject on which he gives him much business-like advice. He gives him lists of marriageable Florentine girls, and desires that certain old and inexperienced

friends of his own shall be requested to inquire carefully and report to him concerning them. There must, he says in one letter, be many noble and poor families in Florence, among whom a good wife might be chosen; and if there be no dower, it will be all the better, "for if there be no money, there will be no pride." But all the old artist's interest did not prevent him from writing to him occasionally letters of extreme bitterness and severity. As, for example, the following, taken also from Mr. Wilson's translation. It has reference to certain property which Michelangelo was desirous of purchasing, but suspected that his nephew was, from selfish motives, anxious to drive him into doing more quickly than he chose. "Lionardo, thou hast been in a great hurry to give me information respecting the possessions of the Carboli. I thought that thou wast still in Florence. Hadst thou fear that I should repent, that thou camest here so eagerly? [It seems clear from this that Lionardo was *then* at Rome, having left Florence for the purpose of urging his uncle to complete the purchase in question. And if so, it would appear that his uncle in his anger had refused to see him.] I tell thee that I mean to act cautiously, for I have made my money with a labor of which one who, like thee, was born with clothes on his back, knows nothing. With regard to thy coming to Rome with such expedition, I am not aware that thou camest so quickly when I was in poverty, in want even of bread. It is enough for thee to throw away the money thou hast not earned, in thy fear of losing this heritage. Whence the necessity for thy coming here? Was it for the love thou bearest me? The love of the moth for the candle! If thou didst love me, thou wouldst have written to me: 'Michelangelo, expend the three thousand crowns there for yourself, for you have given us so much that it is enough! Your life is dearer to us than your property.' Thou hast lived upon me now for forty years, nor have I ever had anything of thine, not even kind words. True it is, that last year, being urged to do so, for very shame, thou didst send me a load [the original is doubtless "soma," a common Tuscan phrase denoting the quantity of two barrels of wine, each containing twenty flasks, of seven pounds Troy of liquid each, supposed to be the "load" for a donkey's paniers] of sweet wine. It matters not if thou hadst not sent it. I do not write this letter to thee because I will not buy [i. e. the Carboli property in question]. I mean to

try to provide me with an income; but I will act cautiously that I may not buy at the same time some burden."

This is a cruelly unkind letter, and, if Lionardo had not been as rhinoceros-hided as selfish and interested, would have sufficed to prevent him from accepting any more of those benefits with which he was so bitterly reproached, and which after all constituted the employment which the old artist, with all an Italian's passion for founding a family, best loved to make of his money. No doubt that he had always been generous to his family, first to his father, then to his brothers and his nephew. They had all hung upon him, and he had been the providence of the family. But it is equally true that he had seasoned his benefits with abundance of hard words, as was his wont.

He cannot be accused, however, of indulging himself in the use of hard words only to those dependent upon him. No social position or dignity of station was sufficient to protect those who had dealings with him from his hard words, when he deemed plain speaking necessary. There was a committee for watching over the works going on at St. Peter's, consisting of cardinals and others in the highest position; and between them and our painter-sculptor-architect there were continual misunderstandings and bickerings, as is intelligible enough. Michelangelo considered them as simply a finance committee. They considered themselves as enforced to direct and superintend the execution of the work. One day Paul III., having been applied to, summoned the members of the committee to meet the artist in his presence. Paul told him that the commissioners complained that a certain portion of the building as proposed would have insufficient light. This having been explained to him, Michelangelo, as Vasari relates, replied, "I should like, in the first place, to hear what the commissioners have to say." Whereupon the Cardinal Marcello answered, "We *are* the commissioners." "Well, then, Monsignore [cardinals had not yet assumed the title of Eminence], know that above the windows in the vault, which is to be built of travertine stone, there are to be three others." "You never told us that!" said the Cardinal. Upon which the artist spoke his mind. "I am not, nor will I ever consent to be, obliged to explain, either to your Lordship or to any one else, what I mean and will to do! Your office is to find money, and to guard it

from robbers. The design of the building is in my charge." Then, turning to Paul III., he said, "Holy Father, you see what I have to suffer. In truth, if the labor I undergo does not benefit my soul, I lose my time and work!" For it must be explained that Michelangelo gave his superintendence and plans for this colossal work wholly without remuneration, — a circumstance which we may suppose to have been not without its influence on Pope Paul's reply. The Pontiff, who loved him, says Vasari, laid his hand upon his shoulder, and said, "You do benefit both soul and body. Never fear!"

Much about this time (1549) he suffered from a short but severe and dangerous disease, respecting which he writes in the April of that year to Lionardo: "With regard to my disease I am better; and to the astonishment of all there is now hope, for I was thought to be dying, and so I supposed myself to be. I have had a good physician; but I believe more in the efficacy of prayer." There are frequent expressions in his letters indicating the religious tendency and temperament of his mind. But that his natural sense and shrewdness was too strong to permit him to be fooled by sanctimonious cant is abundantly testified by the following curious and amusing letter to his nephew: "To-day I have had a letter from the wife of that weaver, who says that she was anxious to find a wife for thee, a daughter of Capponi, and of his wife a Niccolini. She has written me a long bible with a small sermon advising me to live religiously and to give alms; and she tells me that she has persuaded thee to live a Christian life, and that she was inspired by God to give thee that damsel. I should say that she would be better occupied in spinning and weaving than in bestowing all that sanctimoniousness upon me!"

He was now seventy-four; but several years were yet in store for him before the end came.

The Grand Duke had made repeated efforts to induce Michelangelo to leave Rome and return to Florence. Here are his answers sent through his friend Vasari. The letter is dated the 11th of May, 1555. "I was placed by force in the direction of the fabric of St. Peter's, and I have served for eight years, not only as a free gift, but to my great loss and discomfort. Now that progress has been made, and now that there is money, and that I am about to turn the cupola, if I departed it would be the ruin of the fabric;

it would be a reproach to me throughout Christendom, and a grievous sin on my part. Therefore, my dear Messer Giorgio, I pray you to thank the Duke for his noble offers, of which you have written to me, and to intimate to his Highness that, with his grace and permission, I desire to remain here till I can leave Rome with reputation, honor, and without sin." Again, on the 22d of June, of the same year, he writes to Vasari: "Messer Giorgio, my dear friend, one of these evenings there came to my house a discreet and well-bred young gentleman, Messer Lionardo, chamberlain of the Duke, making me, with many kindly expressions, the same offers on the part of his Highness which you did in your last. I answered him as I did you, that I besought the permission of his Highness to go on with the work of St. Peter's till it shall be completed, so that it might not be altered, and another form given to it; for were I to leave Rome before this, it would be the cause of great misfortune, a shame, and a crime. Then I pray that, for the love of God and of St. Peter, you will beseech the Duke for me. You must see in my handwriting that I touch my twenty-fourth hour; and no thought is now born in my mind in which death is not mixed. God grant that a few years of labor may yet be mine."

Michelangelo was now eighty years old; and nine years yet remained to him. But it is very strange to hear him at eighty talking of the possibility that the fabric of the new St. Peter's should be "completed" within his lifetime! Even the dome, which is more especially the work of Michelangelo, was not finished till 1590, four-and-twenty years after his death; and the church itself was not completed, even to such an extent as to permit of its dedication and consecration, till 1626. And if it be true that the intensity of a human heart's attachment to some particular spot of earth's surface can have force to cause the disembodied spirit to linger near it, the spirit of the great artist must assuredly have often revisited the scene of his so earnest labors; and he would have seen that in truth the "form" of his work was changed, indeed, in almost every respect, except that of his own majestic dome, which was completed in all respects according to his design.

The remaining years of Michelangelo's life were much harassed by the intrigues, calumnies, accusations, and opposition of those

who were jealous of his supreme authority in the great work at the St. Peter's, of those who would fain have supplanted him, and of the deadly enemies he had made in numbers, by his uncompromising opposition to all peculation, jobbery, and fraud in the carrying out of the work. Those who know Italy best can most adequately conceive the amount of deadly emnity thus generated. In other respects these last years seem to have been prosperous and tranquil enough. He was now rich ; he had the pleasure of accomplishing that great desire of an Italian heart, the placing his family and descendants in an eminent social position in their native city ; he was surrounded by "that which should accompany old age, as honor, love, obedience, troops of friends" ; and he had the satisfaction of holding his own, and triumphing over all the host of enemies, who would have ousted him from his position of authority.

I cannot but think that Mr. Heath Wilson exaggerates a little in his representations of the great and abiding unhappiness of the great artist's life. Everything did not go smoothly. Great people cheated him, little people maligned him ; he was not at all times able to follow the dictates of his own genius, but was obliged to bow to the ignorant or unreasonable requisitions of cardinals, dukes, princes, and popes. But he possessed his own soul, spoke his own mind, and thought his own thoughts to a degree that most unquestionably no other artist or man in his social position, or almost any other in that day, dreamed of venturing to do. And when the result of passing a long life in thus thinking his own thoughts and speaking his own mind, and that in the atmosphere of a papal court, was that "he bought the farm of Capiteto on the 27th of January, 1506 ; another farm called La Loggia on the 28th of May, 1512 ; another lot of land on the 20th of June following ; a farm at Settignano in 1515 ; land in the city to build a mansion and studio on in 1517 ; the farm called Fitto on the 27th of October, 1519 ; and in 1520 additional land at Settignano, it seems hardly reasonable to deplore the misery and unhappiness of his life. It is true that the tone of a great portion of his letters is an unhappy and complaining one. But there is reason to fear that his temper was of the kind that is little calculated to secure happiness under any circumstances. He was honest, upright, bitter against meanness and wrong, and at bottom kind and generous. But he was harsh, masterful, overbearing,

intolerant of opposition, and apparently little disposed to look on the bright side of things.

In the February of 1564, his eighty-ninth year, Michelangelo felt that the summons which he had been for some time expecting was nigh at hand. He sent for his friend and brother painter Daniello de Volterra; and he on his way to him called on Ascanio Condivi, and asked him to go to his old friend and master, taking care that his visit should not seem to have been occasioned by any unusual motive.

"Daniello, my friend, it is all over with me! I beg of you not to leave me!" said he as Daniello de Volterra entered his room. Michelangelo then asked him to write a letter for him to his nephew Lionardo; which he did, and Michelangelo signed it. But Lionardo did not arrive in time to see his uncle. A slow fever, which the utmost efforts of his physicians, Federigo Donato and Gherardo Fidellissimi, were unable to conquer, consumed him. It was on the 15th of February, 1564, when Daniello Ricciarelli, more commonly known by his soubriquet, Daniello de Volterra, visited him; and from that day he took to his bed. Up to that time, though very ill, he had persisted in sitting by the fireside in his arm-chair. He was then confined to his bed for three days only, and died on the 18th of February, 1564.

Of course it has been impossible within the limit here available to attempt any filling up of the bare outline of the story of his life, which has been given in the preceding pages. Those who may feel an interest in the details of the life and the life-work of so great a man must seek them in the handsome volume of Mr. Heath Wilson. But there is one other point, in respect of which Mr. Wilson's book is an altogether new contribution to the history of the art of the Renaissance period, as illustrated by Michelangelo's great work, the ornamentation of the Sistine Chapel. And of this portion of the author's work I think the reader would wish to have some little account. Mr. Wilson is the first practical *artist* who has written on Michelangelo since inaccurate, gossiping, amusing Giorgio Vasari wrote his life, while the subject of it was still living. He took especial pains, and had very exceptional facilities for examining the work itself, more especially the vault, and he spent some time in Rome expressly for this purpose.

The great and wonderful work in the Sistine Chapel, the grandest

achievement in fresco ever executed, was begun on the 10th of May, 1508, in the thirty-third year of the artist's age. The equally wonderful if not equally admirable work, the great fresco of the Last Judgment, painted on the western wall of the chapel, was begun (according to the generally received account, which, however, Mr. Wilson thinks is somewhat too early) in 1534, twenty-six years subsequently to the finishing of the vault, and was finished in the sixty-sixth year of the artist's age.

The work undertaken by Michelangelo — to paint in fresco the entirety of the vault of the Sistine Chapel — involved the covering with designs and with color more than ten thousand square feet of surface, and the artist's first care was to find some persons capable of acting as his assistants. The plan followed was first to design and draw to scale the plan for the ornamentation of the whole; then to prepare the cartoons, or working drawings, for his assistants to work after. "A modern master," says Mr. Wilson, "would in the same position also provide colored studies for the guidance of his assistants. This does not appear to have been common among the great masters of the sixteenth century. No such colored sketches remain, although cartoons have been preserved. Michelangelo provided sketches executed in chalk showing the chiaroscuro, and full-sized outlines for transfer to the vault; and he must have trusted to verbal instructions for the color, and to his own example. He had also to prepare and lay off the general plan of the architectural division of the vault in conformity with his design; this framework must have been designed and drawn to scale, and marked off upon the vault before the painting could be commenced. The completed work shows how great was the pains which was taken, how accurate the calculations and measurements must have been, before the scheme was matured. The more the vault and its paintings are studied, the more the real marvels of their history will be appreciated and distinguished from the paltry legends of the biographers."

All Michelangelo's plans, as regarded the securing of assistance failed. It was very soon found that the persons engaged were incapable of working with Michelangelo, or of transferring to the plaster designs conceived in a style wholly new to them, and far in advance of the art of the time. They had to be paid for their journey from Florence to Rome, for they were all Florentines, and for the time they had lost, and be dismissed. "He

then girded himself for his great task," says Mr. Wilson; "it was in an exceptional sense only that it has been said that he painted alone and unaided. It cannot be true; for in fresco painting on such a scale solitary work is a practical impossibility." Further on he remarks that "the stories that he ground his own colors," and prepared the lime to paint on, though so often repeated, are manifestly absurd. He required hundredweights of color and lime! How could he possibly prepare the quantity required alone and unaided? . . . . But while the great artist's proceedings and reputation have been veiled under idle tales by his first biographers, since so frequently repeated, his greatest work is also veiled by the barbarous neglect and maltreatment to which it has been exposed, and it is now seen from the floor of the chapel so imperfectly that his purposes in the design and execution of it cannot be properly appreciated. This is possible only by close examination of the frescos from a position as elevated as the scaffold erected by Michelangelo. Under very favorable circumstances such an examination has been made of a portion of the vault [i. e. by the writer]; and the interest which this great work of genius has excited for centuries, and now excites perhaps more than ever, may, it is hoped, be an excuse for giving the results of the examination with some minuteness of detail."

"The entire composition contains three hundred and forty-three figures, varying in their proportions, infinite in invention, full of life and of movement. The vault is alive with figures of mighty beings, the offspring of the exhaustless and noble inspiration of Michelangelo. . . . . A careful examination of the frescos shows that Michelangelo adhered throughout to his sketch. Unhappily it is lost; but it is easy to see that it sprang from his brain complete in every part. . . . . It is not to be understood that in his first sketch he drew every figure and group as we now see them painted. But every part of his subject was present to his mind; he indicated his general idea; placed groups and figures where he intended them to be in his finished work; shadowed forth the entire composition; and from that first creation he never swerved." The "figures in the uppermost part of the vault measure from ten to twelve feet in height, with certain exceptions. The Prophets and Sibyls would be nearly eighteen feet, if erect; and the ancestors of our Lord in the lunettes are colossal. . . . . It would appear,

from his sketches of draped figures, as well as from the finished paintings, that he provided costumes for his models. There are many slight details and accidents of fold which must have been imitated from the reality. . . . . Artists most frequently transferred the outline of the cartoon to the wet and yielding surface of the plaster by placing the former upon the latter, and then firmly passing over its lines with a point or stylus, which indented the plaster through the paper. Michelangelo prepared the process which is called pouncing. This can be seen in his frescos. The cartoons were nailed to the wall during the process. The nail-holes are observable in the fresco of the Last Judgment; and in that of Ezekiel, in one of the pendentives of the ceiling, an original nail still remains in its place close to this figure. Michelangelo's motive for avoiding the more usual method of pressing in the outline with the stylus through the paper is quite evident. He disliked the disturbance of the surface which it involves, which was inconsistent with his ideas of refinement of execution. But he did not therefore altogether reject the use of his instrument. When the outline was pounced, he appears to have passed round it with a point as sharp as a penknife, so fine is the cut, and it is easily distinguished from the line passed through the paper; for, besides its sharpness, the instrument has frequently broken out a morsel of lime, where the hand has stopped. He did not draw in the features in this manner, but marked in the muscles in the beautiful figure of Adam, and possibly in others. Evidently he varied his practice, sometimes using it, sometimes omitting it. Drapery he generally marked in with the point in very rapid sweeps, and sometimes adhered to these lines, at others not. . . . . So far as could be observed, the group of children on the piers have been painted without any outline at all; a single guiding perpendicular line ruled between them on the wet plaster sufficed to enable him to paint them at once in their places without other preparation. The architecture is outlined with the stylus, and the lines are often carried over part of the figures. This is common in old frescos. It shows that subject and background were painted simultaneously; and this is very evident in Michelangelo's work; for he often cut the plaster away from his finished day's painting at some distance from the outline of the figure. Thus he avoided hardness of contour. The lesson is an important one, especially to modern fresco painters. . . . .

"The plaster upon which he painted was brought to a very even and polished surface. Unfortunately there are many chips in it now, by which it is seen that it is pure white. It must, therefore, be composed of Roman lime and marble dust, as no sand would give so beautiful a surface, or show so white a substance when it is broken. . . . . The plaster at the present time is hard and sound, except where it is torn into fissures by movements in the masonry, arising from obviously defective construction, and possibly in part from slight shocks of earthquake, which at rare intervals are felt at Rome. . . . .

"No artist has suffered more from misrepresentations of his design by imitators, copyists, and engravers than Michelangelo. His work has been presented to the world in many forms, which miss his beauties, and exaggerate what are believed to be his defects." It may be useful here to observe that this wonderful work, the vault of the Sistine Chapel, may be seen now to better purpose than has ever been the case heretofore, in the most admirable photographs by Braun of Dornach. As Mr. Wilson remarks, it is impossible to form any due conception of the work by seeing it in its present state from the floor of the chapel. And of course it is out of the question for the ordinary visitor to cause such a scaffolding to be erected as Mr. Heath Wilson did. I have myself seen all the best engravings of the frescos on the Sistine vault, but never had any adequate idea of the grandeur of them, till I saw them in Braun's large photographs.

Michelangelo called himself a sculptor; and on several occasions, when requested to execute paintings, excused himself on the plea that painting was not his profession. And certainly the productions of his chisel are among the grandest that that day, the high tide of art, has bequeathed to us. But my own impression is that these frescos in the Sistine Chapel excel other paintings to a much greater degree than any of the marbles we have from his hand excel the works of his contemporaries. The reader may be assured that till he has examined these and comprehended them aright, he can have no conception approaching to the reality of the inexhaustible invention, and (what in a yet more remarkable degree outtops all contemporary and all subsequent art) the almost superhuman grandeur and sublimity of the expression he knew how to impart to the human face and figure.

T. Adolphus Trollope.

Art. VII. — America in Africa.

PART II.

Productions.

The chief products of Liberia are sugar and coffee and india-rubber. The best plantations of coffee and sugar are on the St. Paul's. Up this river are the chief settlements. There lies, more than on the sea-shore, the future of America in Africa. The river is very broad and handsome, as broad and handsome as the Hudson. For about forty miles, or as far up as the Connecticut, it is navigable for sloops and even larger craft. For four miles back from the river coffee is cultivated. It is sold for twenty cents a pound, gold, at Monrovia, which gives it a higher valuation in New York than the Java. It is being exported now to Ceylon to replace the coffee of that island, itself among the best in the world. Three dollars, gold, a bushel is paid for it at Monrovia for this purpose. It is also being planted in Southern California. The coffee-tree is usually a trim, compact, small tree, not over twenty feet high nor fifteen feet wide at its widest part. The annual production is already very large and steadily increasing.

The two chief coffee-farms are those of Mr. Dorsey, a Liberian, and Messrs. E. S. Morris & Co., of Philadelphia, whose exposition of Liberian products at the Centennial attracted great and deserved attention. They have on their farm on the St. Paul's, which they have leased for twenty-five years, thirteen thousand coffee-trees. Thirty pounds have been taken from a tree in one season; two and a half pounds is the average. This would give for the yield of this place over thirty thousand pounds a year. Suppose neglect or blight reduced that one half, and we have fifteen thousand pounds, worth three thousand dollars, as the annual produce of a single plantation. Mr. Rix, of Clay Ashland, raises from ten to fifteen thousand pounds annually. The last vessel to New York, which arrived last June, had over eighty thousand pounds in its invoice. That portion which the shippers held was sold for twenty-five cents a

pound in gold before it reached port. It is evident, therefore, that, unless some drawback occurs, this product will draw capital here, and make the Republic a not unimportant factor in the mercantile exchange of the world.

India-rubber is also becoming an article of commerce. There are many sorts of trees and plants which furnish this substance. A commission has been granted to a Brazilian trader, giving him the exclusive right of export. This will probably be broken up, as the traffic is too valuable and too much diffused to be concentrated in any single house. A Boston gentleman, engaged in this business, informed me that he alone purchased two hundred thousand pounds of African rubber during the past year. As this rubber is worth in Boston not less than forty cents a pound, or nearly a million dollars for the whole, it shows how valuable this trade may yet become. Cameron says over £45,000, or $225,000, was the value of this export in a single year at Zanzibar. It can be gotten on the market much cheaper from Liberia. Gold also is reported to exist in the mountains, and an English company has sought to make a contract with the government for the working of its mines.

Its Political Condition and Population.

What is the political condition of the country? The invasion of European merchantmen, and their refusal to recognize the government of the American Colonization Society, compelled the establishment of the Liberian government. When the governors of the Society complained of their course, they replied in substance: "England we know, and America we know, but who are you?" America at that time was unwilling to recognize a territory that was occupied by that class of its citizens, as it would encourage their enslaved brothers at home in the idea that they had some rights which should here be respected. There was no alternative, therefore, but for the colony to proclaim its independence. This was done in July 26, 1847, in a declaration too closely copied from our own, in which they declare that prejudice has driven them from our shores, and talk as if their independence was being declared from America, rather than from a nearer and more dangerous foe.

That such an independence was premature is evident from the history of all other colonies. In twenty-five years after its establish-

ment it became an independent state. It was one hundred and sixty-eight years from its first settlement at Jamestown that English America became independent. Spanish America was three hundred years a dependency of that crown. South Africa is not independent yet, nor Australia, nor Canada. How preposterous, therefore, to expect that Liberia, after only twenty-five years of existence, should become a commonwealth, with power to make its flag respected, to carry on internal improvements, to make war, to issue currency, and do all other things belonging to an independent government! Sierra Leone, forty years its senior, within twelve years of its first century, is not yet a state, independent, self-reliant, and able to live among the governments of the earth. That Liberia does as well as she does is a marvel.

The government imposes a tariff, but is not always able to collect it; in that respect being not unlike other governments. It complains of the steamers for selling from their decks in the harbors, but they reply, "If you try to stop us, we will leave your harbors altogether, and decline to carry your mails." As they are the only means of mail communication, the Republic is compelled to submit. To be weak they find is miserable, but so is all weakness. They have equal difficulty in collecting the taxes from their own citizens. President Payne, in his message last December, complains that some American Liberians oppose taxation, and acknowledges "there is nothing to force a tax-collector to make a faithful return," so that the government may lose through the peculation of its own officers, — a thing also not unknown in older and stronger countries. Despite these drawbacks the Secretary of the Treasury reports last year's receipts from taxes and duties, ending September 30, 1876, to be $113,026.34. Probably Virginia could not have shown so good an account in 1662, fifty-five years after its first outcasts were landed at its Monrovia.

The disbursements were $155,551.07. The war with the Grebso cost $60,000. But for that, the income would have covered the expenses. The President and other officials are courteous gentlemen, and probably manage the affairs of state as well as any persons of any land could under like conditions.

The population of Liberia is far smaller than it ought to be, considering the number of emigrants sent over and the money spent in colonizing. The American Colonization Society had spent, at

their semi-centennial in 1866, the immense sum of $2,558,907.10. Over two million and a half of dollars had been contributed up to January 1, 1867. Since that, probably, a third of a million more has been given, making about three million dollars from this source alone. The churches have been very liberal. Special organizations for educational and other aid, bequests, legacies, gifts from individuals, some of which have been very large, and grants from States have, with the annual missionary contributions, carried the donations undoubtedly up to two millions of dollars. We may safely estimate the amount given in America to this enterprise at not less than five millions of dollars. If we include national aid, it will largely surpass this sum.

This vast amount of money has succeeded in establishing the colonies on the coast and settlements up the rivers St. Paul's Junk, St. John, and Sinoe. It has erected seminary and college buildings, churches, and a congressional building, and aided in the erection of many comfortable dwellings. But it has not moved many persons from America. Only thirteen thousand one hundred and thirty-six persons were sent out by the American Colonization Society in its first half-century. Probably a thousand is as many as have been sent in the last ten years; less than fifteen thousand persons at an expense of three millions of dollars. Recaptured Africans have been returned to the number of five thousand seven hundred and twenty-two. Or not far from twenty thousand have been planted in this territory in sixty years, an average of about three hundred a year.

Even with this small number there should have been to-day not less than fifty thousand American Liberians. There is no census, but the reputed number is not over twenty thousand; some put it as low as fourteen thousand. That is, there has been no increase on the original stock.

This failure to increase may be accounted for by the natural wear and tear of new settlements, by the unusual mortality of the males, who have overworked themselves in their ambition to subdue the land, a fact painfully patent, by acclimating fevers, which are always severer on new colonists than those who follow them, and chiefly, we believe, from the fact that they have had too much help. More money has been spent on Liberia, probably, than on any other colony known to history. Though we expatriated them,

we did not send them out empty. We loaded them with wealth. Five millions of dollars to fifteen thousand persons was a wonderful largess. No wonder they did not see the necessity of work. Every few months came a new batch of colonists. They were to be fed for six months at the Society's expense. This half supported the people who were to grant the supplies. The extinction of gratuitous emigration is essential to the prosperity of the Republic. The best thing that has happened to it was the aid of the American Colonization Society and kindred donations. The best thing that can happen to it is the cessation of that aid, or its direction to them through other channels.

Necessities.

What does Liberia need? More emigrants. The native population are becoming Americanized, but so slowly as to be of little benefit to the Republic. It must have large accessions from America if it is to flourish, or even if it is to live.

Not that so many will leave as to make any perceptible change in our ratios of population. The births will surpass both deaths and emigration. That factor in our society is growing larger rather than less. Since the first emigrants reached Africa, the Afric-American population has increased over two millions. The emigrants did not number fifteen thousand. There will be as little influence of any future emigration on the home population as there has been in the past.

Why then encourage emigration? To help Africa, not America. That will change the whole aspect of this question. It is to assist in Americanizing Africa. America is being Africanized; Africa should be Americanized. It is to better their own fortunes that emigrants should go, just as they come here from other lands. If they cannot better their fortunes, they will not go.

How shall this larger emigration be brought about? By steam communication, regular and frequent. There is only one firm in America that has a regular line to Liberia. That firm, Yates and Porterfield, New York, sends thither two, or at the most, three vessels a year. These vessels have no regular time of sailing, can carry but a few emigrants, and, being a long time on the voyage, — from forty to seventy days, — must charge a large amount for a ticket. Fifty emigrants at fifty dollars apiece is only twenty-five

hundred dollars, a small amount to the shippers for the space they occupy, which could be filled with merchandise, and for the expense of feeding them on so long a voyage. On the other hand, steamers could make the trip in fifteen to twenty days, could carry five hundred passengers, and would make money at twenty dollars a head. The emigrants also could raise this money themselves, or their friends there could help them, or they could have a society to help them in part. The first necessity is steam communication.

Traffic with the Islands and the Coast.

Nor would this be an unprofitable venture in a larger view of the case. The British steamers visit Madeira and the Canaries, and pass down the whole coast. They carry many passengers. I failed to get a berth, or even a place on a cabin lounge, on an outward-bound steamer at Bassa. It was crowded with passengers. We could have like success. The Western isles, Madeira, and the Canaries, themselves would support a steamer line. I have a letter before me from one of our consuls, Mr. Dabney of Teneriffe, stating that parties on the Azores would be glad to take stock in such a company. The trade and passenger traffic with Fayal is already valuable, and could be greatly increased by steam communication. So is it with Funchal, Santa Cruz, and Las Palmas. These charming islands, with their perfect climate, would be the resort of multitudes of our sick and tired folk, who now go to Florida to escape the rigors of our winter climate. The cochineal trade, already valuable, with fruit and other products, would make our connection profitable. From Grand Canaries, one island alone of the Canary group, fifteen thousand bags of cochineal, weighing two hundred pounds each, are exported annually. Its value fluctuates, but rises as high as seventy-five cents a pound. This single item has a value of nearly three millions of dollars.* Tobacco, grapes, oranges, and other products abound. We saw in Teneriffe the first of February large fields of onions, for the Cuban market. These islands and the African coast would yield enough to maintain a line of freight steamers, if no passenger traffic was considered. But visitors to the islands and emigrants to Liberia would make that branch of the business large and remunerative.

* The first export of cochineal from Grand Canaries was in 1831, and amounted to eight pounds. In 1848 it had grown to 2,224,007 pounds; in 1876 it was over 3,000,000 pounds.

But another advantage of equal importance, if not of greater, will be the exchange of our commodities with this coast and the islands. The vessels which go from American ports carry tobacco, pork, fish, flour, and, we regret to add, rum. Some of them refuse to carry the last commodity, though no European ship declines to carry spirits of the most intoxicating kind. These ships could greatly enlarge and diversify their invoices. The demands of the natives for calicoes is very great. A yard of cloth or a leaf of tobacco is the current coin.

A yard of cloth is always reckoned at twenty-five cents, whatever its real value. The leaf is the unit of commerce, the yard its next numeration. We could dispose of these goods on this coast at great profits. So we could sell boots and shoes, which all the American-Africans wear. We could find a new market for lumber, which now sells at fifty dollars a thousand, for cheese, clocks, agricultural instruments, and multitudes of other notions which we can produce better and cheaper than Europeans, but for which we can have no market until we abolish the ox-carts of slow-sailing barques, beaten about by storms and hanging for days and weeks in most anti-business calms, and put our trade into iron and steam. To be over seventy days in getting from New York to Monrovia, which was the case with the captain of our vessel in doing the trip before ours, or to be forty-five days, which is a fair time, makes a round trip cover six months. The vessel which left the first day of last November arrived in New York May 10, making the trip cover six months and ten days. A steamer could go to the southwest coast and return, stopping to trade at all the ports of the islands and the coast, in from six to ten weeks. Four steamers would give us a monthly line to these islands and Africa. This would open a vast and most valuable field for our trade, and a not less valuable field for travel and emigration. Congress should establish this as a mail-route and should sustain it by subsidy.

Some statistics gathered from the British Blue Book for 1875 set these facts before us in a very striking manner. That report gives the amount of exports from these islands and the West Coast, and imports to the same, for the years 1870–1874. They show a steady increase of both traffics. They contain many other statistics bearing on this question. We give the figures for 1874:—

	Imports.	Exports.
Azores,	£ 346,603	£ 99,488
Madeira,	71,656	281,301
The Canaries,	430,898	223,499
Portuguese Possessions,		
West Africa,	121,646	146,380
Senegambia (French),	15,100	21,614
British Possessions,		
River Gambia,	37,524	85,267
Sierra Leone,	92,360	335,027
Gold Coast,	468,605	512,000
	£ 1,582,392	£ 1,704,576

That is, Great Britain sent thither, in 1874, of her products to the value of over eight and a half million dollars, and received nearly eight millions in return. The trade has steadily increased since that year.

It is interesting to notice the chief articles of commerce. In exports from the coast palm-oil leads, while fruits, wines, and cochineal make up most of the traffic from the islands. From all the west coast in 1874 there was imported 486,544 cwt. of palm-oil and kernels, valued at £ 518,134, or over two and a half million dollars; of india-rubber only 3,427 cwt. were imported, valued at £ 25,792; of coffee, 11,502 cwt., valued at £ 46,506; of spices and ginger, 8,803 cwt., valued at £ 20,908; and, noticeable fact to Americans, of raw cotton 11,315 cwt., valued at £ 32,839.

The chief articles sent out to the islands and coast were cottons, arms and ammunition, haberdashery, hardware and cutlery. Of these cotton was king. The whole number of yards of cotton cloth, mostly prints, sold at these ports for that year amounted to 47,217,966, or nearly forty-eight millions. Allowing thirty yards to a piece, and thirty pieces to a bale, there were over fifty thousand cases of calicoes, whose value was estimated at £ 745,179, or nearly four millions of dollars. Shall America utterly neglect so rich a field, with its hundreds of factories half idle and not a few completely at rest? If she wishes to undersell England in her cotton goods, she must not go to Manchester but to Africa.

Another disagreeable fact these books reveal, — that one hundred and twenty-four British steamers entered the ports of the Canary Islands in 1874, with one hundred thousand tons of ton-

nage, and not one from America. Eighteen sailing-vessels were all that came from the United States, of only five thousand tonnage, and eleven of these were whalers; leaving only seven merchant-ships, of two thousand two hundred tonnage, against one hundred and sixty-two British vessels (sail and steam), of one hundred and seventeen thousand tons. And the Canaries are not British ports, but would as gladly welcome American steamers as English.

It is also noted that in all these parliamentary statistics there is no mention of Liberia. She is included in the British possessions of the Gold Coast, so far as the government reports can do it.

Annexation.

Another thing needed to make the America in Africa a greater and even a great success is closer political connection with America. It was a sad day for the colony when its union with its motherland was sundered. It will be a bright day for that Republic when such relations are resumed. True, it had no political identity with our government, but that will be necessary on renewal of relations. It ought to be a territory of the United States, to become a state when its voting population has reached the legal number.

This would require a change in our theories. We have long proclaimed the Monroe doctrine as our national credo, America for Americans. Yet sixty years have brought us no nearer to it than when it was first announced. England and Spain still hold sovereignty here. Our government has not enlarged its territory perceptibly since that date, except in its acquisitions from Mexico, an American state. There is no probability of any proximate consolidation of this continent under a non-European flag.

On the other hand, since that proclamation, our commerce has extended to every port, our manufactures vie with those of every land, our connections are closer and closer with all continents. If the Monroe doctrine be claimed, America for Americans, then must the converse also be required of us, only America for Americans. This cord of our own twisting will strangle us in the end.

Our political system would easily adapt itself to this enlargement. For our Territories, with a delegate without vote in the

national House of Representatives, would bind our provinces closer to us than Rome's or England's, and as they developed into states they could easily become an integer of the World Republic.

It is a noticeable fact that the utterer of the famous saying was the first to practically annul it. For the share he took in the creation of this American colony his name was given to its capital. For twenty years he labored to plant America in Africa. His deeds rebuked his words. The Republic desires closer connections with the United States. It would not be just to say that it desires annexation, but it is very anxious for very close relations. In the last message of the President, delivered last December, he says: "The people of Liberia have had, all along their history, the duty imposed upon them to entertain the liveliest sense of gratitude to the American government. To it they have looked, for guidance and for help, more than to any other, in the great efforts to establish themselves where, untrammelled, they might develop their manhood, erect a government of their own, and take part in the solution of the problems that look to the enfranchisement and elevation of mankind."

Similar remarks, revealing their feelings towards this country, are found in many of their documents and in much of their conversation. The presence of the "Alaska" two years ago was a great gratification to the people. A lady remarked to me, "We had rather see one American vessel of war here than the whole British navy." She looked out to the old, weather-beaten, leaky barque which lay in the harbor bearing the American flag, and the white and red flag of its owners, "Y. & P.", and said, "I had rather see the ships of Yates and Porterfield, rare as are their visits, than all the English steamers," yet the latter drop their anchor every week, and the former not oftener than every hundred days. She spoke the sentiments of all the people. They talk America; they are Americans. They will make greater sacrifices to win our favor than that of all other nations. They will grant concessions to our government which they would not to any other nation. Their Constitution forbids selling land to any except colored persons, — a wrong regulation, — but they will lease land on long terms to any who desire such privileges.

Great Britain already has all the adjacent coast under her control. From the Gambia to the Gaboon, a distance of nearly two

thousand miles, she holds sway. One governor rules the whole. Liberia is the only break in this line. But for that, her sway would be complete from the Equator to Sahara. Of course this American Naboth does not please the kingly eyes. "How can he be swallowed up?" is the thought of many a representative of England. "We shall be swallowed up," is the fear of many an Afric-American.

Railroad to Cairo.

They need this closer relation to their own advancement in many lines. They need wagon-roads; they cannot make them. They need railroads; they cannot build them. They need a better land-office, where titles may be given to public lands and native claims extinguished. They need a better postal service. These absolute necessities they cannot themselves supply; they are too weak, too few, too poor. America should lend a hand.

Especially might the railroad be built. Scores, if not hundreds, of millions of European money have gone into our railroads. We might repay by building one across Africa.

As we entered the St. Paul's from the Stockton, Dr. Blyden pointed to a path which went up from the bank of the river, near a little Baptist Church at a place called Virginia City. "Do you see that road?" said he. "Yes." "That leads direct to Cairo. I have travelled it a hundred miles, and met in its towns Mohammedan teachers, who had walked from Cairo and even from Mecca." What an enterprise for American explorers would be the traversing of that path! Four thousand miles through an utterly undiscovered country! The projected wagon-road of the King of the Belgiums, or the railroad of Cameron, or the proposed band of fifteen hundred explorers to be sent out by the European Geographical Society, would be lost to public view in Europe and America by the following up of that path to Cairo. It would pass through the richest and most important section of the continent. It would touch Timbuctoo, the Niger, the Wely, the Nyanza district, and the vast unknown territory that lies between the eastern and western centres. It would unite every explorer from Mungo Park to Henry Stanley; Lander and Barth and Park on the west would be joined to Baker, Schweinfurth, Speke, Grant, and Stanley on the east. Only Livingstone and Cameron, whose exploits are in Southern Africa, would be excluded from the list, and even these

would touch it at its eastern division by the Egypt and Good Hope Railroad, which would traverse all Livingstone's chief lines. This road is feasible, is necessary, is certain, is not far distant. Already Cameron urges a road from Zanzibar to Tanganyika, a distance of one thousand miles. He says it can be built for one thousand pounds a mile. It only remains to be seen whether America will help her first-born, her representative, her child still, in every pulse, to win this honor for herself and for us. Such an enterprise will give our trade and manufactures a new opening. Whenever that railroad to Cairo terminates on this side, thither flows the commerce of Africa. Monrovia can have that honor, if we will undertake with her and for her. Let the North Pole remain in its icy isolation, while this vaster, nobler, and more useful undertaking is furthered by our government.

The latest and greatest of African discoveries should increase our zeal. Stanley has revealed the secret, to find which Livingstone died and Cameron labored in vain. He has fought his way down the Lualaba, and proved that river and the Kongo to be one and the same. His discovery adds new honor to America. Three of the small company of explorers are her sons, — Ledjard, Long, and Stanley. Ledjard was almost the first who sought to master those secrets. Stanley is the last of the victors.

Each of them will be matched and surpassed by him who shall unite St. Paul's and the Nile, Monrovia and Cairo. That victory can be American also if she wills it. Already proposals for initiating it are being submitted. Let them be fostered by our citizens and by the general government.

No American should fail to sympathize with this struggling Republic. It is bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. It is our contribution to the vast problem now being solved in that marvel of continents. It is the seed we plant in that rich soil. It is the leaven that we have placed in that mighty lump. We should study it in all its numerous and growing phases. We should see it in the light not only of its interests, but of our own also. We should form closer connections with it in business, and then we shall in politics. We should bind it to us by steam, by mail, by trade, by political alliance; in a word, we should help America in Africa for the sake of our own Africa in America.

GILBERT HAVEN.

Art. VIII. — The Situation in France.

It might perhaps be not unreasonably imagined that the general similarity of the political influences now at work throughout Europe must be beginning to produce some similarity of results, and that distinct affinities must be becoming perceptible between the political conceptions of different countries. But scarcely anything of the kind has yet happened. The distinctions between the political dispositions of races are still, as a general rule, almost as marked as the differences of language. No two nations hold the same view of their political situation or of their political duties; no two nations have yet learned to apply the same precepts of guidance to their political working or the same remedies to their political difficulties. Here and there, it is true, the evolutions of the more advanced divisions of Liberalism do offer a certain appearance of international brotherhood, but the Conservatism of each country remains rigidly and exclusively its own. Each country in Europe has shaped its Conservatism for itself alone; and each national Conservatism goes its own way, in the conviction that it alone understands what it needs; each one acts for itself without the slightest reference to the others.

The diversity which exists between the many forms of Conservatism which have thus been developed has just been rendered remarkably apparent by the events which have occurred during the last four months in France. An attempt at "Conservative reaction" was commenced by Marshal MacMahon on the 16th of May: he suddenly turned out a Ministry which was supported by the Chamber; he dissolved the Chamber because it had supported the Ministry; and then he changed all the prefects and other functionaries, and publicly took every possible measure to influence the results of the new elections. In England particularly, in the birthplace and home of the highest, most intelligent, and most practical Conservatism of the time, reprobation was expressed with curious unanimity. The English press discussed the policy of Marshal MacMahon with a calmness, fairness, and thoroughness

which bestowed special value on its judgment, and it wound up by the declaration that, in its opinion, Despotism, and not Conservatism, is the true designation for that policy.

In order to clearly understand the considerations which have led English Conservatism to form this judgment, it is essential to remember that English Conservatism has assumed in our day a totally new character. It is therefore in reality, as events have now fashioned it, neither more nor less than an extremely prudent, slow-marching power of Liberalism.

Consequently, when English Conservatives proceeded to measure "the Act of the 16th of May," their first step was to inquire as to the precise object of that act; their second was to ascertain whether the object was being preserved by Constitutional means. On neither point did they obtain a satisfactory answer. The movement of the 16th May was most certainly Conservative, in the true European sense of the word, in so far as it claimed to be a struggle against Radicalism. And, furthermore, if it could be proved that each nation has really a right to a Conservatism of its own, unlike that of its neighbor, we should then be forced to recognize that the French are fully entitled to exercise that right, and to frame and practise their Conservatism as they may themselves think best, according to what may appear to them to be the necessities of their situation, without any reference to what is thought or done elsewhere. This is forcibly the argument which the French themselves employ towards their foreign critics; and, at first sight, there does appear to be some value in their reasoning. It seems to be just to urge that, as political tenets are evidently still generated everywhere by local forces, as the levelling impulses of the period have not succeeded thus far in unifying their shape, as their character still continues to be determined, in every land, by a collection of influences resulting from the history and temper of the people, and as those influences differ in every country in Europe, therefore those tenets themselves cannot be and ought not to be universally identical. And if there be variety in the tenets, there must, of necessity, be even more variety in the manner of applying them, for surrounding incitations make themselves felt in the direction of action almost as easily as in the formation of opinion. So far, and in these general terms, it may be owned that each nation is entitled to entire liberty of political fancy.

But does it not seem that this reasoning can be logically used by Liberals only? Is there not in the very principle and sentiment of Conservatism, when in its present calmed-down English form, something which rebels against the notion of variety and self-assertion? Can it not be argued that while modern Liberalism may justly be regarded as a product of accidents of time and place and things, and while, consequently, all Liberals may be thoroughly justified in claiming to form their creeds irrespective of each other, and to select their measures according to the special conditions in which they may personally find themselves placed, Conservatism, on the contrary, is a system which, by its essence and its mode of breathing, ought to rest everywhere on one general basis of unity and collectiveness, to present everywhere the same external features, and to resist everywhere the tendency to local transformations? Liberalism may be compared to Protestantism, with its indefinite capacity of variation, but Conservatism should, it seems to me, resemble Catholicism, with its identity of universal character. The work that Conservatism has to do is fundamentally alike all over Europe. The ferments which it has to calm and the ambitions which it has to moderate have become identical in nature, though they remain different in power, in all the countries of the Old World. The system of its action should therefore be substantially the same in all lands.

If these considerations can be regarded as valid, if Conservatism ought, by its own quality and in its own interest, to join hands all over Europe, it becomes difficult to allow that the French reasoning is sound and that there ought to be as many Conservatives as there are nations. Theoretically there should be only one European Conservatism. However large be the faculties of special action which may be conceded to local necessities, they should be limited to mere forms and processes; nothing ought to interfere with the maintenance of the great outline as an international whole. Conservatism ought to be everywhere fighting the same battle in the same way; it ought everywhere, without distinction of latitude, to be a system of check to the needlessly rapid development of Liberal aspirations, it ought to be everywhere, in its true sense, in its perfect meaning, a permanent obstacle to that development.

But the Conservatism of France is very different from all this. It is a fierce scheme of defence against Liberalism in any form whatever; it angrily repudiates concessions; its nature is essentially

combative; force, not reason, is its preferred weapon; it rejects all idea of uniformity of interests with other Conservatisms; it sets up special rules of its own; it acts for itself. Let us see what are the explanations which it puts forward in support of this attitude.

A preliminary observation must, however, be made here. The very first proposition which Frenchmen advance in discussions with foreigners is that the situation of France is so totally and so radically different from that of all other countries that strangers are necessarily incapable, from the simple influence of their surroundings, of forming a dispassionate judgment on it. It is asserted that no one but a Frenchman can understand the exact bearings of French questions, and that foreigners inevitably approach them in a condition of ignorance and of mental habit and prejudice which takes away beforehand all value from their criticisms. It is true that when foreigners happen to have praise to offer, they are complimented on their intelligence, their breadth of view, and their capacity for solving French problems; but if they blame, they are at once reminded that it is not possible for them to know anything whatever of the matters which they presume to examine. It is necessary to begin by recognizing this difficulty and by accepting it as it stands; no one can change it, the French will never admit that anybody can be right who ventures to suggest that they may be wrong.

This attitude of theirs need not, however, stop us. We can discuss their situation for our own instruction without presuming to offer them advice.

French Conservatives assert that the Act of the 16th of May, and the measures in support of it which have been successively adopted, have all been absolutely indispensable for the safety of the country. It is declared, with earnest conviction, by persons of experience and character, by persons inviting confidence and respect, that "society is in danger"; and that if the late Chamber of Deputies had been permitted to live on, it would assuredly have voted away, one after the other, all the props of "moral order," and have gradually introduced legalized Radicalism as the principle and practice of government. It is affirmed that all sorts of risks are in the air, that another '93 is coming; that the Radicals are rapidly becoming the masters of France; and that, as soon as they are so, they will suppress religion, marriage, and the army, will enact that all taxes shall be payable by the rich alone, in proportion to their riches, and

will deliver up the land to the appetites of the lower classes. A cry of "Nous serons perdus" is in nearly all the drawing-rooms and in a good many of the newspapers.

It must be owned that all this makes up a gloomy picture, and that, if it were true, France would cease, for the moment, to be pleasant to live in. But is it true? And even if it is true, are the means which have been selected to combat the expected danger such as people who call themselves Conservatives ought to employ?

In seeking to verify the truth of the assertion that "society is in danger," it is necessary to take account not only of facts, but of apprehensions as well. We see a certain number of facts. We see that out of the five hundred and thirty-three deputies who composed the late French Chamber, three hundred and sixty-three were Republicans of various shades; that the rest were Legitimists, Orleanists, or Bonapartists; and that the Republicans had, consequently, a majority of about five to two. We see that of the three hundred and sixty-three some forty or fifty were violent Radicals; that these Radicals proposed an amnesty for the Commune, and that they brought forward some few other measures of a distinctly "subversive" kind; but we also see that both the amnesty and the other proposals were contemptuously rejected by the moderate Republicans as well as by the Conservatives. We see that on the 4th of May the whole Republican party did adopt an order of the day against, "Clericalism," but we also see that the very same men had previously voted an increase in the Church Budget. We see that the Republicans included in their ranks at least two hundred deputies who in any other assembly in the world would be counted amongst the ardent Conservatives, but who, because they have accepted the Republic, are indiscriminately called Radicals by the French Monarchists. We see that in all the elections which have taken place since 1871 France has manifested a constantly increasing desire to maintain the Republic; we see that the chances of the various Monarchical parties have proportionately decreased. And, as evident, undeniable facts, that is about all that we can see.

But when we turn to apprehensions, the field of contemplation becomes vastly larger. Fear is so feverishly inventive, it takes such small account of facts, that its developments have no fixed

limits. Facts, indeed, are obstacles in its way. So it either thrusts them aside or travesties them in such fashion that they cease to be recognizable. It seems to us that this is precisely what is happening in France, for we have extreme difficulty in keeping facts in view at all when we listen to the apprehensions expressed by French Conservatives, and when we read about apprehensions in French Conservative newspapers. Apprehension has carried them so far that, with all sympathy for them in the terrible position in which they say they stand, we are altogether unable to follow them; the speed at which they travel beats us. To correctly describe all their misgivings in detail would be to enumerate nearly all the known forms of social disturbance. A large number of most worthy French people appear, according to their own declaration, to be living in a state of permanent terror, in a cankering conviction that spoliation, ruin, and national convulsion are hanging over their heads. And in all this they are perfectly sincere; no one who knows them can doubt that they feel what they say, and that they fully believe it to be true.

Now, do the facts justify the apprehensions? Was the presence of fifty Radicals in the late Chamber a sufficient motive for the fright from which so many of the French are suffering? Is the prospect of a complete Radical triumph in the future so probable that all this terror must be regarded as natural? Is the general attitude of the Republican party menacing to "moral order"?

To these questions an impartial foreign on-looker can but answer, No. The peril is not real; it exists only in imagination. France is in no more danger of a Radical irruption than Germany or England is. The facts point to this conclusion, all the moderate organs of the Liberal press assert its accuracy, the Conservatives themselves are absolutely unable to prove the contrary. Even if we quote no evidence whatever from the Liberal side, even if we neglect all the vigorous and logical denials with which every accusation put forward by the Conservatives has been encumbered by their opponents, we still shall find in the testimony supplied by the Conservatives themselves sufficient proof that they have had no valid motive for their recent action.

During the debates which took place in June in the Chamber and the Senate, the Duc de Broglie and several members of his cabinet made speeches explanatory of the Act of the 16th of May,

and of the line of policy which they intended to pursue. We have read those speeches with care, with no preconceived intention, with full willingness to discover in them a demonstration that the Marshal has reason on his side, and, to our regret, we have been unable to unearth any proof whatever of the kind. Those speeches contain a good many general accusations, a good many vague assertions, a good many personal attacks; they are full of frequently repeated expressions of alarm, and of varied prophecies about the spread of "subversive ideas"; but in not one of them is there to be discovered a clear, intelligible statement of incontrovertible facts, such as is indispensable — in our eyes at least — to justify the great party movement which has been made and to define its precise objects. The movement was declared by every speaker to be directed against Radicalism, but no speaker was able to inform his hearers where Radicalism was and what it was doing. Indeed, the Duc de Broglie himself seemed to admit that the Radicalism against which he professes to be contending is not, at present, a tangible force, for, though he spoke of it as a danger so real and so terrible that it necessitated and justified all that has been done since the 16th of May, he admitted, at the same time, that its essential present characteristic is to be "latent." In substance, he acknowledged that the Act of the 16th of May was directed against fatal contingencies, not against actual realities; that its object was not to cure immediate evils, but to prevent France from drifting into worse difficulties; that it was an act of anticipation and prevision, based upon distrust of what might perhaps happen hereafter.

Now, in trying to appreciate this attitude, let us remember that, though by its recent political history and by the action of universal suffrage France is a land in which advanced Democratic ideas find numerous supporters, it is equally true that, by the temperament of its rural population, and by the wide distribution of property, the majority of its inhabitants are strongly Conservative in their inclinations. Two conflicting popular tendencies find themselves, therefore, face to face: one of them, by its nature, asserts itself more noisily than the other; but it by no means follows that greater noise means greater strength, and no error would be more complete than to suppose that, because French Democrats talk habitually more loudly than the Conservatives around them, they

therefore constitute a large party in the nation. The proportion of Radical electors in the country cannot, evidently, exceed the proportion of Radical Deputies in the Chamber, for the latter represent the former. We have just said that there were fifty of the latter in the recently dissolved Assembly, or one tenth or one eleventh of the whole; we may therefore argue, with every prospect of being right, that not more than one tenth of French electors hold Radical doctrines. Nine tenths are on the other side, — they are either moderate Liberals or Conservatives, either moderate Republicans or Monarchists, — and when we allow for the altogether special circumstance that the entire population votes, that any man above the age of twenty-one expresses his preferences at the poll, we can scarcely seriously consider that, in the present excited condition of opinion all over Europe, these proportions are remarkably bad.

Here lies the whole question. Are the French Conservatives right in protesting that the tenth, if left unchecked, may one day become a majority, or are we right in asserting that there are no reasons whatever for expecting that the tenth will augment in any important degree? In trying to judge the case we have, at all events, one advantage over the French, — an advantage which even they will not dispute, — we are not influenced by fear. We are keenly interested in the matter, but we have no fright about it, partly because it does not affect us personally, partly because we are convinced that there is no cause for fright. The situation is composed, as we have already said, of a mixture of facts and apprehensions; there can be no dispute about the facts, for everybody can see them, and they have just been enumerated over again with precision and authority in the address to his electors which M. Thiers drew up before his death, and which was published here on the 24th instant; the divergence is limited to the apprehensions on which, as we view the matter, the whole case of the French Conservatives is based. Our opinion is that the apprehensions are wildly exaggerated, and that, consequently, the case virtually collapses.

Of course French Conservatives have to defend themselves against the rising tide of Democratic claims; but the Conservatives of all other countries have to do the same, and we can detect nothing sufficiently grave in the position of the French as a

whole to entitle them to assert, as they do, that they are specially and particularly menaced by dangers which are proper to their own land alone. They have to contend against the same appetites, the same envies, and the same hates as we see at work everywhere else. We recognize that they are exceptionally powerful in France, — it is quite natural that they should be so, after all that has happened there; but we recognize, at the same time, that France is in an equally exceptional position for struggling successfully against them, by ordinary means and without employing violence, for the good reason that the larger part of her population possesses property of some kind, and would therefore suffer in money by the adoption of revolutionary measures. The personal pocket-interest of the majority is a weapon of defence against Radicalism which exists in no country in the world excepting France. It suffices by itself to protect the nation from all real danger, and it may be trusted to do its work completely.

We therefore take the view that the attitude of the French Conservatives since the 16th of May has not been justified by either present facts or future prospects; that it has been a purposeless outbreak; and that under such conditions it cannot be considered as a true product of Conservatism.

But if its motive cause was not Conservatism, what was it?

Since 1871 the members of the various Monarchical parties have preserved the hope either that France would voluntarily re-establish a throne, or that, if it silently accepted a Republic, the Republicans would commit excesses which would drive the nation back to a sovereign. But it has grown gradually obvious that, according to the seeming probabilities of the situation, neither one nor the other of these eventualities is likely to be realized, at all events for the present. On the contrary, it has been becoming more and more evident, not only that the Republican form of government is accepted without complaint, and even without a wish for change, by a majority of the people, but also that the Republican leaders fully perceive the risks of rough processes, and have taught themselves enough patience and enough self-control to be able to govern moderately and constitutionally. The Monarchists have therefore been obliged to recognize that their prospects are getting dull; that the nation is slipping further and further from them; and that their opponents are too prudent to supply, by their

own misconduct, arguments against themselves. It is then altogether natural that, under such circumstances, the Monarchists should incline to make an immediate effort to rouse the country in their favor and to profit by the Act of the 16th of May, in order to try to bring about an anti-Republican revulsion. But, true as this may be within certain limits, we are unable to attribute either to the Marshal or to the Duc de Broglie any original intention of utilizing the movement, if it happened to succeed, in order to bring about a Restoration.

Our reason for this opinion is that success at the coming elections would instantly break up the so-called "Conservative Union" into hostile sections; that the new majority would be destroyed by its own dissensions the instant it was created; and that no majority at all would remain available for the choice of a sovereign. It is difficult enough as it is — we see that each day — to hold together the discordant elements of the "Union"; even the urgent necessities of the common struggle against the Left are insufficient to prevent its members from quarrelling amongst themselves. What then would be their attitude towards each other after a success? No, — Monarchy may perhaps be re-established in France by force, it may perhaps be hatched hereafter out of new circumstances which no one canfore see to-day; but, assuredly, the 16th of May has no power of engendering it, and was not intended to engender it, even if there were but one pretender, or even if the elections were to produce a majority composed exclusively of the adherents of one party, even then the majority would not be master of the position, for it would have to obtain the approval of the Senate in favor of its candidate to the throne. But as there are two pretenders, and a Constitutional group besides, representing the defunct Orleanists; as the majority would necessarily be composed, in varying proportions, of supporters of each of the three ambitions; and as, finally, it is eminently unlikely that the Conservatives will obtain a majority at all, — it cannot reasonably be anticipated that the new Chamber will be able to vote away the Republic. Even if the Monarchical theory were a pure abstract idea in France, without any preference for a dynasty, a name, a flag, a press, a person, or a principle, even then it is most improbable, in the present state of opinion, that the united advocates of the idea would be able to upset the

Republic. But to suppose that any one of the temporarily associated though inherently hostile components of the "Conservative Union" can carry its claimant to power by parliamentary action alone, in the teeth of the rival Monarchical parties and of the Republicans as well, is to imagine more than the frequent realization in France of the improbable and the difficult justifies us in conceiving.

Under such conditions as these it cannot be seriously urged that the Marshal, when he took his first step in the matter, indulged the dream of placing a crown on the head of either Henry V. or Napoleon IV. Other people have, perhaps, formed hopes of that sort since, but the Marshal and his ministers cannot be supposed to have been foolish enough to look forward to such an impossibility. Our belief is that, so far as its original objects and intentions were concerned, the Act of the 16th May was no more Monarchical than it was Conservative.

We conceive it to have been simply an outbreak of unreasoned duty on the part of the Marshal. Consequently, as we view the question, the movement of the 16th May was, in its origin, nothing more than a personal outburst against an imaginary danger; and though the members of the Monarchical factions are now attempting to extract the most they can out of it for themselves, we see no reason for accusing the Marshal of having wished to serve their purposes, or to destroy the Republic over which he presides.

But directly we turn our eyes from the supposed intention of the Marshal to the means which he has allowed to be employed for carrying out those intentions, the whole question changes its aspect, for nothing can be more regrettable and more blamable, as regards both policy and honesty, than the acts of the ministers to whom the Marshal has confided the direction of his attack against Radicalism. Instead of acting on the doctrine which is now accepted everywhere outside France, that public discussion constitutes the surest, the safest, and the most effective obstacle that can be thrown in the way of political follies, and that it supplies the natural form of appeal from the exaggerations of a minority to the common-sense of the people at large, these ministers have endeavored to stop discussion and to put force into its place. They pretend, like most of the so-called Conservatives of

France, that though discussion may suffice in other lands, it affords no protection whatever here; the reason being, according to them, that neither universal suffrage nor French character is amenable to reason. They insist that French electors must be "guided" to the poll, that they must be told how to vote, and that all the forms of administrative pressure must be utilized in order to induce them to follow the advice which is offered to them by the government. This was the system employed by Napoleon III. This is the system which the Ministry of the 16th May is applying, with far more violence than ever the Empire dared to use, and which, worse than all, it is applying for the exclusive benefit of Royalist and Imperialist candidates.

Even if the system of governmental pressure on electors were directed solely against Radicalism, even if it were utilized in favor of moderate Republican candidates only, it would even then be an indefensible and unconstitutional abuse of power. But that abuse of power becomes absolutely monstrous when it is employed by the government of a Republic against Republicans and in favor of Monarchical candidates alone. Yet that is what the government of Marshal MacMahon is doing at this moment. After publicly protesting that its whole efforts were to be set going against Radicalism, it is now concentrating them with the bitterest animosity against the election of Republican deputies of any kind whatever. The result is, that though we are convinced the Marshal really intended at first to maintain the Republic, and that he fully recognized the hopelessness of any attempt at Monarchical restoration by parliamentary means, he stands now before the world as the supporter of an electoral policy of which the declared object is to prevent Republicans from being elected.

And really, according to our view of the whole affair, it is quite natural, and even inevitable, that he should have arrived at this strange position. He began by an undefined onslaught against an enemy which his own ministers declared to be almost invisible and intangible, but he has been led on by degrees, as frequently happens in such cases, to a defined attack against a totally different foe. In order to make war on Radicalism, he called the Conservatives to his aid; but, as the Conservatives are all Monarchists, they only joined him on condition of trying to utilize the opportunity for upsetting the Republic. And as French Conserva-

tism is in reality absolutism; as it is made up of retrograde class prejudices; as it is a remnant of the old spirit of the *noblesse*, which hates innovation; as it cannot bring itself to accept controversy or publicity; as, in its eyes, publicity means a still further spreading of "detestable ideas," — it of course proclaims that the only way to deal with its opponents is to silence them by force. In its terror of revolution from below, it shouts out for revolution from above, and it has done so this time in a fashion which has exposed Marshal MacMahon to the accusation of seeking to destroy the Republic of which he is the President.

Now it so happens that there is a curious example before us, in France itself, of the effects of the use of force in questions of this kind. During the Second Empire, which was certainly a government of force, we heard constantly of the growth of Socialism in France; we were told that the desire of seizing the properties of the rich for division amongst the poor was becoming general there, and that if it were not compressed with energy it would burst out destructively. Well, the Empire has disappeared, and, wonderful to relate, Socialism has disappeared with it! No more Socialism is to be found in France. It could not support the examination which free institutions turned upon it, so it vanished. It may be answered of course by French Conservatives that its place has been taken by Radicalism, and that France has gained nothing by the change. But that reply does not affect the fact that directly force ceased to be the principle of government, directly discussion became possible, the particular form of danger presented by Socialism at once died out. It transferred its home to Germany and Russia, as if its natural disposition were to place itself in opposition to governments of force, wherever it can find them.

Now surely it may be argued that if the admission of free discussion has thus already choked Socialism, it would in all probability produce in time an analogous effect on the other political extravagances which ardent imaginations may successively invent. Surely there ought to be an encouraging symptom for French Conservatives in the melting away of Socialism; surely there ought to be in this experience an evidence of the corroding action which is exercised on all utopias by simply turning strong illumination on them. Like other speculative exaggerations, the follies of Radicalism thrive best when they are left unexamined; light is

always dangerous to them, and is not unfrequently fatal. But the use of light as a defensive arm necessarily implies confidence and courage in those who employ it; it indicates entire trust in their own position, their own strength, their own capacity; tremblers shrink from it lest it should do more harm to themselves than to their foes. For these reasons French Conversatives do not dare to adopt light as their weapon; they are all faint-hearted; they show us distinctly by their acts that they have no faith either in themselves or in their cause or in the true armory of Conservatism. They have always cried out for the aid of force, and they are doing it again now.

This time, indeed, they are surpassing the arbitrariness of the Second Empire. The whole administration of the country (and we know what an all-absorbing, all-controlling machine the French administration is) has been converted into an electoral agency. The French newspapers are full each day of new tales of violent action on the part of ministers, prefects, and their subordinates, and of government inventions for influencing the choice of the voters. It is the imperial system applied again, but without its purpose. And if Napoleon III., with his name, his prestige, and his power, was unable to maintain a government by force, is it to be expected that the present temporary organization, which has neither name nor prestige, will succeed any better? France has become a laboratory in which new experiments are tried, but it is not just to apply to her a second time a series of old experiments, which have failed already. The system of compression produced Sedan, and was followed by the Commune. What can France expect to gain by setting it to work again?

That system sets the example of contempt for the very rules whose observance constitutes the essence of true Conservatism, and yet it claims to be Conservative! This strange contradiction makes us wonder if really there are any Conservatives in France at all. There are Tories in abundance, but where are the Conservatives? There is no reason whatever why they should not be found in France, as they are elsewhere, for Conservatism is, by its nature, as universal as, by its uses, it is universally necessary. Modern government could no more proceed in safety without it than a ship could navigate without a rudder, or a coach go down a hill without a drag. But its functions are as clearly defined as

those of a rudder or a drag, and a "revolution from above" is clearly not one of them.

Is it, perchance, because real Conservatism is understood or practised by no one in France, because it acts there as a handcuff, and not as a rudder or a drag, that France has never yet been able to establish a well-balanced and durable government? One is tempted to think so, and to attribute the constantly recurring political difficulties of the French to the insufficiencies of their Conservatism, even more than to the extravagances of their Radicalism.

Before this article is published the results of the elections will be known. But whatever be these results, they will provide no solution of the difficulties of the position. If the Conservatives obtain a majority, they will drag the country into new dynastic quarrels. If the Liberals retain their ascendency, they will assuredly employ it, not only to consolidate the Republic, but also to tie the hands of the Conservatives for the future. In both cases the cause of true liberty will suffer.

The responsibility of the damage done to France and to liberty will rest on the heads of the men who originated the folly of the 16th of May.

A Paris Resident.

Art. IX. — How shall the Nation regain Prosperity?

PART III.

Our Navigation Laws: their Origin and Influence.

The truth of the following propositions may be assumed as thoroughly established: *First*, that the producing capacity of the United States, especially for its so-called manufactured products, owing to our great natural resources, and our wonderful utilization of brains and machinery, is far in excess of our utmost possible requirements for domestic consumption. Enlarged markets in foreign countries for the sale of our accumulated products are therefore the first national necessity of the hour; and until they are obtained, the people of the United States may be sure that there are no good times ahead, and no full and profitable employment for all their labor and capital. We shall continue, as now, "smothered in our own grease." This limitation of our foreign markets, existing in a degree that has absolutely no parallel in the modern history of civilized nations, is referable to various agencies, the first and foremost of which is the maintenance, on our part, of a fiscal (tariff) policy, which has obstructed or absolutely prevented reciprocal trade between the United States and *all* foreign nations, and which has sought to sell to the people of Chili, Buenos Ayres, Australia, Cape of Good Hope, and all other countries the very *largest* possible amount of the products of *our* labor and to buy in return the very *smallest* possible amount of the products of *their* labor. So long as such a policy is continued, any large and profitable foreign commerce for the United States is simply an impossibility.

But supposing, for example, as is undoubtedly the case, that the United States can now produce and sell cotton fabrics, agricultural implements, hardware of all descriptions, gunpowder, railroad supplies, boots and shoes, and many other commodities which the South American states want in large quantities, to greater advantage than can the countries of Europe; and supposing all obstacles

in the way of these states paying directly for what they may buy of us with their own special products — copper, wool, and the like — to be removed, so far as they can be, by a revision of our tariff, — something more would be requisite even then, in order that our trade and commerce may be fully developed and increased. The markets where the exchanges in question are to take place are not Boston, New York, and Baltimore, but Valparaiso, Buenos Ayres, and Rio Janeiro; and to reach these markets ships running regularly, speedily, and with the maximum of economy, are essential. And these ships, furthermore, must be steamers, for the transportation of valuable merchandise by sailing vessels for any considerable distances has become almost obsolete. But at present the United States, speaking comparatively, has neither ships nor steamers for this work. At present this country cannot boast of so much as even a single line running to the east coast of South America; while to the west coast we have but one, running bi-monthly from Boston to Valparaiso, established by a mercantile firm of the former city as a matter of experiment and for their own special trade convenience. On the other hand, Europe sends one steamer a day on the average to Brazil and the La Plata, and seven per month to the Pacific coast; England, as might be expected, taking the lead in this business, but France, Italy, Belgium, and Germany also actively participating. Any advantages over Europe which the United States may enjoy in respect to the cost of production of cotton fabrics and other commodities are, therefore, not only counterbalanced, but so much more than counterbalanced, by the advantages which Europe possesses over the United States in respect to facilities for transportation and the cost of freights to most of the South American markets, that the wonder is, not that our merchants and manufacturers export so little, but rather that under the circumstances they are able to export anything. If to-day it is desired to send goods expeditiously from the United States to Buenos Ayres, Montevideo, Rio Janeiro, or Pernambuco, the only way is to ship them first to England, and then reship them; and the freight from New York to Liverpool, with the commissions, expenses of reshipment, and insurance (at nearly double the rates charged in Europe), all constitute additions to the price of the American goods, from which the goods of the foreign manufacturers are exempt. To transport goods from New

York to the west coast of South America (Peru or Chili), from New York by steamer (*via* the Isthmus), is reported to cost $44 per ton gold; and from England, $15 to $20. From Europe, by rail, to the west coast the cost is reported at from $3 to $6, and from the United States at from $10 to $12. Cheap, therefore, in comparison with European products, as are many of our manufactured articles at the present time in the *home* market, the only thing an American manufacturing exporter can boast about them, when they reach a *foreign* market, is their quality, and not their price.

Under such a condition of affairs the question naturally arises, How is it that the United States, formerly a maritime power of the first class, has no ships or steamers that can now profitably compete for the carrying of even its own exports, not merely with the ships of our great commercial rival, England, but also with those of Italy, Sweden, Norway, and Germany? How is it that the commercial tonnage of our nearest maritime neighbors, the British Provinces, as well as that of Great Britain, increases year by year, while the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States had nothing better to report to the nation in December, 1876, than a decrease of over thirty-one per cent in the tonnage of vessels built in this country in 1876, as compared with the returns of the preceding year, 1875? The answer is to be found in a variety of circumstances; prominent, if not first among which, are our so-called "navigation laws," the nature and operation of which, to a majority of our citizens, are as much of a mystery as are the laws of the ancient Persians. Out of the three hundred and seventy-eight members of Congress, it is safe to assert that there are not fifty that can at once define the difference between a vessel "*enrolled*" and a vessel "*registered*"; and very few officials in the custom's service or Treasury Department that can at once tell correctly and in detail how to transfer the license of a merchant-ship or pleasure-yacht from one collection district of the United States to another.* It is time, therefore, to say a word about these same navigation laws; how

* It required some of the best legal talent in the city of New York during the past winter to effect this result in the case of a pleasure-yacht; and the owner of the yacht, under date of June 4, 1877, writes that, although he has done his best, and incurred considerable expense and no end of trouble, to find out the law and comply with it, he is in daily expectation of a visit from the revenue officials of the United States, and a notification of a fine for some violation of the statutes.

they originated; what are their provisions, and something of their influence. And first about their origin.

When the convention that framed the Federal Constitution came together in 1789, there were two *sectional* questions of importance that came before it, and two only, — the question of slavery, and the regulation of commerce. The extreme Southern States wanted slavery and the slave-trade legalized and protected. The South, as a whole, also favored free trade. New England, on the other hand, largely interested in shipping, a not insignificant proportion of which, either directly or indirectly, was engaged in the slave-trade (her people, Massachusetts men especially, importing molasses from the West Indies, distilling it into rum, using the rum to buy slaves on the coast of Africa, and selling the slaves at the South), desired, through a system of navigation laws, to hold a monopoly of the commerce of the new nation; while the Middle States generally wanted neither slavery nor navigation laws. The sentiment of the country as a whole, at this period, was averse to slavery, and, the cultivation of cotton not having then been introduced to any considerable extent into the Southern States, or made the source of profit that it subsequently became through the invention of the cotton-gin, the antislavery feeling had developed itself much more strongly in some parts of the South than it had in New England.* So that if New England had been as true to the great

* "The sentiment was common to Virginia, at least among the intelligent and educated, that slavery was cruel and unjust. The delegates from Virginia and Maryland, hostile to navigation laws, were still more warmly opposed to the African slave-trade. Delaware by her constitution, Virginia and Maryland by special laws, had prohibited the importation of slaves. North Carolina had shown a disposition to conform to the policy of her Northern sisters, by an act which denounced the further introduction of slaves into the State as 'highly impolitic.'" (Hildreth, Vol. III. pp. 508 – 510.) Pennsylvania founded a society for the abolition of slavery in 1775, with Franklin for its first president, and Rush its first secretary. New York had a similar society in 1785, with Jay as its first president and Hamilton as his successor? On the other hand, as some illustration of the then current New England sentiment, attention is asked to the following extract from an oration by Hon. David Daggett (afterwards United States Senator and Chief Justice of Connecticut), at New Haven, July 4, 1787, — a month before the Federal Convention, then in session, took up the subject of slavery and the navigation laws. The orator, after speaking of the gratitude and generous reward the country owed to the officers and soldiers of the late army, and its immediate inability to discharge such obligations, continued: —

"If, however, there is not a sufficiency of property in the country, I would project a plan to acquire it. . . . . Let us repeal all the laws against the African slave-trade, and

principles of liberty as her people were always professing, it seems probable that, aided by the Middle States, and, in part by the South, she might have brought about an arrangement under the Federal Constitution, at the time of its formation, for the gradual, but no very remote extinction of American slavery, and an avoidance of the expenditure of blood and treasure which has since been entailed by its continuance. Selfishness and the love of the dollar, however, proved as omnipotent then as they ever have, and the result was a compromise of iniquity; the power to regulate commerce being inserted in the Constitution, together with, and as a consideration for, the extension by New England votes of the slave-trade until 1808, and the prohibition of export duties.*

When Congress met, New England was not slow in demand-

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undertake the truly benevolent and humane merchandise, of importing negroes to christianize them. This has been practised by individuals among us, and they have found it a lucrative branch of business. Let us then make a national matter of it. . . . . We should have the sublime satisfaction of enriching ourselves, and at the same time rendering happy thousands of those blacks, by instructing them in the ways of religion. . . . . This would be no innovation. . . . . This country permitted it for many years, among their other acts of justice; but their refusing to pay sacred and solemn obligations is not of so long standing."

* This curious chapter in our national history, although familiar to historical students, has been all but unknown to the mass of the American people. The evidence of its truth is, however, complete. The subject of the slave-trade and the representation of slaves being before the Convention, Gouverneur Morris proposed that these matters, as well as the propositions relative to the navigation laws and taxes on exports, be referred to a committee; remarking, in connection, that "these things may form a bargain among the Northern and Southern States." The hint thus given was not thrown away. All these matters were referred to a committee; and what this committee did is thus told by Luther Martin, one of its members, in a letter to the speaker of the Maryland House of Delegates: "I found the Eastern States, notwithstanding their aversion to slavery, were very willing to indulge the Southern States at least with a temporary liberty to prosecute the slave-trade, provided the Southern States would, in turn, gratify them, by laying no restriction on [the enactment of] navigation acts; and after a little time the committee agreed on a report, by which the general government was to be prohibited from preventing the importation of slaves for a limited time, and the restrictive clause relative to navigation acts was to be omitted." — ELLIOTT'S *Debates*, 2d ed., Vol. I. p. 373.

"Thus, by an understanding, or, as Gouverneur Morris called it, 'a bargain,' between the commercial representatives of the Northern States and the delegates of South Carolina and Georgia, and in spite of the opposition of Maryland and Virginia, the unrestricted power of Congress to enact navigation laws was conceded to the Northern merchants, and to the Carolina rice-planters, as an equivalent, twenty years continuance of the African slave-trade." — HILDRETH'S *United States*, Vol. III. p. 520.

ing the fulfilment of her part of this compact; and in 1789, 1792, and subsequently in 1817, a system of navigation laws was enacted which were avowedly modelled on the very statutes of Great Britain which the Americans, as colonists, had found so oppressive that they constituted one prime cause of their rebellion against the mother country;* the main features of difference between the two systems being, that wherever it was possible to make the American laws more rigorous and arbitrary than the British model, the opportunity was not neglected. And these laws, without material change, hold their place to-day upon our national statute-book. International trade since their enactment has come to be carried on by entirely different methods. Ships are different, voyages are different, crews are different, men's habits of thought and methods of doing business are different; but the old, mean, arbitrary laws, which the last century devised to shackle commerce, remain unchanged in the United States alone of all the nations; and, what is most singular of all, it is claimed to be the part of wisdom and the evidence of patriotism to uphold and defend them. Their essential provisions are as follows: No American citizen is allowed to import a foreign-built vessel, in the sense of purchasing, acquiring a registry or title to, or of using her as his own property; the only other absolute prohibi-

* The sentiment of the country in favor of restrictive navigation laws was much stronger in 1792 than it was at the time of the formation of the Federal Constitution. This was due to the exceedingly illiberal commercial policy which England, during the interval, had adopted towards the United States. At the close of the war Mr. Pitt, desirous of dealing liberally with the new nation, introduced into Parliament a bill allowing comparatively free commerce between the United States and the British West Indies; but the measure, owing to the strong opposition of the British shipping interest, was not only defeated, but in 1788 an act was passed forbidding the importation of American produce into the West Indies, except in British vessels. And as some further indication of the then British jealousy of the commercial competition of the United States, it may be mentioned that Lord Sheffield, who headed the opposition to Mr. Pitt's bill, published in 1783 a book in which he advised the British government not to interfere too extensively with the Barbary pirates; on the ground that, through lack of any sufficient naval force on the part of the United States to restrain and punish, — but which force Great Britain was known to possess, — the operations of the corsairs would be confined mainly to the destruction of American commerce, and of the little states of Italy, whereby British commerce would be benefited. Under such circumstances, and with a view simply of retaliating against Great Britain, the proposition to enact navigation laws received a degree of favor in the American Congress of 1792 which was wholly wanting in the Federal Convention of 1787.

tions of imports being in respect to counterfeit money and obscene objects.

No foreign-built vessel, or vessel in any part owned by a subject of a foreign power, can enter a port of the United States and then go to another domestic port with any *new* cargo, or with any part of her original cargo that has been once unladen, without having previously voyaged to and touched at some other port of some foreign country, under penalty of confiscation. By construction of this law, all direct traffic by sea between the Atlantic and Pacific ports of the United States *via* Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope, or across the Isthmus of Panama, is held to be of the nature of a coasting trade or voyage, in which foreign vessels cannot participate.

An American vessel once sold or transferred to a foreigner can never be bought back and again become American property.

An American vessel ceases to be such if owned in the smallest degree by any person naturalized in the United States who may, after acquiring such ownership, reside "for more than one year in the country in which he originated, or more than two years in any foreign country."

A foreigner may superintend an American factory, run an American railroad, be president of an American college, or hold a commission in the American army, but he cannot command or be an officer of a registered American vessel.

If a vessel of the United States becomes damaged on a foreign voyage, and is repaired in a foreign port, her owner or master must make entry of such repairs at a custom-house of the United States, as an import, and pay a duty on the same equal to one half the cost of the foreign work or material; and this law extends so far as to include boats that may be obtained at sea from a passing foreign vessel, in order to assure the safety of the crew or passengers of the American vessel.

A vessel under thirty tons cannot be used to import anything.

Goods, wares, and merchandise, the produce of countries east of the Cape of Good Hope, when imported from countries west of the Cape of Good Hope, are subject to a duty of ten per cent in addition to the duties imposed on such articles when imported directly. This law is interpreted so stringently that old second-hand gunny-bags do not lose their distinctiveness to an extent

sufficient to exempt them from additional duties if they finally come to the United States, in the process of using, from a place west of the Cape of Good Hope. A few years ago a vessel from China, destined to Montreal, Canada, was sent, on arriving, to New York, without breaking bulk. It was held that the voyage ceased in Canada, and that the new voyage to New York subjected the cargo to an additional ten per cent.*

Foreign vessels, losing rudder, stern-post, or breaking shaft, and arriving in the United States in distress, cannot import others, to replace these articles here, without payment of the duty on the same. A foreign vessel cannot even land copper sheathing for the sole purpose of being recoppered by American workmen, without paying duties on the old copper stripped off and the new copper put on as separate and distinct imports.

If a Sunday school or a picnic party, out on an excursion, happen to come into an American port on a foreign (Canadian) vessel (as was recently the case on one of our upper lakes) for mere temporary and pleasure purposes, the vessel is liable to a tonnage tax; and a libel against the vessel instituted by an over-zealous official for its payment has been decided by the Treasury department (August, 1876) to be a proceeding which the government must enforce.

The following case, which happened in 1871, is a further illustration of the intolerance of the existing navigation laws of the United States. A citizen of Baltimore purchased a foreign-built vessel wrecked on the American coast and abandoned to the underwriters; and by spending a large sum in reconstruction, rendered her again seaworthy. He then, being desirous of employing his capital embodied in this instrumentality of trade in the most profitable manner, and assuming that the reconstructed wreck was his lawful property, arranged for an outward cargo, under the flag of the United States; but when the vessel was ready to sail, registry was refused by the custom's officials, on the ground that the vessel was

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* By the original navigation laws (Act of 1790) it was provided that the tariff on all articles imported in American vessels shall be less than if imported in foreign vessels. On "Hyson" tea the duty in American vessels was twenty cents per pound, in foreign vessels forty-five cents. The present discriminating duties on products of countries east of the Cape of Good Hope, imported indirectly, are a remnant and legacy of these old restrictions.

of foreign construction, the sum of the repairs put on the wreck being a little less than three fourths of the original cost of the vessel; or, in other words, the substance of this decision, which was correct in law, was that, while the citizen under the laws of the United States might lawfully buy and acquire title to a wreck, and use it for any purpose other than navigation, he could not acquire title to it, and make it American property, lawful to use as a vessel, even after he had paid duties on its old materials as imports, unless he could show that he had expended upon the abandoned construction for the purpose of restoring it to its original quality for service, a sum nearly equivalent to the cost of building an entirely new vessel. The owner by law, most mercifully, in such cases, is not, however, deprived of the privilege of selling the property to a foreigner.

Every vessel belonging to the mercantile marine of the United States engaged in foreign trade (vessels employed in the fisheries excepted) must pay annually into the Federal treasury a tonnage tax, at the rate of thirty cents per ton. At the commencement of the war there were no tonnage taxes; but by the Act of July, 1862, a tonnage tax of ten cents per ton was imposed, which was afterwards increased to thirty cents, the present rate. Although there was nothing specific in the recent enactments to warrant it, the Treasury officials, interpreting the statute according to the invariable rule for the benefit of the government and to the disadvantage of the citizen, were in the habit, up to 1867, of collecting this tax at every entry of a vessel from a foreign port, but by the Act of March, 1867, tonnage taxes can now be levied but once a year. On a ship of one thousand tons, the present tax, amounting to $ 300 per annum, represents the profits or interest (reckoned at six per cent) on an invested capital of $ 5,000, and on a ship of two thousand tons of $ 10,000. Hon. F. A. Pike of Maine, in a speech in the United States House of Representatives, May, 1868, stated that this tax was equivalent in many instances to three per cent on the market valuation of an inferior class of American vessels, employed only in the summer months and largely owned by his constituents.

In 1790, when the first tonnage tax was imposed, and the treasury of the new nation was sorely in need of revenue, the maximum rate for American vessels was six cents per ton.

Again, if any person not a citizen of the United States becomes

an owner, to the extent of the merest fraction, in an American ship, the tonnage taxes on such ship are immediately increased to sixty cents, or doubled; and the vessel at once ceases to be entitled to registry or enrolment as a vessel of the United States. Here, then, is a direct, odious, and stupid discrimination against the employment of foreign capital, provided it should so incline, for the developing of the American shipping interest, and the employment of labor even in our own dockyards and harbors. Supposing a similar law to be proposed, discriminating in like manner against the investment of foreign capital in American railroads, mines, factories, and mercantile enterprises generally, does any one doubt that the proponent would be at once hooted into contempt? And yet the hypothetical law is no more absurd than the law that actually exists upon the statute-book. It was, however, in respect to these same laws, that the Republican State Convention of Maine, in August, 1877, unanimously resolved, that, "*enacted in the infancy of the republic, they have proved their wisdom by long and varied experience. They embody the matured judgment of three generations of commercial men. Any radical change in these laws would be detrimental to the highest interests of American commerce, and a damaging blow to the national independence of the country.*" The question naturally suggests itself, Was there one single man in this same convention that had any clear and definite knowledge of how these laws originated, what they embody, and what is the sphere of their influence?

At the period of the enactment of our navigation laws, 1789, 1817, all other maritime nations had similar codes. But since then all maritime nations, except the United States, have either greatly modified the old-time restrictions which they once imposed on the building and use of vessels, or abolished them altogether. In this reform work Great Britain took the lead, at the very time (1849) when the competition of the United States with that nation, for the carrying trade of the world upon the high seas, was most severe, and when whatever of benefit could possibly accrue from restrictive navigation laws to Great Britain was especially likely to be manifested. But the majority of British legislators and people had come to realize, after an experience of near five centuries (the first British navigation acts dating back to 1381), that the general effect of such laws was injurious and not beneficial. There

was, furthermore, a more special stimulus acting on the British mind, at the period in question, in favor of a liberal maritime policy. Ships were then built exclusively of wood. The United States could build cheaper and better ships than England because the advantage in the material and skill for building was with us; and England, recognizing this fact, repealed all restrictions in the way of her subjects purchasing American ships, as a condition essential to enable them to meet American competition on the ocean on anything like equal terms. (How the United States failed in wisdom when the conditions were reversed, will be shown hereafter.) By act of Parliament, therefore, in 1849, all British navigation laws of a restrictive character, with the exception of such as pertained to the coasting-trade, were repealed; and in 1854 the British coasting-trade also was thrown open without restriction to the participation of all nations.*

These measures, as was to be expected, encountered great opposition throughout the kingdom; and predictions were freely indulged in, by such men as Disraeli and Lord Brougham, that henceforth "free trade in shipping would destroy the ship-building trade in Great Britain, ruin British ship-owners, and drive British sailors into foreign vessels."† None of these anticipations and

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* It is now well known that the reason why the coasting-trade of Great Britain was not made free in 1849, in connection with British foreign trade, was because of the unwillingness of the United States to make any reciprocal maritime concessions.

† Mr. Disraeli concluded a long attack upon the first bill repealing the British navigation laws in the following words, which would seem to have served as a model for nearly all the statesmen of the restrictive school in the United States from that time onward: "Will you, by the recollections of your past prosperity, by the memory of your still existing power, for the sake of the most magnificent colonial empire in the world, now drifting away amid the breakers, for the sake of the starving mechanics of Birmingham and Sheffield, by all the wrongs of a betrayed agriculture, by all the hopes of Ireland, will you not rather, by the vote we are now coming to, arrive at a decision which may to-morrow smooth the careworn countenance of British toil, give growth and energy to national labor, and at least afford hope to the tortured industry of a suffering people?" The appeal was, however, powerless, and the prophecy of doom never was fulfilled.

Lord Brougham also spoke of the laws that it was proposed to repeal, as having long been considered, "not only as the foundation of our glory and the bulwark of our strength, but the protection of our very existence as a nation." And after the repeal was carried, a prominent opponent of the measure is reported to have said that the next consistent thing for the House of Commons to do was to unite in singing "Yankee Doodle."

predictions were, however, realized. But, on the contrary, while the tonnage of the United Kingdom remained almost stationary from 1816 to 1840, increasing, during that period of twenty-four years, to the extent of only 80,118 tons, it began to increase immediately and coincidently with the removal of British protective duties in 1842; gaining 901,550 tons between 1842 and 1849, and after the repeal of the navigation laws in 1849, shooting up from 3,485,000 tons in 1849 to 5,328,000 tons in 1863 and 6,152,000 in 1875.

The business of building ships in the United States for ocean navigation began to increase about the year 1845, and culminated in 1855. After this latter year it declined with extraordinary rapidity. Nevertheless, at the period of the breaking out of the war in 1861, the tonnage of the United States engaged in the international carrying trade of the world was larger than that of all other nations combined, with the exception of Great Britain. The decline in American ship-building subsequently to 1855 was undoubtedly in a great degree owing to the substitution of steam for sails, and of iron for wood as a material for the construction of vessels; coupled with the advantages which Great Britain at that time possessed in the manufacture and working of iron. But it was just at this time, and under such circumstances, that our navigation laws proved most injurious to our commercial marine; for had it not been for the prohibitions which they imposed on American citizens from buying and acquiring titles to foreign-built ships, American merchants, following the example of the merchants of other countries, would have undoubtedly bought and used the best tools for their trade, no matter where made, and have thus maintained themselves on terms of equality with their British competitors. As it was, however, our laws reinforced in our people that sentiment of moral inertia which always tends to antagonize what is new, and strengthen the disposition to stick by what is old; and no substitutions for ships of the old pattern being made by the building at home, or the purchase from abroad, of ships of the improved type, the decay in the ocean tonnage of the United States, already commenced, continued without interruption. Then came the war, and the Confederate cruisers, which well-nigh drove the American mercantile marine from the ocean; and after the war the increased cost of all naval construction and all

domestic commodities, consequent upon the imposition of high taxes, national and State,* and the use of bad money, alike prevented ships from being built and ship's cargoes of American merchandise from being profitably transported for sale to any foreign market, and under these several and in part continued influences the United States finds itself to-day without ships ready to do the work that through change in circumstances has to a certain extent become ready for the ships to do.

With this presentation of the causes of the decay of American commerce, or rather shipping, since 1855, the way is now clear for a consideration of the methods and feasibility of bringing back and profitably using ships of the most desirable character, as instrumentalities in the work of creating new markets for the surplus products of the industry of the United States.

DAVID A. WELLS.

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* In 1869 Franklin W. Smith, treasurer of the then Atlantic Iron Works of Boston, presented to the Committee on Commerce of the United States House of Representatives a detailed statement, showing that the cost of an iron ship of one thousand tons' burden would at that time be increased, by reason of the taxes, and the premium on gold, to the extent of $20,906 over and above the cost of a precisely similar vessel constructed in a British shipyard. On a wooden ship, of like tonnage, the increased expenditures at the same period, by reason of internal taxes and duties on imports, were estimated as between $6,500 and $7,000.

Art. X. — The Ultramontane Movement in Canada.

Canada is accorded at Rome that distinction in North America which among European nations is expressed by the envied designation, "the eldest son of the Church." And while Spain has sometimes, as at the Council of Trent, disputed with France the practical pre-eminence in Europe, Canada stands in this part of the American continent without a rival. The city of Quebec is awarded the honor of being the proud mother of sixty dioceses.* The Province of Lower Canada (now Quebec), which the rising tide of ultramontanism bore along with it, is now among the most demonstrative in its obedience to Rome.

More than to any other individual the ultramontane movement owed its propulsion to Mgr. Ignace Bourget, who was Bishop of Montreal for a period of thirty-six years, and whose resignation took place in 1876. Contrary to the usual custom of Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, he admitted the new departure, and publicly rejoiced in the establishment of a "New School." This New School "approves everything the Pope approves, and condemns everything that the Pope condemns; consequently it rejects liberalism, philosophy, Cæsarism, rationalism, indifference."† It is the glory of this school to follow in every particular the teaching of Rome, and to prove its sincerity by its acts. As Pontifical Zouaves, between five and six hundred of them took up arms and flew to the defence of the Holy See, when the civil power of the papacy was in the agony of dissolution; and in the hour of defeat they only laid down their swords to take up the pen to defend the cause they had espoused.‡ In each capacity they served, in turn, with all the ardor and devotion of youth. There were among them descendants of the old *noblesse* and members of other *bonnes familles* who could appear to advantage in the drawing-room, and

* Bull of Pope Pius IX., May 15, 1876.

† Circulaire of Bishop Bourget, March 19, 1872.

‡ "Nous sommes heureux de compter plusieurs de nos Zouaves, qui consacrent leur plumes à la défense du St. Siége, ne pouvant faire servir leurs épées à la garde de la Ville Sainte." — *Ib.*

acquit themselves without discredit in the literary circle, provided it was sufficiently narrow. These were the secondary leaders of the New School, the followers being made up of such materials as happened to come to hand. These secondary leaders were expected to become faithful echoes of ultramontane opinions in the legislature and the judicial tribunal, at the bar, in the lecture-room, in houses of education. As journalists, they were to make implacable war on *mauvais principes*, all principles being bad which were not in favor at Rome. As judges, whenever any of them rose to that dignity, they were to respect the claims of the church. It was an essential qualification that they should unlearn Pothier and all the Gallican authors from whom they had imbibed the principles of jurisprudence, which it would now be their duty as judges to apply.

The Canadian Zouaves, whether they fight with sword or pen, are no mere mercenaries. Their heart is in the work. But it is the will of their commanders that they should take the enemy at a disadvantage. He is only allowed to meet them with tied hands and paralyzed tongue. There is and can be no free discussion where only one side is allowed freedom of expression. Authority, interdict, anathema, are the thunders which aid the battalion of Zouaves, and when their voice is heard opposition is soon silenced. However bold the determination, however great the courage of the champions of free discussion, the end is certain. The interdicted journal is stifled in a chilling atmosphere of terror.

The Zouave in citizen's clothes, with a pen in his hand, is scarcely less an object of episcopal and papal admiration than when he takes the field in open violation of international right. Cheered on by Pope and prelate,* he gives no quarter, though himself exposed to no danger. "The Holy Father," says Bishop Bourget, "desires that the bishops should protect and defend the journalists and other Catholic (ultramontane) writers." He receives the words of the Pope as an order, and instructs the priests to "excite the ardor of these writers." The pontiff, he says, has assigned to these writers "the defence of the rights of the Holy See, the execution of its decrees in all their force, the combating of opinions and sentiments contrary to the teaching and authority of the Holy See, the pursuit of errors even to the most obscure retreats."

* Encyclical *Inter Multiplices* to the clergy of France, pressed into the service of Bishop Bourget. Circulaire, 6 mai, 1871.

The foresight of Bishop Bourget had early provided the necessary weapons of offence and defence. As early as 1854 he resolved to establish a French journal which should ostensibly be under the direction of laymen. Four years before he had cheered on the founders of the "True Witness," a journal "written by laymen, under the direction of priests." * Pius IX. has deigned, from time to time, to give his special protection and blessing to writers of this school. The *Bulletin Mensuel*, published at Montreal, with the avowed object of aiding the restoration of the temporal power, has been so encouraged. The *Courrier du Canada*, once the organ of an archbishop accused of strong Gallican tendencies, received, after it became an extreme ultramontane advocate, the blessing of Pius IX., which is to descend to the progeny of the publisher to the third generation. So great is the horror of this journal of the terms "Catholic Liberal" and "Liberal Catholic," that it has come to reject with equal disdain the qualifying word in the party designation, "Liberal Conservative."

But it must not be supposed that the liberty of these writers is very ample. They are forbidden, by a decree of the fifth Council of Quebec, to bring under discussion establishments of which the bishops are assumed to be the natural protectors and judges. To this decree the united hierarchy has added a prohibition to discuss the conduct of bishops and priests. If any one has a complaint to make against an archbishop, he must lay it before the Pope.†

Practically Gallicans and Liberal Catholics have been treated as fair game. This section of the Church of Rome in Canada has been the object of the rancorous and envenomed hatred of the Jesuits and the Ultramontanes.

In 1871 a *Programme Catholique*, based on a pastoral letter of the Bishop of Three Rivers, was issued, requiring candidates to pledge themselves to alter the laws relating to education, marriage, and the canonic erection of parishes, in the way the bishops should direct. A year later the Jesuit priest Braün, in a sermon preached on the occasion of the celebration of the golden wedding of the priesthood of the Bishop of Montreal, made a violent attack on the Gallican party in the Canadian Church,

* Circulaire, 11 mai, 1850.

† Lettre Pastorale des Evêques de la Province Ecclésiastique de Quebec, 22 septembre, 1875.

and asserted the absolute supremacy of the church over the state. The Bishop of Montreal, acting on orders from Rome, divided the parish of Montreal, contrary to the dispositions of the civil law; and the Legislature of Quebec was afterwards brought to enact that decrees amended by the Pope are binding in that province. When an attempt to put into force the decrees of the Congregation of the Index and the Inquisition failed only because the right to refuse, by way of penalty, burial in consecrated ground did not exist, the bishops secured the passage of an act by the Legislature of Quebec, which authorized each bishop to say in what part of the cemetery, the consecrated or the unconsecrated, any one shall be buried.

Bishop Bourget, the great patron of the New School, struck the keynote to which its members were to respond. "No one," he said, "is permitted to be free in his religious and political opinions; it is for the church to teach her children to be good citizens as well as good Christians, by instilling into them the true principles of faith and morals, of which she alone is the sole depositary. . . . . Her divine mission is to teach sovereigns to govern with wisdom and subjects to obey with joy.*

One of the writers of the New School, Alphonse Villeneuve, a priest, declared his readiness to curse his own work† if the Pope should condemn it. Addressing Pius IX. in a printed letter, June 13, 1872, as "the infallible pontiff, the supreme king of Christian kings," he says: "You are the judge of consciences, the doctor of faith; yours are the words of eternal life; judge you my book. If you condemn it, I also will curse it." Another priest, Alexis Pelletier, a prolific pamphleteer, who wrote under the *nom de guerre* of "Luigi," had the temerity to differ in opinion from the Archbishop of Quebec on a question of education. Orders came from Rome (1876) that he was to write no more on the forbidden subject. The offending writer at once gave in his unqualified submission, and ceased to write, not only on this, but on every other subject. When Pelletier exalted the authority of the church over that of the state, he was on safe ground, but when he ventured to differ in opinion from an archbishop, he was undone.

Abbé Pâquet, a professor in the University of Laval, Quebec, bids the students "listen to the voice of faith manifested by the

* Lettre Pastorale, 31 mai, 1858. † La Comédie Infernale.

mouth of the sovereign pontiffs, the infallible organs of revealed truth." * To this teaching in a Roman Catholic University, if the lecturer stopped here, we should have little to say; but it is different when the Abbé Pâquet tells us that "man has neither the right nor the liberty to refuse to believe, or to choose between the different religions," and that a government representing the collective will of the nation no more possesses this right than an individual; that "religious toleration is a gross error, a blasphemy, and an impiety"; that "everywhere and at all times the principle of religious or dogmatic intolerance will remain master of the position, because it is the truth, and truth is indestructible and eternal"; that "those who reproach the church with being intolerant of toleration reproach her with nothing less than her right of existence"; that, "as the church cannot renounce her mission without renouncing her existence, she ought always to anathematize this teaching" of toleration. The abbé does indeed allow that the civil laws may in certain cases "tolerate what God and the church reprove," but to give it "the right of action never." A government, he tells the students of Laval, and afterwards, by publishing his lectures, the general public, cannot proclaim civil liberty of worship without usurping a right which does not belong to it.

In perfect accord with this are the writings of Father Braün, a Jesuit priest of Montreal. "It is customary," he says, "to regard Protestantism as a religion which has its rights. This is an error. Protestantism is not a religion; Protestantism has not a single right. It possesses the force of seduction. It is a rebellion in triumph; it is an error which flatters human nature. Error can have no rights; rebellion can have no rights. Neither error nor rebellion can dispense with the obligation to perform a duty. Rebellion has a strict duty to fulfil; this duty is to repent, to come back, submission to the church." † The tenure by which Canadian Protestants hold the liberties which these writers tell them they have no right to enjoy is whatever voting majority they have over the willing recipients of these intolerant pretensions.

These are not isolated or accidental expressions. "When truth is evident," says Father Lory, "either by means of a certain demonstration or on the testimony of an infallible authority," the con-

* La Libéralisme.

† Instructions dogmatiques sur le mariage chrétien, 1873.

science is at liberty (such is the phraseology) to embrace it; but "error has no right to manifest itself."* The crime of reprinting a speech of Castelar on religious liberty brought down on *Le Réveil*, then published in Quebec, an interdict from the archbishop.† The interdict, as usual, meant death, which a change of the place of publication to Montreal could not and did not avert. The *Annuaire* of the Institut-Canadien of Montreal for 1868 was condemned at Rome, at the instigation of Bishop Bourget, because it contained a report of a lecture in favor of toleration; and the bishop sent a warning from Rome, where he then happened to be, that any one who should persist in keeping the book in his possession would be denied the sacraments even in the article of death. Such is the spirit of the New School of Ultramontanes in Canada to-day; and the practice of its adepts, as this case shows, is in full accord with its theories.

In attempting to enforce in Canada the decrees of the Congregation of the Index and the Inquisition, in the Guibord case, the Ultramontanes claimed jurisdiction over the consciences of Protestants.‡ Vicar-General Truteau, when under examination in the course of that trial, said: "The church regards as those over whom she can exercise jurisdiction all persons who have been baptized. There are therefore only non-baptized persons belonging to the Institut-Canadien who are not subject to the authority of the church; all others are subject to that authority, whether they be Catholics or Protestants. And on this principle I consider the entire body of the Institute was bound to conform to the exigencies of the church." The church had cast these children from her bosom, but still she claimed jurisdiction over them. This claim of extended jurisdiction means nothing less than that every Protestant who has been baptized may be denied the liberty of reading any book which has been put in the *Index*. In Protestant countries the difficulty would be to enforce ecclesiastical penalties for a disregard of this prohibition, but in Roman Catholic countries means of inflicting punishment would be found.

Some very serious practical results would follow application of

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* Union Catholique, Montréal, Séance du 28 mai, 1876.

† Circulaire, 31 août, 1876.

‡ In his judgment in the Guibord case Judge Mondelet said: "On reclame juridiction même sur les consciences des Protestants."

this principle to the marriage relation. It would compel thousands of husbands to separate from their wives, and of wives from their husbands, while it would put the stigma of illegitimacy on the offspring. Civil marriage, the Jesuit Braün contends, is concubinage, the contract null, and the two parties, to whom the church refuses the sacraments, are bound to separate. It may not be comforting for some legislators to know that "all parliaments which authorize civil marriage are laboring for the damnation of souls." Should civil marriage be authorized in Canada, Father Braün warns us, we should see "pretended wives obliged to separate from their pretended husbands on the bed of death; to celebrate their marriage in the last agony, or to die without receiving the sacraments and" — the Jesuit here gets facetious — "be legally damned." It may not be new to be told that it is "the sovereign pontiff who declares what is the law of marriage, not only among the faithful, but also among heretics and infidels," and that "he gives his decisions independent of local laws and temporal princes," * but it is strange that such pretences should be emphasized in the present day. If these pretensions were allowed and practically carried into effect, the reasons for annulling marriages, always on the theory that they were no marriages, would be so numerous that the existence of the family in North America would be seriously menaced.

Bishop Bourget surrounded himself with a mock Congregation of the Index, which was, nevertheless, a very real thing. One of the duties of the ten priests attached to the episcopal palace was to examine new books for the purpose of ascertaining whether they contained anything which baptized persons, Catholic and Protestant, should not be allowed to read. But these twenty eyes seemed sometimes to be struck with blindness. When the priest Villeneuve wrote a comedy in which he brought the first ecclesiastical dignitaries in the land to the palace of Pandemonium, in hell, and represented them as inspired by demons, the clerical censors were blind and dumb, — they saw nothing and heard nothing of this dismal comedy. Bishop Bourget, in whose interest the scandalous comedy was being played, saw nothing, heard nothing, uttered no single word of censure. But when a layman criticised the work of the clerical comedian unfavorably, the fact

* Braün, Mariage chrétien.

at once came to the knowledge of the bishop; and so prompt was he to discharge his duty, that he issued, without delay, a circular forbidding any person "to keep, for any purpose whatever, except to refute," this pamphlet, unless with his special permission. Any one who might persist in keeping it, after publication of this notice, would fall into the category of reserved cases, and be incapable of being absolved for so great a sin by any authority less than that of the bishop or his vicars-general. In this impartial spirit did the bishop and his ten literary censors perform their duties. And there were some reasons for believing that their knowledge of their duties was equal to their impartiality. The vicar-general admitted on oath, in the Guibord trial, that he had never seen a copy of the *Index,* and did not know whether that treasure was to be found in the episcopal palace. Is it likely that the inferior clergy who acted as literary censors were better instructed in their duties than the vicar-general? However this may be, this duty of literary censorship was performed with a degree of energy which was almost superhuman.

Le Pays, a liberal journal published at Montreal, fell under the condemnation of Bishop Bourget; and though it lingered for some time it never recovered from the effects of the blow. *L'Evénement,* conducted by Senator Fâbre, was obliged by the archbishop to retract the statement that "it is always dangerous to introduce religious principles into political contests"; and more recently it received a warning from the same quarter for publishing an analysis of a sermon which the tribunals have since found to be tainted with undue clerical influence. Not long since the *Gazette de Sorel* was denounced from the altar, — the priest forbidding his parishioners to read or to receive it. In 1860 the Holy Office condemned the *Courrier de St. Hyacinthe,* which has since fallen into line, and is permitted to live on the condition of absolute submission to Rome. When the *Journal de Québec* had the temerity to contend, in a mild sort of way, that "the citizens have the right, and are at liberty to express their opinions on political subjects, without having their rights interfered with by the ecclesiastical authorities," the vicar-general thought it a sufficient answer to point to the Encyclical of December 8, 1864.

The right of priests to use the confessional to discover whether a penitent reads a forbidden journal is defended by the *Courrier*

du Canada, — an oracle to which the papal benediction has been given to the third generation. This argument was, in 1875, used against the *Bien Public,* which the priests had forbidden their flocks to read. This journal was moderate in tone, professing neither "Catholic liberalism" nor the doctrines of the "Liberal Catholics" of Europe. Nevertheless it succumbed before the hostility of the curés. The *Réviel* republished a speech of Castelar, in which the Spanish statesman defended the principle of toleration. For this offence the archbishop instructed the priests to discover whether the dangerous journal was read in their parishes, and, if so, to interdict the parishioners from reading it in future. It had been the aim of this journal to avoid the discussion of questions that would be distasteful to the clergy; but it was told that a journal which avoided religious discussion was necessarily atheistical, and therefore unfit to live. When the authority of the bishops is thought to require reinforcement, the Congregation of the Propaganda, at Rome, issues a mandate forbidding the faithful to read a particular journal. This is looked upon as a direction from the Holy See, which no one is at liberty to disobey.

Within two years the Roman Catholic episcopate of Quebec has agreed to attempt to control elections to the House of Commons at Ottawa, and to the Legislature of the Province of Quebec. As late as 1867 the Bishop of Montreal admitted that it was the duty of the clergy to be neutral in all questions which did not involve religious principles. Then he desired the clergy to note well the difference between this direction, "Vote or do not vote for a particular candidate," and this other direction, "Vote for him who in your soul and conscience you believe to be qualified to sustain the interests of religion and of the country."* The Bishop of Rimouski went much farther in the direction of safety. He interdicted the priests of his diocese from directing the faithful to vote for one candidate rather than another, from designating or naming the candidates *en chaire,* or pronouncing on their respective merits. The late Archbishop of Quebec is reported to have verbally answered an inquiry by saying, "You ought to vote according to your own conscience and not that of another."

* Mandement, 18 avril, 1867.

In 1871 the bishops had not agreed upon any common plan for the control of the elections. The Bishop of Three Rivers reminded the faithful, in a pastoral letter, that the legislators to be elected were charged with the protection and defence of their religious interests, and it was for the electors to see that they were qualified in this as well as in other respects to discharge their duty. It was necessary to conserve that liberty which gave the clergy the immense advantage of being able to govern the Church of Canada according to the directions of the Holy See and the Church of Rome.

On this pastoral was founded the *Programme Catholique*, to which candidates were, in many cases, required to subscribe. In this document the separation of church and state, which the preamble of an act of the Canadian Legislature secularizing the Protestant clergy reserves had, several years before, declared to be necessary, was denounced as an absurd and impious doctrine. The necessity of all who were in a position to exercise legislative power being in perfect accord with the church was insisted on. No one regarding whom there was any doubt in this respect ought to be elected. The full and complete adhesion to Roman Catholic doctrines, in religion, politics, and social economy, was the first and principal qualification to be required in a candidate by Catholic electors. The laws relating to marriage, education, and the erection of parishes, were described as being in conflict with the claims of the church; and it was the duty of Catholic legislators to amend them in accordance with the demands of the bishops, "with a view of placing them in harmony with the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church." The electors should make it a condition that they would vote for no candidate who would not enter into a stipulation to "conform entirely to the teachings of the church in these matters." Many candidates of both parties subscribed to this programme.

The joint letter of the eight bishops, dated September 22, 1875, claims for the clergy nothing less than the absolute direction of political elections. In this letter the ground is taken that there are questions in which the clergy may and ought to interfere, in the name of religion. This right and this duty are practically allowed no limit, when examples are given for illustration. "A political party," the bishops say, "ought to be judged dangerous,

not only by its programme and its antecedents, but also by the programmes and antecedents of its leaders, of its principal members, and its press, if the party does not disavow and separate definitively from them in case they persist in their error after having been made aware of it." In all such cases the priests are instructed to "declare with authority that to vote in a particular way (*en tel sens*) is a sin, and that to do a particular act exposes its authors to the censures of the church." It is also assumed that the church is independent of civil society and superior to it; that "the state is in the church and not the church in the state." The priests, who are assumed to belong to a society superior to civil society, are also empowered to give supreme directions to the constituted authorities.

Should any one deny the right of the priest to interfere in elections with spiritual censures, Bishop Bourget says, on his own account, he ought not to be elected. Nor are the electors to regard as eligible any candidate "who desires the separation of church and state; who sustains propositions condemned by the Syllabus; who rejects the intervention of the Pope, the bishops, and the priests, in the affairs of government"; who "criticises and censures the mandates and circulars of bishops and the instructions of pastors on the subject of elections"; who "favors journals, books, and societies which the church condemns."

Bishop Rogers, of New Brunswick, goes as far as any of the Quebec bishops. He lays it down that the law of God, which is to be the rule in politics as in everything else, is to be interpreted for Roman Catholics by their legitimate pastors, especially the Pope, the first pastor, the authorized interpreter of the law of God not only in matters of faith but also of morals, which comprehend every human act. Even Archbishop Lynch, of Toronto, who has aimed to play a liberal rôle, defines politics to be morals on a large scale; and we know that the church claims absolute direction in all matters of morals.

The Bishop of Rimouski, in his own person, illustrates in a remarkable way the progress which ultramontanism has made within a short time. From interdicting his priests the right to name candidates in the pulpit or to speak in favor of their respective merits, he has gone to the opposite extreme. In 1875 he claimed the right of the priests to interfere in elections with the

terrors of spiritual censures, and denied the right of the civil authority to put any limits to the ecclesiastical power. He warned the faithful not to vote for any one who sustains principles which the church has condemned; and the admonition is supported by an assertion of Divine power, which would certainly have been rejected at the Council of Trent, — "I am judge and doctor, divinely appointed."

The priests obeyed these episcopal mandates with alacrity. An appeal was made to Rome, but by whom is a matter of conjecture, not of certainty, to put a stop to this extraordinary exertion of clerical influence. Cardinal A. Franchi, Préfet of the Congregation of the Propaganda, wrote to the archbishop for precise information on the subject. The archbishop, apparently becoming discomposed, soon after issued a pastoral in direct opposition to the instructions of the joint letter of the whole episcopate. He forbade the priests to discuss political questions in the church, or at the church doors; directed them to volunteer no advice on the subject of elections under any circumstances, and not even to answer questions which might be put to them while on pastoral visits or in attendance on the sick.

"Does this new pastoral," people puzzlingly asked, "supersede the joint letter?" The archbishop at once volunteered a negative reply. He tried, in vain, to disprove an absence of harmony between the two documents; and did not improve matters by saying that the joint letter was addressed "to all the Catholics of Quebec," while the subsequent pastoral was merely intended "to enlighten the electors on certain duties which they have to perform, and to put them on their guard against certain disorders."

The joint letter was thrice approved at Rome, first by Dr. de Angelis, Doctor of Canon Law, next by Cardinal Franchi, Préfet of the Congregation of the Propaganda, and finally by the Pope himself. The appeal to Rome against the joint letter put the bishops on the defensive. Thither they sent a delegation, consisting of Mgr. Lafleche, of Three Rivers, and the Rev. M. Lamarche, to defend the position they had taken. The appellants to Rome, whoever they were, complained that the priests were interfering in elections with a degree of imprudence that "would compromise the future of religion in the country." But they had sent no one to Rome to advocate their cause. Bishop Lafleche drew up

a long memorial, covering everything which had occurred relating to the matter in dispute for a period of twenty years. When the Préfet of the Propaganda had read this document, he consoled its author with the assurance that the teachings therein exposed "were perfectly conformable to those of the Holy See, of which they were the faithful and often the textual echo; that the rules of conduct prescribed for the clergy, as to the way in which they should instruct the faithful in the fulfilment of their spiritual duties, were very wise, and that both had received the approbation of the Holy See in the decrees of the provincial councils of Quebec"; which decrees cannot take effect till they are sanctioned at Rome. This functionary also assured Mgr. Lafleche that the doctrine contained in the joint letter is "perfectly sound and conformable to the teachings of the Holy See."

A statement of the case was laid before Pius IX. by Cardinal Franchi. The result was that the Bishop of Three Rivers had the felicity of bringing back with him to Canada a brief of the Pope, dated December 18, 1876, which gives a complete victory to the Ultramontanes. "We rejoice chiefly," says Pius IX., "at the care you take to inculcate among the Canadian people sound doctrine, and to explain to them what regards the nature, the constitution, and the rights of the church." The bishops were praised for having raised a warning voice against the errors of Liberalism called Catholic. The Bishop of Rimouski, in communicating this brief to the clergy of his diocese, rejoices that "the supreme head of the church formally approves the teachings contained in our letter upon the constitution and rights of the church."

One of the first priests who was required to read the joint letter at the altar, M. Lussier, the curé of Bourcherville, would have avoided the task if he could. But he soon found that there was no escape from an unpleasant duty. Dr. Fortier, one of the candidates, had declared himself a Rouge and a Moderate Liberal. When this fact came to the knowledge of the Bishop of Montreal, he wrote to this curé, and presumably to others, in these terms: "Our Holy Father the Pope, and after him the Archbishop and Bishops of the Province, have declared that Catholic Liberalism is a thing to be regarded with the abhorrence with which one contemplates a pestilence; no Catholic is allowed to proclaim himself a Moderate Liberal, consequently this Moderate Liberal cannot be elected rep-

resentative by Catholics." The curé read the bishop's pastoral to his parishioners, and then went to Montreal to ask further instructions from his diocesan. When he asked if he had anything more to do, the bishop replied promptly: "You are to read the letter of the bishops." "But," remonstrated the priest, mildly, "permit me to say I fear to excite the murmurs of some of the parishioners." The bishop was inexorable. "We must not," he said, "fear to speak the truth; in desiring to be prudent, we compromise ourselves." The joint letter was read as ordered. The curé, M. Lussier, now up to his work, explained to the congregation how the church deals with error: that she instructs, enlightens, and exhorts the faithful; and if they remain obdurate, "she launches her thunders against them, and declares them excluded from her bosom." Such is the penalty of not voting as she directs. M. Lussier resided at Rome many years, and enjoys the distinction, not often conferred, of Doctor of Canon Law. He is thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the Vatican; and his hesitation in reading the joint letter was purely prudential.

The reading of the joint letter raised loud murmurs of indignation. Many persons in the congregation designated it a mendacious document. This statement the priest stigmatizes as blasphemous. "If," he says, "the bishops, speaking with the Pope, teaching with the Pope, deceive themselves and say what is not true, it follows that the Holy Spirit deceives himself and is a liar; for it is he who has appointed the bishops to rule the Church of God." M. Lussier, when he had once got his peremptory instructions, did all the bishop could ask of him. Here is an extract from his sermon, approved by the Bishop of Montreal: "The candidate who spoke last Sunday called himself a Moderate Liberal. As Catholics you cannot vote for him; you cannot vote for a Liberal nor for a Moderate Liberal, for moderate is only another term for liar." "The church condemns Liberalism; you cannot remain Catholics and vote for a Liberal." In 1873 a political party in the Province of Quebec abandoned the name "Liberal," under this kind of pressure, and substituted "National Party" in its place. The qualifying term "Liberal Conservative" was not less obnoxious, and was repudiated by that section of the conservative press which belongs to the Ultramontane School.

Nearly at the same time the curés of Charlevoix County were

doing with a will the work which M. Lussier commenced with prudential reluctance. This election was contested, and finally set aside on account of the undue influence of the clergy. Six weeks were consumed in taking the evidence, and two hundred witnesses were examined. The priests formally adopted M. Langevin as their candidate, and he would not consent to stand till assured of their support. One priest told the electors that he, not they, was responsible for the use they made of the franchise. Another told them that to refuse to listen to the curé on the question of voting was disobedience to the Pope. Liberalism must be crushed. If the electors listened to false prophets, a terrible chastisement would fall on the country, such as the destruction of the harvest. Very artfully the duties of electors were put. They were to vote according to their consciences, and not merely so, but "according to their consciences enlightened by the mandate of the Bishops of Quebec." M. Langlais, curé of St. Hilarion, asked the electors on which side they would like to find themselves when they came face to face with death,—on the side of Garibaldi and Victor Emannuel, or on the side of the Pope. They must follow one flag or the other. To vote for a Liberal was to set out on the road to hell. At least one curé told his flock that to vote for a Liberal was a mortal sin. As a proof of the effect of these religious terrors, one witness said: "My religious belief as a Catholic is, that those who act in opposition to religion and their pastors go to hell when they die." As the congregation wended its way from church, it was a common remark that whoever voted for the Rouge would infallibly be damned. "I was afraid," said another witness, "if I voted for M. Tremblay, I should be damned." To follow the party which had false prophets, one priest told his trembling congregation, would lead to the scaffold. The curé of St. Iréné told his flock that it was obligatory on them to follow his advice. In case of civil commotion, another priest predicted, the Liberals would be the first to strangle the priests. To vote for M. Tremblay would cause the overthrow of religion, and men would wade in the blood of bishops and priests. Whoever voted for the Liberals engaged in the service of hell. When the women believed their husbands would endanger their salvation by voting in a particular way, they used all their influence to bring them to the safe side.

Some of the priests, as will be readily understood from this evidence, in going so far beyond the line of prudence, failed to carry all their parishioners with them. A sermon preached at Baie St. Paul, one witness swore, "made so great a tumult that many persons left the church, and four fell to fighting after they had engaged in political discussion." At St. Hilarion several persons left the church while the curé was preaching. In an attested copy of a sermon which the curé of this parish sent to the bishop, in justification of himself, he admits having told the electors: "While I, preaching sound doctrine, am in communication with my bishop, you ought to listen to me and obey me. I am here your legitimate pastor, charged to enlighten, instruct, and council you; if you disregard my word, you disregard that of the bishop, that of the Pope, that of the Saviour, by whom they are sent."

When Judge Routhier, before whom the case was first tried, decided that all this license of the pulpit had in it none of the undue influence complained of, but was a necessary incident of the liberty of preaching, nobody who knew the ground which he had previously taken in a nearly analogous case was surprised. But at the same time no well-informed person believed that his judgment would stand. It was known from the first that the case would be carried to the Supreme Court. Judge Routhier took the ground that, voting being a moral act, the conduct of the voter comes under the canon law of Rome, and ousts the Legislature and the civil tribunals of their several jurisdictions. According to this doctrine, the priests were within their own domain, fulfilling their pastoral duties as the guardians of morality, and they did not encroach on the rights of the state, which has neither authority nor competence to deal with the matter. Should a priest refuse the sacraments to an elector for having voted contrary to the instructions of the priest, Judge Routhier would refer him to the bishop, whose orders he had followed in the whole procedure which forms the subject of complaint. This would be to make the bishop judge in his own case. Judge Routhier held that the law did not include clerical intimidation under the head of undue influence.

The Supreme Court was of a different opinion, when the case came before it on appeal. "On the principles of common law and on the construction of the statue, of which we entertain no doubt," said Mr. Justice Ritchie, "we cannot for a moment doubt that it is

our duty to declare that undue spiritual influence is prohibited by statute." The priest, like the layman, has the fullest liberty of discussion, solicitation, advice, persuasion; but whether in the pulpit or out of it, he has no right to threaten to restrain the liberty of a voter, to frighten him into voting or abstaining from voting otherwise than as his natural desire and free will prompt; he has no right to threaten to inflict any damage, spiritual or temporal, with the view of compelling the elector to vote one way or the other. The Court held that the priests had made themselves the agents of one of the candidates, M. Langevin. The political sermons, in the opinion of Mr. Justice Tachereau, by whom the judgment of the court was delivered, caused many electors to be seized with a dread of committing a grievous sin and being deprived of the sacraments. He thought these sermons must have influenced the decision of the majority of the ill-instructed voters, though they might have had no influence on the educated, to whom they were addressed. It was clear to him that a general system of intimidation had been practised, and as a consequence undue influence exercised. For this reason the election was declared void.

As there is no appeal from the decision of the Supreme Court, even to the Privy Council, this decision must be held to settle the law. But for the decision of a civil tribunal, in a case where the clergy are concerned, the episcopate has scant respect. "The church," say the bishops, acting in their collective capacity, "has its tribunals regularly constituted, and if any one believes he has a right to complain of a minister of the church, he ought not to cite him before a civil tribunal, but before an ecclesiastical tribunal, which alone is competent to judge the doctrine and acts of the priest." * They quote the authority of Pius IX. to show that the major excommunication is the penalty of disobeying this injunction. Some of the priests to whom the pastoral was addressed asked explanations; and another episcopal missive was issued, November 14, 1875, explaining that while the church maintains the principle of absolute immunity she tolerates under particular circumstances what she cannot prevent. When a priest is accused of having exercised undue influence in an election, the bishops instruct him to deny the competence of the civil tribunal to sit in

* Lettre Pastorale des Evêques de la Province Ecclésiastique de Québec, septembre 22, 1875.

judgment on the case, and to insist on recourse being had to an ecclesiastical tribunal. The only priest who appeared as a witness in the Charlevoix election first obtained the special authority of the archbishop for doing so.

Before the judgment of the Supreme Court in the Charlevoix election had been delivered, a similar decision had been given, three judges agreeing, by another court, in the Bonaventure election case. At that election intimidation was exercised by two priests; one asserting that "any elector voting for the Liberal candidate would be eternally lost, and his body be refused burial in consecrated ground." Both menaced the electors with the refusal of the sacraments, as the penalty of giving a forbidden vote. In connection with this menace the name of the diocesan was used. Besides annulling the election, the decision of the court disqualified M. Beauchemin, the successful candidate, because, in the words of the judgment, "these fraudulent manœuvres [of the curés] were practised with his knowledge and consent." The pith of this judgment is that the menace of spiritual penalties constitutes undue influence.

The use of the name of the Bishop of Rimouski by the offending priests, Thivièrge and Gagne, was probably not unauthorized. Certain it is that in a mandement, January 15, 1877, this bishop denounced the judgment of Mr. Justice Casault in no measured terms. He insisted that Catholic judges cannot in conscience administer such laws as that which controls the parliamentary elections of Quebec. Their oath of office does not bind the conscience. That the judgment is inadmissible he undertakes to prove by the fact that it is in unison with several propositions condemned by the Syllabus. He defends the menaces uttered by the curés to refuse the sacraments for political reasons. He claims for the church the exclusive right to say what limits the priest is to observe under pretext of preaching. Nothing, he contends, can be undue which a priest does by command of his superior. In the priest he recognizes only the dispenser, not the master, of the sacraments; and when the church tells him to refuse to administer them, the duty of the curé is obedience. The bishop who uses this language is the same who, a few years ago, forbade his priests to take any part in political contests.

When this mandement was issued, the Charlevoix election case

was before the Supreme Court, on appeal; but if the object was to intimidate that tribunal, it was not attained. Still, Mr. Justice Tachereau admitted that this censorious mandement placed himself, and such of his colleagues as are Catholics, in a position of difficulty. If a single bishop has already embarrassed the highest court in the country, the united episcopate will no doubt hope to achieve a more signal triumph in future.

Hints have been thrown out that the Ablegate Bishop Conroy, now in Canada, is to counsel the bishops to act with greater prudence. But no official document looking in that direction has been published. The joint letter of the bishops, which formed the instructions on which the offending priests acted, has, as we have seen, received the special sanction of Pius IX.; and we know that his judgment has been pronounced irreformable.

The issue between the ecclesiastical and the civil powers has developed into an open rupture. On the one side are the bishops, supported by Pope Pius IX., claiming the right to direct the clergy to use spiritual censures to compel electors to vote against their own wishes; on the other side is the civil law, interpreted by a court from which there is no appeal, by which elections carried by such undue influence are null and void. The zealot who, during a summer excursion of 1877, on a Canadian river steamboat, pulled down the national flag and ran up the flag of the Pontifical Zouaves in its place, only acted out the theory which the Ultramontanes assert everywhere and on all occasions.

CHARLES LINDSEY.

P. S. The bishops of the Province of Quebec, at the instigation of Mgr. Conroy, apostolic delegate, have issued a new joint letter, which was read in the church, October 21, in which they disclaim having intended, in their pastoral of September 22, 1875, to invade the domain of political parties. They say their object was to state "the true doctrine concerning the constitution and rights of the church." That pastoral, even as now explained, still claims that the church is superior to the state; and if that part of it which relates to Liberalism has been misunderstood in the past by the clergy, is it not probable that it will be misunderstood in the future by the *habitans*, only one fourth of whom can either read or write? C. L.

Art. XI. — CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1. — *A History of France.* (*Clarendon Press Series.*) By G. W. Kitchin, M. A. Vols. II. and III. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1877. pp. viii, 541; vi, 555.

Mr. Kitchin's history, in these two volumes, extends from the reign of Louis XI. to 1793, and embraces the most interesting periods of French annals, — the solidification of the monarchy under Louis; the rise of the reformed religion in France; the civil wars; the massacre of St. Bartholomew; the Bourbon Monarchy, with Richelieu, Mazarin, the Fronde; the age of the *Grand Monarch*, and the final decadence of the monarchy, ending with the fall of Louis XVI. It is, in fact, the history of the monarchy, for that Mr. Kitchin considers, with good reason, synonymous with the history of the country itself. His view of the whole subject is essentially an English view. Seeing what all modern students see, that the development of France has been marked by an absence or disappearance of the usual signs of what we are accustomed to consider political progress, of genuine parliamentary institutions, of municipal freedom, of the separation and independence of the judiciary from the executive, etc., he reaches the conclusion that the whole of French history is a failure. Not that he says so in so many words; but he implies throughout the opinion that at every stage in the life of the French the fatal difficulty is the non-appearance of English institutions. We do not mean that he is not right in all his particular conclusions, and we have no doubt that if we can imagine the whole course of French history to have been different, — if the Germanic influence had succeeded in obtaining a stronger hold; if centralization had not so thoroughly eradicated feudalism; if the nobles of France, instead of gradually being converted into an impotent *noblesse*, shorn of real power, but made odious to the people by being permitted to retain the privileges and immunities of power, had remained a real aristocracy; if local institutions could have sprung up and developed in a healthy way; if the reformed religion could have obtained a lasting hold in France, and, let us add, if France could have invented *habeas corpus* and trial by jury, — no doubt it would have been a better and happier country to-day, and would not present the shocking spectacle to the world of a struggle for power between four parties, no one of which has ever given substantial proof that it can provide a stable government. But in that case

French history would be so utterly different from what it is that it seems hardly worth while to dwell very much on the possible alternative. Looked at on the other side, taking the French for what they are, their history is a brilliant one, and if their fame is at present in eclipse, it should not be forgotten that their actual achievements, the part they have filled in the world's progress, has been very great. We confess we do not think that Mr. Kitchin does them justice. The evidence of his want of proper historical sympathy is to be found scattered through his pages. We select an instance or two at random. This is all that Mr. Kitchin has to say about Richelieu's great work, the foundation of the Academy:—

"From its very foundation the Academy busied itself with the form of expression rather than with the substance of things; it is the opposite of that other great creation of this age, the Royal Society of England, which has done as much to promote Baconian and scientific investigation in this country as the Academy has done to secure a polite and well-regulated style in France. . . . . French writers lost by it in quaintness and originality; on the other hand, the Academy soon became the arbiter of literary praise, the measuring-rod of culture. If it has shown a tendency to exclude the highest names in letters, on the other hand it supported and guided the authorship of the age of Louis XIV. and of later times. French literature long owed to this bright instrument of despotism many of its excellences and much success. Yet it may be doubted whether the equalizing of language and expression, and the discouragement of individuality, however congenial to an autocratic age, really tended to increase the true greatness of French letters. At least the Academy was eminently well suited to the ages in which it flourished most brilliantly; and *perhaps also it was congenial to the temper of the French people.* The names which are great in French literature owe as little to the patronage of the Academy as the splendid achievement of M. Littré's Dictionary does to that interminable work, the ever-unfinished 'Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française.'" (p. 50.)

This strikes us as a most extraordinarily inadequate account of one of the most famous institutions of learning of modern times. In fact, it is difficult to make out what Mr. Kitchin means. Why he should compare it with the Royal Society of England we are at a loss to conceive. There was certainly no resemblance between them. The Academy was, as he himself says, founded by Louis XIII. at Richelieu's advice, to advance "the most noble of all arts, eloquence." This Mr. Kitchin says, in a parenthetic exclamation, was "a truly French sentiment"; but as the Royal Society was founded for no such purpose, but was the "opposite" of the Academy, why compare them? Again, if the great names in French literature owe nothing to the patronage of the Academy, what is meant by saying that "it supported and guided the authorship of the age of Louis XIV. and of later times"?

It is apparent from this passage that Mr. Kitchin's want of sympathy with institutions which may be, as he naïvely says, "congenial to the temper of the French people," but not to his own, is profound. The bias appears at every turn; as, for instance, in his account of Colbert, one of the most successful ministers of finance France ever had. "It was his," says Mr. Kitchin, "quite against all more modern ideas of wise administration, to foster and subsidize production, literary or artistic, commercial or agricultural." (p. 157.) He somewhat inconsistently says (p. 160), that Colbert "did little for agriculture, where sagacious laws and well-applied helps might have worked miracles"; but, passing this by as immaterial, the idea of asking Colbert to be a political economist of the *laissez-faire* school is going rather far. Instead of testing his economic ideas by "modern ideas of wise administration," what Mr. Kitchin ought to have done was to test them by the ideas then prevalent, in which case he would have found that they were far more advanced than those commonly prevalent. This was Colbert's great claim to renown. Of course, the result of his efficient administration Mr. Kitchin does not conceal, but the temper in which he allows him credit for it is of the most grudging.

To Henry IV. the writer devotes a large part of his second volume; and here, too, he shows a strong inclination for the same sort of criticism. Is it not going rather far to say of such a man as Henry of Navarre that "it would almost seem as if his feelings were simply physical, and that neither memory nor fidelity nor shame entered into them at all"? This severity and absence of sympathy and tendency to try everything by the standard of to-day are the defects of Mr. Kitchin's writing. His merits are so well known already that it is hardly necessary to point them out. We have dwelt at some length on his defects, because they point to a common difficulty in all foreign criticism of France. There is no people about which so many popular errors are afloat, whose history and whose national characteristics are so misunderstood by foreigners. It is the business of the historian to divest himself of these absolutely. Had Mr. Kitchin succeeded in doing this, his work would have been the best English history of France in existence.

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2. — *Isis Unveiled: A Master-Key to the Mysteries of Ancient and Modern Science and Theology.* Vol. I., *Science.* Vol. II., *Theology.* By H. P. Blavatsky. New York: J. W. Bouton. 1877. 8vo. pp. xlv, 628; iv, 692.

In her Preface to this Master-key Madame Blavatsky declares that her work is "the fruit of a somewhat intimate acquaintance with East-

ern adepts, and study of their science." In the pursuit of her studies she came into contact with certain men "endowed with such mysterious powers and such profound knowledge that we may truly designate them as the sages of the Orient." These sages showed her that "by combining science with religion," the existence of God and the immortality of the soul "may be demonstrated like a problem of Euclid." These same sages were at the same time good enough to let her know that "the Oriental philosophy has room for no other faith than an absolute and immovable faith in the Omnipotence of man's own immortal self"; also, that "this Omnipotence comes from the kinship of man's spirit with the Universal Soul, — God"; and further, that "the latter can never be demonstrated but by the former." The author goes on to say that her work is a plea for the recognition of the Hermetic Philosophy, the anciently universal Wisdom Religion, as the only possible key to the absolute in science and theology." She expects the opposition of the following classes: "Christians," "Scientists," "Pseudo-Scientists," "broad Churchmen and Freethinkers," "men of letters and various *authorities*," and the "mercenaries and parasites of the press." It is difficult to make out from whom she expects support under these circumstances; and yet for two huge octavo volumes on such a subject as the "Hermetic Philosophy" a good deal of support is needed.

We must decline altogether to criticise this monumental work. It is a farrago of information, good, bad, or indifferent, about everything relating to magic, mystery, witchcraft, religion, spiritualism, much of which would be, no doubt, valuable in a cyclopædia, but is here of no use, so far as we can see, to any one. The conclusion at which the author arrives at the end of her second volume is that "the worship of the Vedic *pitris* is fast becoming the worship of the spiritual portion of mankind." To this all we can say is, So much the better; if the spiritual portion of mankind wish to worship the Vedic *pitris*, let them do it; and if the Christians, or the scientists, or the parasites of the press, or any other of the enemies of the spiritually minded, try to interfere with their freedom of worship, we shall be the first to protest against the outrage. As yet, we believe, the Theosophical Society's elaborate Eleusinian mysteries have been conducted in the handsomest way, without any secrecy whatever, and it certainly is very much to the credit of its corresponding secretary that she has been willing to reveal the master-key to her new system in two volumes octavo, though we fear that the enormous tax on the neophyte's mind demanded by the perusal of them will, for some time at least, prevent the veil of Isis from being torn asunder, and the beauty of her religion being made thoroughly known to the world.

3. — *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe.* By WILLIAM F. GILL. Illustrated. Boston: William F. Gill & Co. 1877. 12mo. pp. 315.

Mr. GILL's life of Poe has chiefly a negative value. As a destructive analysis of Griswold's memoir it has considerable merits, but it sheds little more light on the sad career of Poe himself. With Dr. Griswold the author has easy work. He produces evidence to show that all the following statements (besides many others) made by Griswold are, to say the least, incorrect: 1st, That the Baltimore committee which awarded Poe a prize for a "manuscript found in a bottle," did so solely on account of the legibility of his handwriting; 2d, That one of the committee, Mr. Kennedy, took him to a clothing-store, and "purchased for him a respectable suit, with a change of linen, and sent him to a bath"; 3d, That "Hans Pfaal" was an imitation of Locke's "Moon Hoax"; 4th, That Poe's connection with the Literary Messenger was merely that of general contributor and writer of notices; 5th, That he was obliged to leave the Messenger on account of his drunkenness; 6th, That the "Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym" was unsuccessful in England; 7th, That Poe's "Haunted Palace" was written after Longfellow's "Beleaguered City"; 8th, That he pirated Thomas Brown's "Textbook of Conchology"; 9th, That his withdrawal from The Gentleman's Magazine was caused by his irregularities, and by his making improper use of the books of the concern to assist him in getting up a new monthly; 10th, That he quarrelled with his friend Graham, the proprietor of Graham's Magazine, was dismissed by him, and that for some four or five years not a line written by him was purchased for the magazine; 11th, That there was a quarrel between Poe and his co-laborer, Clarke. There is so much of this sort of evidence, that a strong support is given to the inference that Griswold's misstatements grew out of a malicious desire to revenge himself on Poe for a criticism the latter had written.

But we are compelled to say, after examining Mr. Gill's evidence, and giving it all the weight that can be claimed for it, it hardly leaves us in the enthusiastic frame of mind over the poet's life which the author would seem to think proper. He devotes a good deal of space to show that Poe was not a "sot," and that he could never have drunk to excess, because there is evidence to show that a single glass of wine was enough to upset him. This may have been the case; but it is not enough to overcome the evidence of letters and conversations showing the general conviction of his best friends during his lifetime that his habits were hopelessly and irredeemably bad. And this, it seems to us, is all that

the public need care to know. There may be cases — the cases of a few great and conspicuous men — in whose career the world has a sufficient stake to justify it in a minute and microscopic post-mortem examination into their most private affairs. But Poe was not one of these. He was a writer of prose and verse, popular enough in its day, but not likely ever to place him very high in the temple of fame; he led an unhappy life, and was the victim of intemperance. Do these facts furnish any justification for a ghoul-like feast of scandal over his grave, with his own reputation for the *pièce de résistance*, and the private lives of those that were nearest to him, including his wife, and even women who were merely engaged to be married to him, for side-dishes? We are, of course, not now criticising Mr. Gill, but Mr. Gill's predecessors, whose unclean appetite for scandal has made Mr. Gill's work necessary.

The appearance of this book raises anew the question of Poe's standing as a writer; his reputation has fairly stood the test of the time which has elapsed since his death, and we see no reason why, within the narrow range in which he wrote, it should not stand a much longer test. He has always had a higher place in France than in England or (since his death) in America, and the reason is not difficult to guess. His poetry has the great merit for foreigners of smoothness of versification. It is essentially musical, not only in such onomatopoetic poems as the "Bells," but in all his verses. We should be willing almost to wager that, had some of them been transcribed in cipher, like that described in the "Gold-Bug," even Poe's cryptographic skill would have broken down in an attempt to read them, and for the simple reason that his rule of the predominance of the letter *e* is so fundamentally violated. The key to any poems written in cipher would be that the most frequent consonants are *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, — the liquids that render his verse so smooth and pleasing to the ear, and the vowels such as the onomatopoetic effect requires. But there is much more in it than smoothness. There are the same qualities that we find in his prose, — the sense of misery, haunting despair, and terror, and the power of communicating these feelings to the reader. Of course, in his poems the ingenuity and power of analysis and logical reasoning which we find in his prose tales do not appear; but the moral qualities are always the same. No one but the author of the "Raven" could have written the "Fall of the House of Usher," and *vice versa*. There is too, throughout, a total absence of dramatic interest in character; indeed, we may say of almost all distinctively human interest. Love, courage, self-sacrifice, heroism, sympathy, — for these we do not look to Poe. He

takes us to a world apart from the ordinary human affections and higher emotions, to a dark chamber, where we feel ourselves bound by a strange fascination of horror to watch the ever-descending knife-blade of the pendulum approach our heart, or the ever-increasing crack in the doomed house widen, or the blackening fancies of the tortured brain deepen to madness. Poe, however, was a genius. No one else has attempted or accomplished exactly what he did, and no one is ever likely to attempt it again. In many of the details of his art he was a master. As a writer of narrative English he is unsurpassed; and the extraordinary ingenuity of the plots of some of his stories leave no room to doubt that but for the misfortunes of his life and character he might have obtained great success in fiction on a more ambitious scale.

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4. — *Life and Letters of George Cabot.* By Henry Cabot Lodge. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1877. 8vo. pp. 615.

Selections from the correspondence of George Cabot form the principal part of this valuable addition to American biography. Outside of this Mr. Lodge was able to obtain but a small amount of material for his work, owing to the destruction by Mr. Cabot, just before his death, of all his own papers and letters. Had not the letters written by him been fortunately preserved, almost all record of one of the foremost leaders of the great party to which we owe the Constitution, and we may almost say the Union itself, would have been lost. Mr. Lodge has made use of his letters judiciously, prefixing to each chapter a short account of the period to which the correspondence contained in it refers.

He has very modestly avoided indulging himself in original discussion, but what he has given us on the subject of New England Federalism and the Hartford Convention leads us to regret that there is not more. His refutation of the charges contained in John Quincy Adams's pamphlet is very well done, and few people will be apt to quarrel with the following passage, in which he gives his estimate of the results of the convention and of the War of 1812: —

"The Federalists generally, all the more sensible ones certainly, were satisfied with the work of the convention. The general government, soon after the convention adjourned, passed a law which permitted the use of state troops, as desired by New England, and urged by the report of the convention, and not many days after came the welcome tidings of peace. The war party no longer insisted on an acknowledgment of those rights for which alone they had fought, and for which they had shed so much blood and squandered so

much treasure. If we judge it only by immediate results, the war must be pronounced a total failure, and the peace was considered then, and for many years after, a most wretched one; but the war party was only too glad to make peace on any terms. The events of the war and the terms of peace fully justified the Federalists, who had denounced it throughout as wicked, unjustifiable, and unnecessary; and if one looks only at the immediate history and results of the struggle, their assertions cannot be gainsaid. But we to-day can see that the Federalists were wrong, though no man then could know it. The War of 1812 was worth all it cost, simply because it was a war. Had we never gained a victory, the mere fact of proving to the world that we could and would fight as a nation would have been sufficient. But the War of 1812 did more than establish our nationality in the eyes of foreigners; it taught England that there was one people who could meet and conquer her at sea, and it taught us to love and cherish our navy. For these reasons no American, though the War of 1812 was fruitful in misery and disaster, and was almost in the end our ruin, would wish to have its record effaced from our annals."

The part which Mr. Cabot played in the important events which make up the history of the first fifty years of the government was that of a trusted adviser and friend — especially in all matters relating to commerce — of Washington and Hamilton. Without any gifts as an orator, he had, through the possession of strong sense and a profound interest in the welfare of the country, acquired a political wisdom and aptitude which was better than any mere powers of persuasion. He is one of the noble political figures that look down from the canvas of the Revolutionary period to remind us, in these degenerate days of faction, cabal, intrigue, and corruption, of how much may be done, even in times of great anxiety, perplexity, and confusion, by a few men who devote themselves to the public good. The great claim of the Federalist party to public honor and lasting remembrance is that of all the political parties which have from time to time sprung up in this country; it alone drew its source from a pure, unselfish, and wise patriotism. It consisted, not of men collected together like some laboring-man's mob to clamor on behalf of ignorance and prejudice for privileges due only to wisdom and virtue, but of born leaders, who governed their country because they had saved it from destruction, and because they were the most honorable, sagacious, and patriotic politicians it contained. It has become the fashion of late years to depreciate the precious traditions which have been handed down from that period, and apologists for the evils that have disgraced the country in recent years have even, with short-sighted egotism, attempted to relieve our generation from its just blame by recalling and dwelling on the scandals of a hundred years ago. But the attempt will always be a failure. No examination, however minute, of the characters of that period can do

aught but establish their reputation on more and more solid foundations. They were indeed giants, and by their side even the great men of subsequent periods become pygmies. The Constitution remains as their monument; a monument of the highest political wisdom then reached by the world. Whatever may happen to the country they founded, — whether it is destined to bless and enlighten mankind in the future as it has in the past, or whether it is destined to sink as other countries have sunk in the anarchy and oblivion produced by its own vices, — the fame of its founders will remain untarnished, and will be kept alive as the precious heirloom of the race wherever its institutions flourish.

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5. — *Egypt As It Is.* By J. C. McCoan. With a Map, taken from the most recent survey. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1877. pp. xv, 417.

The picture of Egypt given in this volume will strike most people with surprise. Like Wallace's Russia and Baker's Turkey, McCoan's Egypt is the work of an avowed admirer of the country to which the author's study has been devoted. Unlike these, however, it is but slightly descriptive, being almost altogether given up to statistics and information given in the most condensed form. Of the social life of Egypt Mr. McCoan has given nothing, for the sufficient reason, as he very modestly says, that this has been "photographed once for all by Mr. Lane, whose vivid portraiture of the manners and customs of both Arab and Copt is as true still as it was forty years ago." Owing to this necessary omission, the book is not as interesting for the general reader as, from its title, it might be expected to be. To the student of contemporary politics, to the historian, and to the diplomatist it is a mine of information hitherto inaccessible. Mr. McCoan's long residence in the Levant and frequent visits to Egypt qualify him to speak with authority about the country, and his account of the government, the system of administration, the relations of Egypt to Turkey, the finances, the schools, the system of agriculture, will be read with interest. That Egypt is heavily laden with debt he does not seek to deny, but he maintains that the debt, incurred as it has been to give Egypt those material advantages which alone could put her on a level with Western nations, was necessary, while the wasteful and corrupt administration which so swelled its volume is being rapidly replaced by a pure and efficient one. The Khedive he represents an energetic, intelligent, and public-spirited despot, and the future of Egypt he believes to be full of hope. The fact, however, which he adduces to support this hope,

the reformation of various branches of the service by trained Europeans imported for the purpose, and the supervision of the finances by Europeans in the interest of the public creditor, seem to make it hardly less than certain that when the end comes, and the slender link which now binds Egypt to the Porte is torn asunder, the present government must be absorbed in some way by one of the Western powers. That this power (now that the umbilical Suez Canal binds Egypt no longer to France) will be England, there is hardly room to doubt, any more than there is of the great benefit to the world that will accrue from such a termination of this branch of the Eastern question. There is no more enlightened government in existence than that of her dependencies and colonies by England as it is now carried on; and there would be an historic justice of a sort that we see few instances of, were the cradle of ancient civilization, the birthplace of the sciences and arts, to fall to the share of an empire that is the European representative of all that is best in the civilization of the modern world.

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6. — *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV.* By Francis Parkman. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1877. 8vo. pp. 463.

This volume forms the "fifth part" of Mr. Parkman's studies in the history of the French and English colonization of North America. The period embraced in the present volume begins with the year 1620 and extends to 1701; and therefore all the events in the history of New France from Frontenac's first appointment as governor to the ultimate triumph of his policy, — if anything in the history of France in America may be called a triumph. It is a period of quarrelling between governors, intendants, and priests, of Indian inroads and massacres, and vain attempts on the part of the home government to govern a colony as if it was a province, of irregular warfare with the English, and of a perpetual struggle for the fur-trade of the North. The narrative is marked by all the excellences of Mr. Parkman's style, — a style which, had it been employed upon a less narrow subject, would, unless we are much mistaken, have already won for Mr. Parkman a place among American historians as high if not higher than that of Bancroft or Motley. In the present volume it must be confessed this narrowness is a decided obstacle to the interest of the story. Embellished as it may be with episode and adventure, the history of the French in the New World in the seventeenth century is devoid of all deep historical meaning. It is the story of a powerful kingdom struggling against

odds heavy enough externally, and made overwhelming by internal difficulties, to establish in a new country a colony which had none of the elements of a self-supporting dependency. Nothing is clearer in the pages of Mr. Parkman than that the whole attempt of Louis XIV. to give France a permanent hold on the newly discovered world was from the beginning a hopeless failure. The same causes which at home were sapping the sources of the prosperity of the French, and making it certain that in the long run its brilliant empire must end in anarchy and confusion, were on this side of the Atlantic making it certain that ultimately it would be outstripped in the race for the possession of territory by its more democratic rival. For it is obvious that in all the struggles with the savages, and the contest for the possession of frontier territory, it was the self-dependent and free institutions of the English, their habits of independent action and their self-reliance, their indifference to the fostering protection of the central government, that gave them the advantage. The system which had converted France into a centralized kingdom made her colony, as Mr. Parkman has shown in a preceding volume, a royal province, governed directly from Paris, dependent for its prosperity and success upon the enlightened comprehension of all the necessities of her situation, by a government at a distance of two thousand miles. Her military defences, the division of power between the civil and secular branch of the government, her supplies, alliances, feuds, civil and external, even the etiquette of the intercourse between the various officers of her government, were all matters settled by the king and his ministers in Paris. The history of Frontenac's two administrations was the history of a perpetual wrangle between the governors of New France and Montreal, the intendants, and the priests, — a wrangle which settled nothing but the impossibility of successful administration on such terms.

Apart from these inherent defects, the volume is delightful, as all Mr. Parkman's volumes are. The character of Frontenac, the imperious courtier, despotic, avaricious, patriotic, daring, unscrupulous, but always self-sacrificing when the interests of France were at stake, is well drawn. The episodes of the story, the night-attacks, the bloody forays, the gallant defences, the wretched retreats, the pillaging, the massacres, the council-fire debates, are given with that truth and delicacy of detail of which Mr. Parkman is such a master, and it is in these that the great interest of the book lies. There is nothing more striking, even, in any of his other volumes, than his account of the defence of the fort at Verchères by the young daughter of the Seigneur, a girl of fourteen, who, with a gallantry befitting a daughter of one of the old French nobles, assumes command of a panic-stricken garrison consisting

of two soldiers, two boys, an old man of eighty, and a number of women and children, and defends a fortified place against a force of forty or fifty Indians for a week. It is in these tales of heroism, and of such devotion to a cause, as is furnished by the career of La Salle, that are the most precious heirlooms that have been handed down in the annals of New France. The wars, the intrigues, the ghastly massacres, the struggle for power, left nothing behind them but impotence and destruction. But the beautiful instances of courage and of self-sacrifice remain as brilliant proofs of the noble qualities of the race and country that produced them.

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7. — *The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age. Virgil.* By W. Y. Sellar, M. A. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1877. 8vo. pp. xx, 413.

This *étude*, as it would be called in French, was written, the author informs us in his Preface, in continuation of one which appeared some years ago on the Roman Poets of the Republic; a work of which we are glad to hear a new edition is to be brought out. Another volume is to be added, which will treat of Horace and the elegiac poets. The present volume is divided into several parts, — a general introduction on the Augustan age; a chapter on Virgil's place in Roman literature; another on the life and personal characteristics of Virgil; and several more on the Virgilian poems themselves. The book is a literary masterpiece. It is difficult to say whether the historical and biographical or the critical portions are best; but in reading it we have found particular pleasure in the latter. The portion of the work devoted to an examination of the "Conception and Delineation of Character in the Æneid" is a model of critical acumen and fairness. Mr. Sellar is, of course, an avowed admirer of Virgil, but he is no partisan, and we were curious to see what he would have to say on a point which to the unfriendly critic yields the best point of attack, — the management, in a poem avowedly epic, of character; but Mr. Sellar is absolutely just. This was, he admits with perfect candor, the great strength of Homer. This is the weakness of Virgil.

"The Greek language is greatly superior to the Latin in its adaptability to natural dialogue. In this respect Cicero's inferiority to Plato is as marked as Virgil's inferiority to Homer."

Again: —

"Virgil's imagination is the imagination of the orator rather than of the dramatist. It is not a complete and complex man, liable to various moods, and standing in various relations to other men, but it is some powerful move-

ment of the θυμός in man, that the oratorical imagination is best fitted to express."

We should hardly know where to find a happier parallel than this between Virgil and Milton: —

"Milton also, like Virgil, reveals the characters of his personages with the imaginative power of an orator rather than with that of a dramatist. But he possesses another resource in the analytical powers with which he makes his chief personage reveal his inmost nature and most secret motive in truthful communing with himself. It is through the soliloquies in the 'Paradise Lost' that we can best realize the whole conception of Satan in his ruined magnificence, and his lost but not forgotten capacity for happiness and nobleness. The soliloquies of these personages perform for the epic poet the part performed by the elaborate introspection and discussion of motives in modern prose fiction."

Again: —

"But not only are the media through which Virgil brings his personages before us less varied and flexible than those of Homer, but the characters themselves are more tamely conceived, and less capable of awakening human sympathy. And this is especially true of the character of Æneas as contrasted with those of Achilles and of Odysseus. The general conception of Æneas is indeed in keeping with the religious idea of the Æneid. He is intended to be an embodiment of the courage of an ancient hero, the justice of a paternal ruler, the mild humanity of a cultivated man living in an age of advanced civilization, the saintliness of the founder of a new religion of peace and pure observance, the affection of parent for child, which was one of the strongest instincts in the Italian race. A lifelike impersonation of such an ideal would have commanded the reverence of all future times. Yet at no time has the character of Æneas excited any strong human interest."

We have selected these passages because they seem to show the author's fairness and delicacy of perception at its height. But almost any passages selected at random would have done equally well. His whole book is a masterpiece. Such a piece of critical writing is hardly to be found in English. In French, Sainte-Beuve has something of the same delicacy; but the sense of justice is so frequently replaced in him by a keen spirit of malice, that, on the whole, his critical outfit may be put down as inferior to that of Mr. Sellar.

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8. — *Nicholas Minturn: A Study in a Story.* By J. G. Holland. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1877.

Dr. Holland seldom writes a novel without a moral object in view, and it is one of his marked characteristics that he loses no opportunity of allowing the reader to share the view with him. It appears from the

mottoes from Plato, Carlyle, and other sages prefixed to this volume, that the lesson which "Nicholas Minturn" is intended to convey is, that the cure for pauperism is work, — not an absolutely new, but still an undeniable truth. A caviller might say that it had of late years almost become a truism, and cavillers have even gone so far as to maintain that it is only when a truth has become a truism or a platitude that it begins to have any attractions for Dr. Holland. But great literary success always breeds detraction, and we are glad to see that Dr. Holland does not allow it to interfere with or alter his method of work. He has in this novel introduced several characters not uncommonly met with in fiction, — a guardian of the godly sort, but wicked at heart and fraudulent; a young and beautiful ward; a young man, Nicholas Minturn, who combines all the virtues of both sexes, and who in the end exposes the guardian's infamy and marries the ward. We have several other minor characters, — a burglar or two, some tramps, some street arabs, — none of whom are positive strangers to us, even at the outset. But though these characters may be met with in other pages than Dr. Holland's, they are nowhere so exhaustively drawn as in his novels. Nowhere else is the goodness of the good and the wickedness of the wicked so thoroughly established and certificated. When we close the volume, no room is left for doubt as to who are bad and who are good; and there is never any haziness as to the dividing line between vice and virtue. Other writers have succeeded by confusing vice and virtue; not so Dr. Holland. We always know where to find him; and this of itself, in an uncertain world like ours, is a satisfaction. We can cordially recommend "Nicholas Minturn" to either the infantile or senile public. The very young or the very old may be trusted with it without fear of the results. With adults the consequences cannot be predicted with absolute certainty.

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9. — *Ancient Society, or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress, from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization.* By Lewis H. Morgan, LL. D. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1877. 8vo. pp. xvi, 560.

Mr. Morgan's studies in Ancient Society are by far the most important contribution to American science that has been made for a long time. The primitive institutions of the Indians, now so fast disappearing, have been with him a life-long subject of investigation, and the results which he has reached add to the history of the human race several distinctively new chapters. The merest outline of these is all that is possible here.

The ethnical periods of the history of mankind divide themselves into three principal stages: 1st, savagery; 2d, barbarism; 3d, civilization. All the probabilities of the case point strongly to the passage through all these stages of every branch of the human family,— not at the same, but at different periods. Thus we may find, as now, types of all three existing on the surface of the earth at one and the same time. But these three are again still further divisible. Mr. Morgan divides the period of savagery into three sub-periods: 1st, the lowest (the lower status of savagery), commencing with the infancy of the human race, and ending with the acquisition of a fish subsistence and a knowledge of the use of speech. "Mankind were then living in their original restricted habitat, and subsisting upon fruits and nuts. The commencement of articulate speech belongs to this period. No exemplification of tribes of mankind in this condition remained to the historical period." 2d, the middle status of savagery, beginning with the acquisition of a fish subsistence and fire, and ending with the invention of the bow and arrow. During this period mankind spread over the greater part of the earth's surface. The Australians and the greater part of the Polynesians at the time of their discovery were in this status. 3d, the upper status of savagery, commencing with the invention of the bow and arrow and ending with the introduction of pottery. In this status are included the Athabascan tribes of the Hudson's Bay territory, the tribes of the valley of the Columbia, and certain coast tribes of North and South America. This closes the period of savagery, and we now reach barbarism. The lower status of barbarism begins with the manufacture of pottery, and ends in the Eastern Hemisphere with the domestication of animals; in the Western, with the cultivation of maize and plants by irrigation, together with the use of adobe, brick, and stone in house-building. We have therefore in this hemisphere, as examples of tribes in the lower status of barbarism, the Indians east of the Missouri. The middle status of barbarism began where the lower status ended, and ended with the invention of the process of smelting iron ore. We have in this status the Village Indians of New Mexico, Mexico, Central America, and Peru. Lastly, we come to the upper status of barbarism, commencing with the manufacture of iron, and ending with the invention of a phonetic alphabet, and the use of writing in literary composition. Here civilization first dawns, and we discover the Grecian tribes of the Homeric age, the Italian tribes shortly before the founding of Rome, and the Germanic tribes of the time of Cæsar. In this classification the Indian tribes east of the Missouri River are separated by only one ethnical period from the early Greeks, and accordingly we should expect to find some connection be-

tween their social institutions and those of the Greeks and Romans, and thus Mr. Morgan has demonstrated that the gentile organization (that is, the division into gentes, phratries, and tribes) was the basis of the social existence of these Indian tribes no less than it was that of the Greeks and Romans. His observations on this head are very important (p. 62):—

"The experience of mankind, as elsewhere remarked, has developed but two plans of government, using the word 'plan' in its scientific sense. Both were definite and systematic organizations of society. The first and most ancient was a *social organization*, founded upon gentes, phratries, and tribes. The second and latest in turn was a *political organization*, founded upon territory and upon property. Under the first a gentile society was created, in which the government dealt with persons through their relations to a gens and tribe. These relations were purely personal. Under the second a political society was instituted in which the government dealt with persons through their relations to territory, e. g. the township, the county, and the state. These relations were purely territorial. The two plans were fundamentally different; one belongs to ancient society and the other to modern.

"The gentile organization opens to us one of the oldest and most widely prevalent institutions of mankind. It furnished the nearly universal plan of government of ancient society, Asiatic, European, African, American, and Australian. . . . . The Grecian gens, phratry, and tribe, the Roman gens, *curia*, and tribe, find their analogue in the gens, phratry, and tribe of the American aborigines. In like manner the Irish sept, the Scottish clan, the phrara of the Albanians, and the Sanskrit ganas, without extending the comparison further, are the same as the American Indian gens, which has usually been called a clan."

The gentile organization among the Iroquois is traced by Mr. Morgan with the greatest elaboration, and he conclusively proves his point. This, however, is but a small part of his work. It also treats exhaustively of the development of the idea of the family, and of the growth of the idea of property in ancient society, and contains a mass of information on these subjects which places his work side by side with such authorities as Mr. Tylor's "Primitive Culture" and Maine's "Village Communities," though the latter covers ground more modern than most of Mr. Morgan's.

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10. — *The Baroness of New York.* By JOAQUIN MILLER. New York: G. W. Carleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 244.

THE plot of Mr. Miller's latest production is not very elaborate. In some remote country, described as being somewhere

"In the rude weird West,"

lives a buccaneer's daughter of great beauty, and possessed besides of a

considerable fortune, accumulated by her father in the practice of his profession, and left in a "lump sum" in a convenient cave. To her comes a ship, commanded by one Doughal, a Fenian convict, who soon wooes and wins the fair mistress of the place. Like most Fenians, not to say most convicts, he is a man of strong feelings but erratic character, as he shows at a very early day by announcing his determination to sail away again. Painful as it is to tell, he shows an equal determination to leave the lovely Adora behind; but she, with a sagacity and knowledge of the world which does her father's system of education and her native intelligence great credit, immediately produces a priest, who makes the two lovers man and wife in the eye of the law, as they were already in every other respect. Through some misadventure the exact nature of which we do not exactly make out, but which is very terrible, they are separated after all, he sails without her, and she, having discovered her father's hoard of gold, determines to "see life" on her own account. She accordingly comes to New York, where she sets up for a Baroness, and gives the author the opportunity of indulging in a rhapsody on Fifth Avenue of a most appalling character. There appears also a proud English baronet, who becomes enamored of the Baroness, and succeeds in persuading her to become his wife. Just in the nick of time, however, Doughal reappears, a conflict of emotion arises, and Adora demands that her new lover shall slaughter her husband (in Mr. Miller's own words, she directs Sir Francis to "kill him dead"); but fortunately his bullet is turned aside by a packet in Doughal's pocket, which, it turns out, consists of Adora's letters and picture. At this proof of Doughal's lasting affection Adora changes her mind, calls off Sir Francis (who by the way has turned out to be the intimate friend and fellow-convict of Doughal), and returns to her first lord. Such is the tale. The manner of telling it is that with which Mr. Miller's readers are by this time pretty familiar. There are a great many "weird" places, and a "far" land, and an "unnamed river," and "white flashing mountains," and the other natural phenomena which mark the presence of the poet of the Sierras, a few lines of poetry, many more of pure nonsense, a wonderful amount of vulgarity, some richly "sensuous" writing, and a monumental disregard of the usually accepted rules of grammar and laws of rhyme.

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11. — *Essays on Free Thinking and Plain Speaking.* By Leslie Stephen. New York: G. P. Putnam & Sons. 1877. pp. 362.

Mr. Stephen belongs to a small school of Freethinkers in England, who, having reached the conclusion that they are neither Christians, nor

Atheists, nor Pantheists, nor Buddhists, nor Positivists, nor followers of any other known religion, deem it to be their duty to make all the converts they can to their own way of thinking. The great difficulty with which they have to contend is a want of opposition. A hundred years ago they would have been prosecuted for their writings; four hundred years since they would have been burned for them. To-day they publish them without any other obstacle than lies in the way of other authors in magazines, newspapers, or books; their opinions excite the passing curiosity which most literary novelties excite, and then they go the way of other books, and are forgotten. It is a curious proof of the totally changed condition of the public mind on questions of this nature that such pronounced opinions as Mr. Stephen's, clothed in so attractive a style, should have been received now for some time as so much a matter of course. It is understood that Mr. Stephen and his friends are free-thinkers, just as it is understood that Huxley is an evolutionist, Mongr. Capel a Catholic, or the Lord Chancellor a lawyer. He does not as a matter of fact find that his opinions stand in his own light, and hence he lacks that which is the first necessity of any theological controversialist (we use the word — *pace*, Mr. Stephen — as including all who enter the field, whether on the positive or the negative side), a sense of martyrdom. He tries, indeed, to supply this lack by reminding us that he is remonstrated with (we suppose privately) for trying to shake people's religious faith; but this is surely not much more than a stimulus to the true devotee's appetite for his work of conversion. He endeavors even to incite his enemies to attack him by representing in the blackest colors their conventionally adopted beliefs. In one of the papers contained in this volume, called "A Bad Five Minutes in the Alps" (in which he represents himself as hanging from a ledge of rock in imminent danger of death, suspended over a fearful precipice), he gives the thoughts which might have passed through his mind in such a situation and the most hideous fancy that his imagination can form is the contemplation of the possibility of awakening in another world to find, "not that the highest doctrines of theology were false, but that all its doctrines were true." But the publication even of such sentiments as these fails to arouse the frenzy of the believing world. So Mr. Stephen is left, for pure lack of opponents, in the somewhat ridiculous position of a general who insists on giving battle when no war has been declared and no enemy is in the field.

The causes which have led to the general want of interest to-day in dogmatic theology, and to the general abandonment of rigidly exclusive creeds, are no doubt very numerous, and to trace them to their origin would be to write a history of modern thought; but there can be

little doubt that what has taken out most of the interest from discussions such as Mr. Stephen seeks to engage us in is the fact that modern science has in the minds of the great multitude of thinking people so materially modified their way of looking at the whole scheme of human existence that the *dogmas* of religion have come to be regarded as not literally true, and have lost their influence upon men's lives and character. Formerly the dogmatic beliefs of religion were supposed to be the only safeguards of morality, and freethinkers who attacked the one were supposed to be the enemies of the other; but this is no longer so, and therefore assaults on the Christian theology, in the interest of free speech or free thought, have ceased to rally believers to an internecine warfare.

In saying all this we do not mean to disparage in any way Mr. Stephen's clever collection of essays. Any one who wishes to see what reasons an honest freethinker of the most advanced type, who in all purity of motive and kindness of intention wishes to convert the world to his belief, can find to urge in his favor will find them all here; cleverly marshalled by a writer of decided originality and ingenuity. If he is not convinced, he will be no worse off, while, if he is, he will be, in Mr. Stephen's opinion, a better man for having cast off the shell of the old faith without securing anything to replace it.

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12. — *Underbrush.* By James T. Fields. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1877. pp. 303.

This little volume consists of a number of essays and sketches of a light sort, which serve to show the progress the author is making in the literary field. Mr. Fields, it is hardly necessary to remind the readers of this Review, has all his life maintained a connection with literature so close and sympathetic that though he has not himself till recently embarked in them, American letters owe him a great debt of gratitude. Whether he was wise in attempting to increase the obligation by becoming himself an author, or whether it would not have been better for him to let the account stand as it originally did, we shall not try to decide. Judging, however, from a comparison of the present book with his "Yesterdays with Authors," it is safe to say that it would be well for him in future to confine himself to the domain of fact and reminiscence. In "Underbrush" he has set himself a task which not one man in a hundred thousand ever succeeds in,— that of writing semi-humorous sketches suggested by every-day incidents. Having but a slender basis of fact, such studies must necessarily depend for their interest on a very rare combination of literary faculties,— a union of a keen and delicate sense

of humor with great resources of expression. Such union, for instance, was the essential part of the genius of Charles Lamb; such a union is a marked trait to-day of such a writer as Mr. Howells. To say that Mr. Fields does not possess it is simply to say that he is not a genius. A strong sense of humor he undoubtedly has; but he has not the art in all cases of provoking by his reproduction of what strikes him as humorous the same pleasure that it originally gave him. The use of italics for emphasis, though (if we remember right) this device answered a good purpose in the hands of Lamb, does not remove this difficulty. It may be said, too, that as irony is confessedly a dangerous figure, it should be used sparingly, and is somewhat wasted in essays dealing with such classes of people as house-breakers. In fine, we should recommend Mr. Fields, in all friendliness, to leave humor to the humorists, and to confine himself to work in which he is better fitted to shine, — that of conveying information and amusement by means of reminiscent narrative.

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13. — *American Addresses, with a Lecture on the Study of Biology.* By Thos. H. Huxley. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1877. pp. 164.

The greater part of this little volume is occupied by Professor Huxley's New York lectures on Evolution, and this most important subject is treated by its learned advocate in a masterly manner.

The announcement that Professor Huxley would lecture on Evolution while in this country was received with no little satisfaction by the cultivated portion of the community. The evolutionists were content that their belief should be promulgated and defended by one who has so long and so ably labored for their cause; the interested but impartial public felt that no one could speak more intelligently on the subject than Professor Huxley; while on all sides the opponents of the development theory prepared for battle, and on the delivery of the lectures looked eagerly for some weak timber in the superstructure of the argument, a vigorous attack upon which might bring the whole to the ground. The confidence of the believers in evolution was not misplaced. In the clearest and most forcible language the lecturer announced his views, and supported them by a series of facts which amount to incontrovertible arguments. That his lectures convinced many, can hardly be doubted; that they did not convert many more, is in a great measure to be attributed to the fact that the entire significance and bearing of the proofs brought forward can only be fully appreciated by one who has some knowledge of comparative anatomy. Notwithstanding the necessity of this knowledge for the formation of an opinion, it is certainly true that the hos-

tility to evolution and its champions comes almost entirely from men without scientific training, whose knowledge of the subject is at best but superficial, and not based on the examination and comparison of specimens.

The first of the lectures on Evolution discusses the three most generally received hypotheses respecting the history of Nature, and disposes of two of them, leaving only the hypothesis of Evolution; the second treats of such evidence as is neutral or merely favorable to this hypothesis; while the third is devoted to the consideration of what the lecturer terms the demonstrative evidence. This demonstrative evidence is found in the greatest perfection in the history of the horse, the most highly specialized of our domestic animals, whose development Professor Marsh has traced, without a break in the line, from the earliest Eocene to the present day. The story, however, is not new to the reading public, and needs no comment here.

The address delivered at Baltimore on the occasion of the opening of the John Hopkins University, while abounding in valuable thoughts, is of far less general interest than the other matter in the volume. The lecture on the Study of Biology, delivered at the South Kensington Museum, in December last, vies with those on Evolution in importance and value. Extremely useful from a practical point of view is what is said about collections in museums, and the employment of a few types for study in lieu of a great number of specimens carelessly brought together. This lecture deserves careful study by instructors in biology and curators of museums, as well as by every student.

While the visit of Professor Huxley to this country was in many ways of great importance to American science, in nothing was it more beneficial than in giving to Europe and to European works in science an actual knowledge of what material we have here, and of what we are doing. To read of specimens is one thing, to see and handle them quite another. Professor Huxley came to this country prepared to lecture on European material, but upon examining one of our best collections he abandoned forthwith his original intention, and drew his proofs almost entirely from American specimens. His graceful allusions to some of our most eminent scientific men, and the high terms in which he referred to the collection of North American vertebrates at New Haven, are very pleasing; but the most satisfactory thing about his visit is that by his adoption of American material and American work, he fully established the great value of this branch of American science. He returned convinced that it is in this country rather than in Europe that the forms exist which are to aid us in solving some of the most important problems of the day.

14. — *History of French Literature.* III. *From the End of the Reign of Louis XIV. till the End of the Reign of Louis Philippe.* By Henri Van Laun. New York: G. P. Putnam & Sons. 1877. 8vo.

The present volume of Van Laun's work embraces one of the most interesting periods in French literary history. Beginning with what he calls the "transition authors," i. e. those who came between the Augustan period of Louis and the new régime headed by the revolutionary writers, he brings us down through the periods of Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and the Encyclopedists, the orators of the Revolution, the writers of the Empire and the Restoration, to the brilliant group which made the period of Louis Philippe famous, the critics, the romantic school, with Hugo at its head, and the novelists headed by Balzac. We have no space to notice the volume in detail, nor to quote from pages of which each one is almost equally interesting. The account given of Balzac and of De Musset will be found valuable, though on the whole the philosophical portions of the book — those in which the author traces the connection between one literary period and another, between one set of literary influences and others — are more valuable than the strictly critical discussion of individual authors. His occasional comparison of French with English literature is particularly suggestive, especially that (although we do not here agree with him) in which he makes out Balzac's claim to a higher place in literature than the English novelists.

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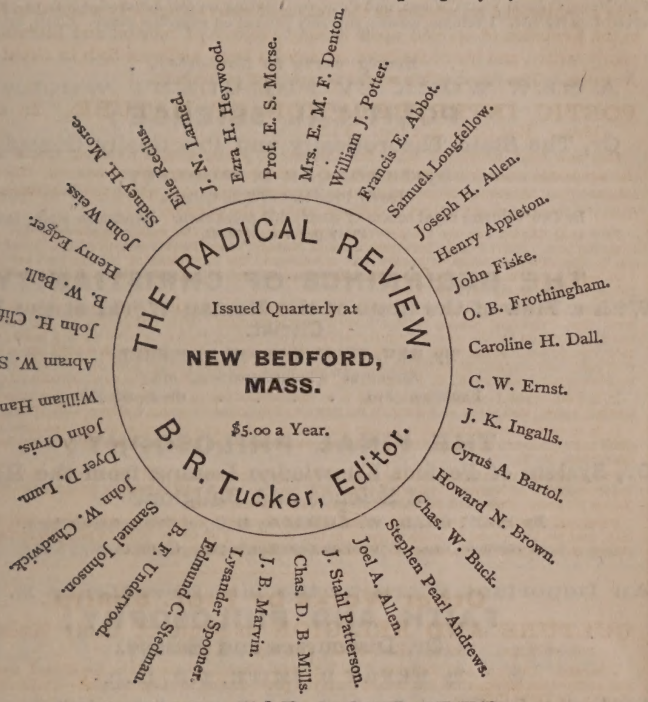

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